COORG 3 (209)

till

1800 A.D.

TO BE PRINTED.

(91) I. M. Muthanna

15/8/1972.

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The Coorg Records

From the Ancient Past - to - 1800 A.D.

Vol. I.

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VOLUME I.

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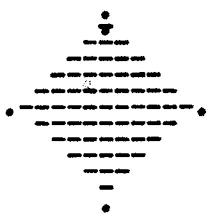

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KODAGU AND THE BRITISH.

CHAPTER I.

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE ANCIENT PAST.

KODAGU - COORG:-

Kodagu- the anglicised form of which was Coorg, is now a small district in the State of Karnataka. The strategic situation of Kodagu on the ridges of the Western Ghats, was the reason for the historical as well as the economic importance of this district during the last 250 years. It is bound within the narrow longitudinal and latitudinal limits of 75.22 degrees and 76.12 degrees, and 11.56 and 12.56 degrees respectively. Malabar and South Kanara in the West, and Hassan and Mysore districts in the East, are its neighbouring border districts. The river Hemavathi is its northern limit, and the Brahmagiri hill is its southern border-post.

In the ancient days, Kodagu was called Kudumale-Nad, and together with that, the mythological terms like Matsya Desha, Kroda Desha and so on were also in circulation. Kudu-Nad and Kodagu-Malenad, are the names that are considered correct, and these words are found in the ancient inscriptions. KUDU- stands for West, NADU is country, and the suffix AGA means 'inside', and all this together means 'inside west' or 'Kudu-Agam'. With this etymological significance, the land happened to be known as Kodagu, but in English, they first called it as Korg, Koorgha, Koorg and finally as Coorg.

THE SCENIC BEAUTY:-

Kodagu, which is just a part of about a thousand-mile Malnad in Western India, has been admired by every visitor for its spectacular scenic beauty. It consists of a chain of hills, zig-zag roads, vast expansive wet-lands, colourful coffee and orange gardens, serpentine rivers and streams, steep hill precipices, park-like open glades with their varied foliage etc, and thus the beauty of the land fascinate the observer at every point. It is also called a pleasure garden with its magnificent sceneries, and they look grand when gleaming through thin streaks of veiling mist with livid clouds to crown the majestic gloom. There are several places where the protruding wedge of lands formed from where the chain of blue mountains domed with verdure paddy fields and rivulets stretch as far

far as eyes could see. Floating clouds in the evening sun and particularly the sun-set are in sheer beauty unrivalled.

The ancient dense jungles are now becoming rare, and they are replaced by coffee and other plantations, and yet the beauty and grace of the rugged landscape still affords joy and satisfaction to every settler as well as visitor. A glance from the Madikeri hills, Brahmagiri, Nalknad, Pushpagiri or from any elevated point towards the distant hills, would suffice to give an enchanted land's wonderful view unfolding its glorious panorama of beauty all around. Like the Ooty hills, Kodagu also rightly bears the epithet as the Kashmir of the South, or as the Scotland of India.

PHYSICAL FEATURES:-

Kodagu is thus a hilly country. The Wynad and the Brahmagiri hills are its southern borders. The Marenad hills along the south-east, proceed to join the Perambadi and the Heggala hills near Virarajpet. That same line continues to join the Soma hills which are a part of the long line of Nalknad hills with Tadiandamol as the highest point which overlooks the Arabian Sea, and the height of this tallest peak is nearly 6000 feet from the sea-level. The Talekaveri hill stretches along the western borders to join Sampaje, Madikeri, and Madapur hills which proceed right up to the north-western point of Pushpagiri and the Malambi hills. The whole range of hills looks very violent and lofty.

The Kaaveri, popularly known as the Ganga of the South, takes her origin in the Brahmagiri hills. She flows down over the steeps with great speed over the rocky beds just amidst the district cutting that into two parts. Leaping down from her strongholds on the Brahmagiri, the Kaaveri flows through the State of Mysore, half encircling the historic city of Srirangapatna until she emerges into Tamil Nad where she again opens her arms to embrace the sacred shrine of Srirangam, and finally pours herself to the Bay of Bengal. The Laxmanatirta and other minor streams are just the tributaries of the Kaaveri.

The average rainfall of Madikeri is 110 inches a year. The month of July has a record rainfall ranging up to 65 inches. Agriculture is dependant upon the south-west monsoon. The entire Ghat area has a continuous heavy rainfall whereas in the eastern plains of the district there is an awful decrease in the rainfall. Some small rivers flow amidst the Western Ghat passes, and the Barapole, Sarathabby and Kumaradhara falls promise sufficient power potentialities as well.

AREA- THEN and NOW:-

No one knows what exactly the extent of Kodagu when it was a part of the Ikkeri kingdom in the I6th century. In the I7th century, Kodagu had extended up to Bantwal and Cherakkal in the West, Manjrabad, Arkalgode and some parts of Hassan in the North, the whole of Peryapatna right up to the gates of the Hunsur town in the East, and Wynad in the South. ~~formed the Kodagu territory of those days.~~ As intrigues among the ruling chiefs in these ~~areas~~ parts increased, the area dwindled in size, and in I834 the area was further reduced by 580 sq. miles. and thus it was left to its present area of I593 sq. miles.

Madi-Keri (a clean town) or Madhu-Keri (vale of honey), was chosen as the capital of the then province in I68I, and a mud fort was built there. It was rebuilt in stone with strong high walls, in the form of an irregular hexagon with bastions at its six angles. by whom? — Tippu The palace inside the fort was built in I8I2. The Omkareshwara temple was completed in I8I9, and the Rajas' tombs also were built almost at the same time.

Virarajpet was founded in I792 in memory of the Raja's meeting the chief of the English Army. Yelusavirasime in North Coorg was a part of Mysore for a long time and it was ceded to Kodagu after the last Mysore war. Nanjarajapatna was also a part of Peryapatna for some time. Other significant towns are Somwarpet, Kushalnagar, Ponnampet, Gonikoppa, Napoklu, Hudikeri, Kodlipet, Suntikoppa, Siddapur and Murnad. The population of Kodagu was I,25,000 in I85I, and after I00 years in I95I, it increased by a lakh of people, and the actual figure was 2,29,200. Now after twenty years (in I97I) the population have risen to atleast four lakhs because of modern ~~of~~ conditions and due to the high rate of immigration taking place from the neighbouring districts.

KODAGU MYTHOLOGY:-

The Brahmin created Kaveri Puraana is the only noted mythological story that is current in Kodagu although there are many interesting Kodava folk tales and folk songs of varied interests. Certain Slokas in the Vedas refer to the holy Kaaveri. The Kaaveri Puraana, a portion of the Skanda Puraana, begins from the story of the quarrel among the Suras and the Asuras for the Drink of Immortality. The story goes on to say that the invisible Sujyoti joins the Kanaka at the Sangama near Bhagamandala, and this is an imitation of the tale of the invisible river Saraswati joining the Ganga and Yamuna at Prayag. The poetry

poetry of the Kaaveri Puraana consists of many charming verses. At the source of the Kaaveri, thousands of people have their holy bath every year, and the bubbling of the water at the predicted hour and minute during the Tula-Sankramana, from inside the holy pond, is something wonderful, and it could be called even a miracle even in this age of modern science. Valmiki referred to the Kaaveri as a river in whose clear waters the Apsaras delighted to sport. Poet Kamban described it as the river of gold over-flowing with milk and honey. But perhaps the truest picture was given by Tyagaraja in his song when he said that:

"Look at this beautiful Kaaveri, the gem of the Kanyakas moving generously, granting the prayers of all irrespective of their merits-----and praised as Rajarajeshwari by all, on all her banks-----The kings and their kingdoms are gone, their palaces have disappeared and even the solid temples they built are getting dilapidated. Yet the Kaaveri flows as stately as ever and she will flow for ever."

Another mythical note in the Kaaveri Puraana is the story of Chandravarma, Devakanta and others. That also denotes the mythical origin of the original inhabitants of Kodagu- the Kodavas, though much of it is disputed as to its authenticity.

THE DAWN OF HISTORY:-

The Puraanic names of this small tract of the country, like Krodha Desha, Matsya Desha, etc prevailed for some time in the pre-historic period. The Vedic scholars even called this a part of the Viraat Desha which was then an area somewhere in the Deccan. Kudunad was also one of the fifty-six units of what was called Jambu-Dwipa or Bharata Varsha, and that was how the whole of India was known in those days. Kudumalenad and Kodagu-malenad were the names commonly used all over South India when they referred to Kodagu even after the I0the century.

Coming to the history proper, it was said that Kodagu was under the influence of the Kadambas before the 5th century A.D. According to the inscriptions, the Kadamba States had existed even till the I2th century in and around Wynad, and the Kadambas were ruling a large area of Western India from Goa to Malabar. Apart from the inscriptions of I026, I047 and I095 A.D., which referred to the Kadamba influence over Kodagu. Col. Wilkes wrote that "the people of Kodagu (in those days were only the Kodavas) are descended from the conquering army of the Kadamba kings". A coin that is supposed to have been of Kodagu was said to have been of the Ist century A.D.

However, the history of Kodagu, until about the I0th century, does not come under any sett-

settled system or any ruling dynasty like the Kadambas, the Gangas or the Cholas. The Inscription No. 3, given below, is the earliest one about Kodagu and it belongs to the time of the Gangas, and that indicates the dynasty of the early rulers. The Gangas were the Jains and they were powerful at Poonad, and Mysore-Kodagu border regions. The following are some of the Inscriptions which mark the mile-stones of the history of the past:-

Inscription No.	Date	Ruling dynasty.	Particulars	Source
I	Ist century A.D.	---	A gold coin of Kodagu of those times was found.	'Kannadiga' journal of Bagalkote 1927.
II	About 400 A.D.	---	Area of Tamil Nadu extended up to Kodagu.	Rajaraja Chola's titles.
III	About 466 A.D.	The Ganga kings.	Kodagu was a part of Ganga territory; capital Gangavadi- Genealogy of all the kings and copper plate engaved by one Vishwakarma.	The Madikeri Treasury plates.
IV	1000 A,D.	The Gangas.	Hanchidarma served in Kunindora- Established at Kalur and acquired by the power of arms, Bokanahalli.	Stone at the Madikeri High School brought from a village.

THE [redacted] CHALUKYAS AND CHOLAS:-

The Madikeri plate with the names of the Ganga rulers like Avinitha, Dhruvanitha and others is an elaborate record. Some more Ganga inscriptions were found and the one of the Bilur in Kiggatnad is important. After that the Chalukya influence was seen over this area although they were not directly concerned with Kodagu. Here are some other inscriptions concerning all these, including the Cholas:-

Inscription No.	Date	Ruling Dynasty.	Particulars.	Source.
5	About 800 A.D.	Mangalesha of Badami.	It is seen that Kodagu existed as a unit even before his time.	Tamil Impressions.
6	899 A.D.	Gangas of the Jain sect.	Satyavakya Kongnivarma is given by a Jain priest 12 hamlets of Bilur on the banks of Peddore or Laxmanatirtha.	The Bilur stones in Kiggatnad.
7	9th Century.	Satyashraya Chalukya.	Wins many countries like Chola, Lata, Kerala, Kalinga, Konkana, & Kombelu or Kodagu, and also Malenadu.	Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. 7.
8	919 A.D.	Rajaraja Chola.	Restores order in Vengi and then conquers Kudumalenadu or Kodagu.	Malambi Insc: Rice- 6.
9	1004 A.D.	Rajakesari Varma Chola.	Acquires Malavvi, now Malambi and then goes out in expedition.	Malambi Stones.

Apart from these inscriptions, the SHASHANA KALLU, the stone slabs with the Dravidian letters, were found in Palur, Nallur in Hathghatnad and some other places. The stone at the Madikeri High School was first brought from Kushalnagar and that contained the records of the Government grants. The inscription (the copper plates at the Treasury in Madikeri) is old Kannada but many letters resemble the old Pali scripts, according to the Bombay Asiatic Society. These plates are held together in a copper ring and that speaks of a grant of land. The date corresponds to 1006 A.D., and the charter concludes with a solemn denunciation that "Whoever takes away the land which he or others have given, shall for 60,000 years be born as a worm".

Kudumale Nadu, as identified with Kodagu by Prof. Hultzsch, and that was included in the vast dominion of Rajaraja Chola. Manija was a great commander of his, and he was given a grant in Malambi. The Chola maritime trade included sandalwood from Kodagu. Many 'Kadangas' and 'Vira-Kallus' owe their existence to the Cholas. The Palur, Bhagamandala and the Gaddige temples and some other constructions on the hill tops are said to have been the Chola architecture of the by-gone days.

THE HOYSALA INFLUENCE:-

The Hoysalas like the earlier Cholas had much to do to influence the culture and the temple architecture in Kodagu. These are some of the Hoysala inscriptions:-

Inscription No.	Date	Ruling dynasty	Particulars	Source
10	1171 A.D.	Hoysala Vishnu Vardhana.	Won Tulunad, Malenad (Kodagu), Pandya Chera etc. Sala kills a tiger, and the name POY-SALA came into use.	Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. 6
11	1174	- do -	Minister Bettarasa met Chengalva at Pal-Pare and rebuilt the town. Kodavas of all Nads fought under Madayya, Kottaya & others.	-do- Vol. 4 Hunsur taluq.
12	About 1174 A.D.	Hoysalas	The Hoysala king conquers Kodagu Malenad, (The inscription is incomplete)	-do- Vol. 5.
13	1177	Virabellala	A battle at Kodagi-Nad was held and a Commander Chenne Gowda died.	-do- Vol. 6.
14	1293	Vira-Bellala II.	Minister Perummal Dannayak rules. One Singe-Gowda of Kodagu-Nad killed a tiger and he was awarded with land.	-do- Vol. 3. Gundlupet tq.
15.	1316	Ballala Devarasa.	Ruled Padinalknad (14 Nads), over-ran Devassi Betta (S. Kodagu) up to Goa; One Madhava or Madappa was the Commander.	-do- Vol. 4. Rice's Insc:

The names of the Kodava Commanders like Madayya, Madappa, Kuttayya etc occur in the inscription of 1174 A.D. of the Palpare fort, in Kiggatnad, and that show for the first time the influence of the Kodavas in those days. The stone writings of the times of the Hoysalas are very

very many and some of them are historically significant. In the inscription of I293 A.D., there is a reference to the killing of a tiger by the one of Kodagu-Nad, to whom lands were awarded for his gallantry. The name Padinalknad, according to the inscription of ~~1316~~ 1316 is as old as the Hoysalas. From these writings, it is also found that the ruling tribes of those times had used the services of the Kodavas in their military campaigns, as stated in the same inscription that "overran from South Kodagu to Goa", and the Commander had borne a pure Kodava Name.

THE CHENGALVA & KONGALVAS:-

The Chengalvas ruled over Kodagu from I296 A,D., and after besieging Mullur. The names like Panasoge, Nanni Chengalva etc are seen in some inscriptions of their time. Mullur was another Chengalva centre which was taken by Rajaraja Chola later on. Yelusavirasime and a portion of Arkalgud taluk were taken by the Chola General, Manija. Hunsur taluk was then called Chengalnad, and the Chengalva king Mahendra had come from there and fortified himself in Palpare in Kiggatnad in II74 A.D.

The Kongalva territory extended in those days over Arkalgode taluk and Yelusavirasime. Mullur at the foot of the Malambi hills, was a very old town and that was the capital of the Kongalvas. They were the Cholas, and also Jains in religion. Their influence lasted for over 290 years in Kodagu. Some of these Chengalvas and the Kongalvas had also belonged to the Ganga dynasty. These are some of the inscriptions of their times:-

Inscription No.	Date	Ruling dynasty	Particulars	Source
I6	I034	Nanni Chengalva.	He was the first king and he was followed by other I0 who ruled Kodagu up to I297 A.D.	Yedatore-Heggadadevanakote Insc:
I7	I529	Chengalvas of Nanjarajapatna.	Srikantaraja's son Rudrayana made a grant of Ganagur village in Betyatnad.	Epi: Carnatica Vol. I2.
I8	I2th Century.	Chamundaraya Ganga.	A Jain fortress was built on the banks of the R. Laxmanathirta in Kiggatnad.	Nagoor Insc: Kiggatnad.
I9	- do -	Kastoori Bhattaraka (a Jain priest)	The Jains in Anjigerinad with many Jain Bastis round about-----.	Stone near Thitira house, Survey No.II7.

Both Benjamin Rice and Fernandiz Kittel gave evidence to the existence of the Kongalva rule over South Kodagu, and the words like Konga, Konganivarma, Konganad, Konganda (a Kodava family name) and so many other words with other affixes indicate that the Kongalvas were a power of some significance in those days. As to the inscriptions, the Chola, Hoysala and

and the Chengalva writings are inter-mixed because the rulers and the local chiefs included men of all these dynasties. A writing of Kulothunga Chola found in Arkalgode taluk said that Hoysala Devarasa installed a Nandi pillar on the banks of the Kaaveri at Sri Ramanatha temple. King Boppadeva of the Chengalva line granted Mavanoor village to the same temple. In about the I4th century, the Hoysala power was over-thrown by the Muslims and the Chengalvas were also not in evidence in Kodagu at that time although the Kongalvas continued to rule some areas in and around Kodagu.

THE VIJAYANAGAR RULERS:-

During the time of the kings of Vijayanagar empire, Kodagu was ruled by their Viceroys or the local Nayaks, and chiefly the Nayaks of Ikkeri. Hassan, Belur, Hunsur, Puttur in the West and some other roundabout districts and villages including Manjrabad, were all included in Kodagu in those days and that was thus a compact unit. The Belur temples, the Kibbetta stones, Mullur grants and many such writings give a lucid account of an expanded territory of that time known as Kodagu. It was then the Kannada poet, 'Kumara Vyasa' of the I4th century, mentioned in his Mahabharata the name of Kodagu, as one of the noted principalities in Southern India. The following are a few of the inscriptions of the times of the rulers of Vijayanagar:-

Inscription No.	Date	Ruling dynasty.	Particulars	Source.
20	I4th Century.	The Vijayanagar rulers.	Bodharupa or Bodha Mahadeva was given offerings by Bilur chiefs who were under the Vijayanagar rulers.	Palur & Bhagamandala Stone writings.
2I	- do -	- do -	Grants made to the Nayaks of Kodagu by the Vijayanagar kings.	Kibbetta Stone Writings.
22	-I37I.	- do -	In memory of Mahadeva of Palur, the Vaishnavas of I8 'countries' pledge to maintain the temple.	Tamil Inscription of Palur.
23	I4th Century.	- do -	Details of maintaining the temple written by Pakundala Ayri. They made a pledge to Bodharupa.	Tamil Inscription in Bhagamandala.
24	I588 A.D.	Achuta Raya.	People of Koppa, Kodanad (Kodagu), Nagalapur etc make a grant of paddy to a temple of Gopalakrishna near Tungabhadra through Shanbhogue Sankappa of 'Kodanad'.	Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. 6, Koppa tq.

On all these inscriptions, Rev. Benjamin Rice gave a detailed explanation concerning to their times and circumstances. The chiefs of Belur were under the Vijayanagar kings, but the Bedanur Nayak Sivappa Nayak captured Belur, and later it was taken by Mysore, but, as long as Vijayanagar kingdom was in control of the Deccan, Kodagu, as a vast administrative unit, was quite safe, ruled by the Ikkeri chiefs or by their Viceroys.

THE IKKERI CHIEFS:-

After the extinction of the Chengalvas in the end of the I5th century, the Belur chiefs took possession of the North Kodagu whereas the Western part including Tulunad, was directly under the Ikkeri Naiks whose territory covered the whole of Malabar, Wynad and some other surrounding small districts in this zone. Those Naiks had introduced a reformed method of administration with a modern system of land revenue, and, this may be partly due to the reason that there were a good number of Portuguese missionaries and merchants who made that coastal region of the Malnad kingdom prosperous. But the internal dissensions among the Paleygars or the taluq chiefs, especially after the decline of the Vijayanagar kingdom, was the cause for the break up of the Ikkeri kingdom also.

As already said, when the Belur and Kodagu districts were one, many inscriptions concerning both the units were left by the rulers of the time. The Belur Chenakeshava Swami temple also consists of some information about Kodagu, among its numerous writings on the temple walls. Inscription No. 23 that speaks of the Kibbetta stone writings in North Kodagu, is about a grant made by the Vijayanagar kings. Similarly, the Mullur or Mullunad grant, was given by some Chengalva chief to one Gonka Reddy Naik. Ferishta said that at the end of the I6th century, Kodagu was governed by its own chiefs called Naiks who had acknowledged the authority of the Vijayanagar kings. Traditionally it was known that Kodagu was divided into twelve Kombus and thirty-five nads. Formerly, there were only 28 Nads, but from the river Hutti to River Hemavathi, 'PATTI POLEKAABARA ENNE POLEKEEBARA', seven Nads were added in North Kodagu. The KOMBUs were perhaps the taluqs, and the taluq chiefs were called Paleygars who were brought into the orbit of the Ikkeri kingdom in the early part of the sixteenth century A.D. The Nads and the Nad jurisdictions under each of the taluqs were changing from time to time. The North Kodagu nads were called Hoblis and people in those areas were mostly the immigrants from the neighbouring districts of Hassan, Chikmagalur and other areas.

THE I8th CENTURY -KODAGU:-

Politically Kodagu had become an administrative unit under the Naiks from about the I5th century and under the Rajas in the I7th century. Apart from a few immigrants from the neighbouring districts, most of the people were the Kodavas, the original inhabitants, and, of course, a few tribals like the Kurubas, Kudiyas etc who lived in jungles. The

The first detailed account about Kodagu was written by Robert Taylor in I790 when he visited the then principality as a British emissary from Tellichery. He stayed in Nalknad for a few days. About the physical features of the country, Taylor said that:

"The appearence of the country is extremely romantic consisting of immense hills cover-
"ed with wood between which the narrow rice valleys and many rivers (streams) appear here
"and there-----they add a beautiful variety to the scene."

Though the inhabitants lived as mountaineers, they had fostered a culture which drew the admiration of every visitor. Their dialect consisted of a good lot of folk-lores and folk-tales, and their native costume was very wonderful. The features and complexions of both men and women were second to none and much have been said of these people of 'comely heads' as Hyder Ali testified in the Seventeen-sixties. However, Robert Taylor's account of Kodagu, her people etc, was included in the files "ON THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN INDIA" in general operations of the present (I79I-92) Mysore war. About the people, whose origin is still a mystery, and who are among the foremost warriors, Taylor wrote that:

"The men are perfectly upright, and through them is a rough appearence; there is also a
"pleasing one in their countenance; but what was most a matter of admiration was the great
"uniformity of feature among the men throughout the country; so much so that one could imagine
"they are all related. We found them hospitable and courteous in their manners-----their
"women and children approached and conversed with us in the most easy manner and went about
"their usual occupations without regarding our presence even though in the same house. That
"they are industrious is seen at first glance over the country; the rice growing upon the
"very tops of some of their hills-----with astonishing labour. Every man was armed----their
"dress consists of large coat, long drawers-----and course turban. The lower class (the
"younger ?) have no sleeves in their coat-----The women wear a cloth over their breasts and
"shoulders-----have their hair very neatly smoothed and held up by the comb-----".

What is to be noted here is that this is the first written account about Kodagu, and it was only after this Capt. Macleod, Capt. Mahoney, Col. Wilkes,"Rajendraname", Rev. Moegling, Lieut. Connor, Col. Fraser, Robert Cole, Rev. Richtor and many others wrote about this land and the people throughout the nineteenth century, whereas this was written exactly I80 years back, by the first official visitor to Kodagu in I790.

TILL THE END OF THE I8TH CENTURY:-

From the days when Kodagu was found to have been mentioned in the records of the twelfth century, till the time it got itself actively involved in the wars and skirmishes in the later centuries with the neighbouring chiefs of Mysore and Malabar, nothing is distinctly known about

about the land or people though the Kaveri was then flowing as she is now. Most of the area was covered with thick jungles and in the patches of plains were the rice valleys and there lived the Kodavas just farming and hunting. Occasionally they would go for fighting in wars if there were calls from the native chiefs, the Naiks or the Paleygars. The population was very little and having had much to eat and the soil being very fertile, genuine and virgin, the Kodavas or the other jungle tribes, had little worries in life. Excepting rice and some indigenous vegetables, they were not bothered about cultivating crops in immense quantity, and, as meat eaters, the whole of Kodagu was a vast open zoo with all kinds of wild as well as domestic animals in plenty.

It is still not clear how they established such an orderly and disciplined society with wonderful and meaningful customs, festivals, dialects, folklores, dances etc. All these are purely Indian but also non-Brahmanic in character. The Kodavas, although their spectacular cultural traits are fast waning due to the stupidity and arrogance of themselves, it is yet to be seen and known from whence they came and under what environment they nourished a culture of that brand. Their impressive wedding customs, funeral ceremonies, Hutri and other festivals, various forms of temple dances and colourful costumes were all a remarkable achievement of a highly cultured people, not found anywhere among the non-Brahmin communities of South India.

Although the Kodavas were found fighting with neighbouring chiefs during the times of Vijayanagar and Ikkeri and they were mentioned in literary works of the earlier centuries as Kodavas or the Kodagas, they came to limelight only in the end of the seventeenth century A.D. Later, the wars of Hyder and Tippu gave them additonal importance, and, in fact, the Kodavas became a decisive voice during the times of Lingayat chiefs and the British rulers by the end of the I8th century. How the affairs were turned out in those days till the end of that century (I799-I800), is told in this volume of the narratives, and even here one could see as though a long story told in brief.

CHAPTER II.

THE BIRTH OF A PRINCIPALITY.

A NEW SET-UP:-

On the decline of the Vijayanagar Empire, the Nayaks and the Nawabs all over South India asserted their independence, and in the Karnataka area, Mysore and Ikkeri were very powerful for some time only. When Kodagu came under the control of Ikkeri, that vast district of those times was ruled by petty chiefs who were also called Nayaks. Achu Nayak, Mukkati Nayak, Somashekara Nayak, Karnembhau Nayak and many others were running about, and it was then the whole of the Deccan seemed to have been in an anarchy with no strong power anywhere. It was during that time in about the year 1633, a petty Lingayat chief of Ikkeri found his way into Kodagu and made Haleri his residence. He posed himself as a Jangama or a Shivachar priest, and picked up his own men to guard his home. Those guards were known as Chowdigaras. Gradually this Jangama was able to gain influence over the people of surrounding Nads and imposed upon them some voluntary offerings and some kinds of tax.

Days passed on like this, but the increasing power of this Jangama threatened the safety of the Kodagu Nayaks and a few of them even submitted to him. The man by this time began to tell people that he had belonged to the Ikkeri royal family and called himself a prince. Consequently he became a founder of the ruling dynasty in Kodagu.

Generally the princely dynasties came into being in the past after the founders of such dynasties fought and defeated all their rivals, but here was a chief who silently carved his own fate. Whether he was actually a Jangama or one disguised as such, no one could say, but tradition says that he was simply an imposter who just succeeded in placating the warring Nayaks of the different Nads. Thus a new set-up took place in the early half of the seventeenth century.

AND, THE NEW CHANGES:-

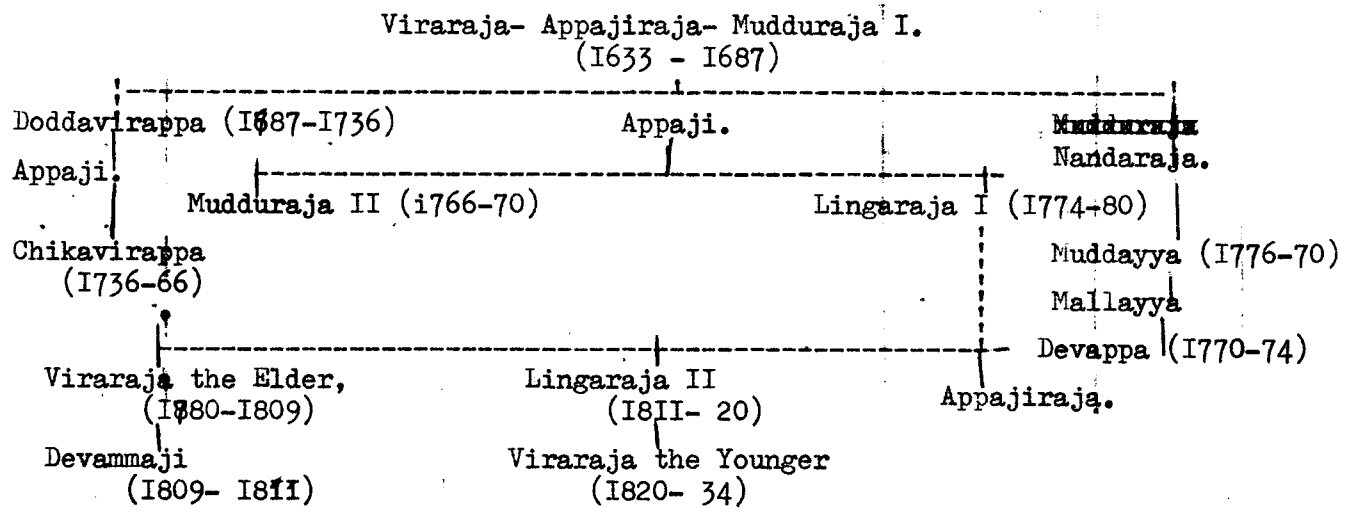
The first Jangama chief of Kodagu was Viraraja, and he was succeeded by his son Appaji, and, after the latter, by his son Mudduraja I. They began to collect revenue in kind, and rules pertaining that was strictly enforced. Kannada was introduced as an official language, and till then the native inhabitants were carrying on with their own spoken dialect which is a mixture of all the major languages of South India. The population of Kodagu including the

the round about taluqs of Puttur, Peryapatna, Hassan, Belur, Manjrabad etc, was not more than 60,000 and the contact between these people of different taluqs was almost nil. The Kodavas were confined to Padinalknad, Yedenalknad, ~~Kaiggatnad~~ Kiggatnad, Kantamurnad and Madikerinad which are still the centres of the Kodavas whose population at that time might not have been more than 30,000. The rest of the Nads were mostly covered with dense jungles with some tribal people living there among whom the Parayas, Kudiyas, Yeravas and the Kurubas had settled in different places.

The chief of Haleri who happened to be an emissary of the Ikkeri rulers, used to send his own men to Peryapatna and other roundabout districts to rule over those areas. That was another reason for the minor chiefs to exercise their obedience to him, and it was said that they were all very much afraid of him. Perhaps in order to increase the agricultural output and distribute ~~lands~~ cultivable lands which were lying fallow, the Lingayat chief brought Gowdas and others from Tulunad, and to introduce priesthood to Coorg temples, he brought a few brahmins also from South Kanara. The Muslim influx came very late during Hyder and Tippu's campaigns. Later when the coffee cultivation was introduced by the British they wanted some more men from outside as labourers and all these reasons made the Kodavas to get out-numbered by the rest of the people even from those days.

THE RAJAS' GENEOLOGY:-

Out of about fifteen rulers from about I633 to I834, only six or seven of them could be classified as significant rulers though none of them proved to be any good to the people on the whole. The genealogy of the Kodagu Rajas is as given below:-



Mudduraja I, established his capital in Madikeri after building a mud fort and a small palace there in I68I. He was succeeded by his son Doddavirappa while his second son sett-

settled at Haleri, and the third son Nandaraja at Hormale. Long before Mudduraja came to power, Peryapatna was taken away by the Mysore Rajas in I64I, and that led to the continuous bickerings and wars between the rulers of Mysore and Kodagu. Nanjaraja, the founder of Nanjarajapatna, and his successors continued as an ally of the Kodagu Rajas. However, the actual history of Kodagu came to be known clearly from the days of Doddavirappa Raja who was the ruler from I687 to I736, for nearly fifty years.

THE GADDIGE WAR- FIRST:-

The relationship between Mysore and Kodagu was never cordial from the very early days till the British came on the scene. Doddavirappa's contemporary in Mysore was Chikkadeva Raja. Some people in the service of Nanjunda Raja of Peryapatna conspired and sent word to Chikkadevaraja of Mysore of some intrigues, and, therefore, the latter mustered a strong force to fight with Nanjunda and capture Peryapatna, while the latter ran to Madikeri and sought the help of Doddavirappa. That resulted in the battle at Siddeshwara hill in the Kodagu-Mysore border when Peryapatna was captured by the Raja of Mysore while Doddavirappa of Kodagu succeeded in taking the frontier districts. Nanjundaraja was shocked by the outcome of this war but determined to take the fort. He built a Virabhadra temple on the banks of the Kaveri and installed a Basava Linga there while Doddavirappa built a fort and called it Nanjarajapatna.

That was the first war fought at Siddeshwar Gaddige, but even after that the relationship between Mysore and Kodagu continued to be strained for quite a long time. These are a few of the records concerning the I6th and the I7th century Kodagu and Mysore:-

Record No.	Date	Rulers	Rulers	Source
25	I580	Peryadeva Raja	Srikantaraja's son Peryadeva rebuilt the town and called it Peryarajapatna.	Epi.Carnatica, Vol.4, Hunsur.
26	I6I2	Chikkadeva Raja	Conquered Telugas, Tamilas, Kodavas, Maleyas, Marathas and others.	Epi. Carnatica, Vol. 3.
27	I644	Narasa Raja.	Narasaraja and the Chengalva king Nanja-Raja fought at Peryapatna and Nanjaraja died.	Karnataka Kaipidi.
28	I776	Chamaraja,	Nawabs under king's order won the Paleygars of Kodagu and got Kodagu, Madikeri, Balekadu etc	Annals of Mysore Royal family.

THE KODAVAS SUCCEED:-

However, the Siddeshwar Gaddige War held in Doddavirappa's time was an important landmark in the history of Kodagu. If the Kodavas had not stood up as one man, Kodagu would have gone to Mysore as early as I700 A.D. They resisted all external aggressions as evidenced from

from the Inscriptions No. I2 and I5 (already stated behind). The first battle of Siddeshwara Gaddige was a proof positive for their steadfast loyalty to the land of their birth. Doddavirappa, the fourth Lingayat chief, had some serious troubles from his neighbours when Chikkadeva Raja of Mysore, invaded Kodagu through Balele, and the ~~intert~~ latter's army encamped in the plains of Palpare. But the Kodavas routed the Mysore Army and made the position of their territorial boundary safe.

Among some gallant soldiers of the time, Paradanda Ponnappa, was the one who was also called Mukkatira Ponnappa of Kunjilageri Village on account of his being rewarded with properties that belonged to the Mukkatira family. Another Kodava soldier was Bonira Muthanna who successfully fought with the Raja of Kotagiri of Malabar at Thomar, and later also defeated the Raja of Cherrakal after marching with a big force as far as Cannanore where he attacked Ali Raja and subdued him also. Bonira Muthanna returned with his army through Kumbla reaching there by boat along the coast. On his way back, Muthanna also succeeded in ceding Amara and Sulya to the Kodagu territory. That was about 240 years back.

Some of the other taluk chiefs were Utha Nayak of Beppunad, Kolakongi Nayak of Kadiet-Nad, Achunayak of Anjigeri Nad, Appachira Mandanna who took a leading part in routing the Mysore Army up to Hassan, and a few Nad THAKKAs who were also fighting one against the other. All these man had considered the Lingayat Raja as an outsider, and some of them were openly disloyal to him. But when it came to fighting an external aggressor, all these local chiefs stood united. It was on account of such a stand, the rulers of those days survived. Their power and existence inside Kodagu depended mostly on the strength and pleasure of the Kodavas- the local warriors. Ever since the days of their recorded history from 1174 A.D., and even from the days of Palpare and the Gaddige wars of the I730s, the Kodavas kept both the Mysoreans and the Malayalees far beyond their borders and that solidarity on their part made their history amiable and their culture colourful as centuries passed.

THE FIRST HISTORIANS:-

The history of Kodagu, as of many other countries, had never been chronicled till I798, but eight years before that, Robert Taylor, the first British official to visit

Kodagu in I790, in his official capacity to befriend the Raja and establish some peace terms, travelled from Tellichery to Virarajpet and then to Nalknad, and wrote his observations, and called the Kodavas for the first time- 'a distinct race'. Taylor's report to the East India Company on Kodagu, has been quoted elsewhere in this work, and after that some English historians too have been referring to this land in good terms. Captain Dennis Mahoney wrote his comprehensive historical report on Kodagu after interviewing the Raja in I798, and he said that:

"-----The Coorgars (Coorgs or the Kodavas) were constituted a distinct people and have ever since been governed by the House of Haleri------There exists no material by which to trace the history of this country further back than I554 of the Shalivahana Shaka----The records such as they are, that throw light on the later period of I66 years, have been entirely collected by the reigning Raja whose information was principally drawn ~~by~~ from conversations with his father and other aged men- in the very early of his life; and from fragments here and there picked up within those few years-----the general tendency of those records have been found to correspond with accounts received from a variety of the inhabitants conversed with throughout the country------The substance of the whole hereafter blended may therefore probably be deemed entitled to some degree of respectability in the way of testimony."

Thus began the first two written chronicles about Kodagu, first by Robert Taylor in I790, and the latter one by Capt. Dennis Mahoney in I798, and both of these were written in the form of introduction of the land to the top men of the East India Company, and both these records have made a considerable groundwork for the benefit of the future writers, and much of the facts from those records have been quoted in this work.

THE ADJOINING REGIONS:-

The author of the book- 'Malabar'- one Mr. Logan, in the Volume I of his works, said:

"The Suryakandapuram of the Indian Atlas, was in former days the chief emporium of trade with the fertile lands of Kodagu and the sandal forests of Mysore, and this was the place where Ibn Batuta had travelled."

The ancient Kodagu was the region, as it is now, touching the Western Ghats, and the Kodavas, in fact, were confined to Madikeri Nad, Yedenalknad, Padinalknad and Kiggatnad. The adjoining areas of Nanjarajapatna, Peryapatna, Hassan, Belur, Arkalgode, Bellare, Amara, Sulia, ~~and~~ Puttur and Wynad were the later additions from about the I4th century, but there has never been a definite boundary for the district at any time. These regions

regions were attached and detached from time to time since the days of the Vijayanagar rulers, the ancient Kongalvas and the Ikkeri Nayaks. Viraraja the Elder had made it known to the English officers about the circumstances of his getting Amara and Sulia, and, Captain Macleod wrote that:-

"With respect to Amara, the Raja informed Capt. Mahoney at the conference which took place at Nalknad on the I4th July I793, that on a former occasion a Raja and a warrior, "one of his predecessors, being on a visit to the Rani of Bedanore, and having found fav-"our in her sight, she having no children, called him her son, and made over this district. "AMARA- GRANTED BY A RANI OF BEDANORE TO AN ANCESTOR OF THE KODAGU RAJA, AS A WIZEJA (?), "(or, is it Vishesha?), giving it the name, Amara, which in the language of that country "means milk and that was emblemetical of the new relation established between them.

"Unproductive, but important in military point of view: This small district produced "little. Its importance is received from its proximity to the MENSEE GHAT which is key "to Kodagu', observed Capt. Murray on the I8th July ~~I793~~ I793.

"Further respecting the Raja's title to it, Mr. R. Taylor, Chief of Tellichery, in his "letter of the I8th September I793 to Mr. Duncan, confirmed the Raja's statement with res-"pect to the grant of Amara by a Rani of Bedanore to the Kodagu (ruling) family. At an-"other conference at Nalknad in September I793, the Raja repeated the information respect-"ing the grant of Amara by the Rani of Bedanore (and), he stated it to have taken place "about TWO CENTURIES BACK"(Four centuries now)

Thus wrote Capt. ~~Murray~~ Macleod to Governor Duncan of Bombay on the I9th September I793. This subject was under discussion for a long time especially after the peace treaty of I792.

KODAGU IN THE LIMELIGHT:-

There have been a few Englishmen as visitors even from the years I725 and I750. Some of them got in through the Ikkeri kingdom along the Western Ghats and through Amara and Sulia. When Hyder Ali was waging his Mysore wars, some Britishers had already estimated the possibility of wooing the Ikkeri and the Kodagu chiefs to put down Hyder's influence over those districts. The British were also reconnoitring the Western Ghat area along Kodagu, South Kanara and Malabar districts. It was Hyder Ali who first opened connections from Mysore to Mangalore, from Mysore to Cannanore and Calicut through Kodagu and Wynad while he returned from his Bedanur expedition in I763. His subsequent intrusions in the affairs of Kodagu and his guardianship over his nominee Lingaraja I, were all aimed at his design to make Kodagu a highway to his coastal regions. This was the reason for the British to know more about Kodagu and to take more interest in Hyder's aspiring for the dist-

district. As a result of that, they put secret agents like James Sibbald in the court of Hyder Ali. By this time, Kodagu had already come to ~~lightlight~~ limelight as per the Indian affairs were concerned. Col. Fraser began his report that he sent to the Home Office, dated the 7th May 1834, as below:*

"In ancient times the Rajas of Coorg (Kodagu) hills were subjects to the Ikkeri Government. They were perhaps an off shoot originally of that dynasty. Certain it is, that they "have imported upon the wild soil of their fief the Shaiva religion and as establishment of "the Jangamas. Adopting the policy of constant intermarriage with daughters of principal "families among the Coorgs (Kodavas), the Rajas succeeded in naturalising themselves.

"When Hyder Ali took Ikkeri, which was then called Nuggur (later Hyder Nagar)and incor-"porated the kingdom with his growing territory, he considered himself the liege lord of Coorg "(Kodagu), and though foiled for a long time in his assertion of suzerainty, at last succeeded "by dint of fraud and force, in coercing the refractory hill chiefs into a state of vassalage. "Lingaraja of Haleri agreed about the year 1774 to pay an annual tribute of Rs.24,000 to "Hyder Ali------."

KODAGU IN 1750:-

The Kodagu Raja Doddavirappa died in 1736, about 78 years old. In his time Amara and Sulya was annexed to Kodagu by Bonira Muthanna after the latter's victory over Kollathiri Raja. The Raja's two wives fell into the funeral pyre as to the ancient practice of SATI, and Chikkavirappa became the ruler. He was in charge for thirty years till 1766. In his younger days, he had to be in prison and as such he was considered to have been a weak ruler. The Palpare battle which Dr. Bakenen called as per Wellesley's orders that, "that was a great battle when a great army was routed", was not the last of the kind. Chikkadeva of Mysore, after his defeat in the time of Doddavirappa, drove his army up to Hampapura at Heggadadevanakote and extended his borders up to that point and erected stones.

In the Western districts also, the Kodavas under Jogi Muthanna and his 5000 soldiers, kept all those Malayalee chiefs at bay. Kotangadi Viravarma's Thomara camp was shattered and Ali Raja of Cannanore and Chiefs of Kumbla and other districts were subdued, and all those areas which were till then a part of Ikkeri were now annexed to Kodagu.

As Chikavirappa ascended the throne, things were in a settled condition, but then the trouble was brewing from the Mysore side with Hyder Ali's interference in Kodagu. Hyder Ali

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* Calcutta Review; No. L. III of 1863, Home Reports.

Ali was born in I722, and he began his adventurous career as an ordinary soldier in the Mysore Army. After Chikadevaraja of Mysore, the Mysore royal family under Chamaraja, became weak and Hyder Ali gradually became a dominant figure and from I749 to I755, he rose up to prominence by a series of successful wars with the English, the Nizam, the Mahrattas and other chiefs of the Deccan, and, so much so, by the year I760, Hyder Ali became an absolute master of Mysore.

Hyder's relation with Kodagu began in the year I763 after his Bedanur conquest when Kodagu was supposed to have been a dependancy of the Ikkeri kingdom. In the internal affairs, nothing of any importance happened in Kodagu during the Seventeen fifties.

HYDER CLAIMED AMARA-SULYA:-

The failure of the Kolathiri Raja of Malabar to pay half the amount of Rs.I8 lakhs to the Kodagu Raja, Doddavirappa, which the former would otherwise have paid to Somashekar Nayak of Ikkeri, got those two small districts of Amara and Sulya for Kodagu. In I763, Hyder Ali, after subduing the Bedanore kingdom, began questioning the right of Kodagu over Sulya which was a part of Ikkeri, and so also the district of Yelusavirasime, for which Doddavirappa had fought with Mysore thirty years before that in I730 or so, Kodagu had thus retained the latter district also paying the revenue to Mysore, but Hyder Ali now made a demand that those tracts should go to him. Chikavirappa of Kodagu yielded to that demand and gave those districts to Hyder Ali as Somashekara of Ikkeri and other chiefs of Tulunad were demanding regularly just the supply of cocoanuts to their kingdom and thus reduced the supplies that were being made to Kodagu by those coastal chiefs. That was, however, the old practice.

Hyder Ali now took advantage of the weakness of the Kodagu Raja who had surrendered even Yelusavirasime to Mysore. Hyder after sacking the Bedanore kingdom, had become very rich as well as powerful. Now he wanted Kodagu as a highway to Malabar, and, therefore, sent one Fazullah Khan to Kodagu in I765. But then, this new demand was met with force and a war ensued when Hyder's forces were defeated. Hyder Ali, therefore, made peace with the Kodagu Raja, and offered to give him the Uchhengi district if Chikavirappa agreed to pay three lakhs of Pagodas. The latter agreed and paid quarter the sum and sent his Dalawai as a hostage.

HYDER'S KODAGU WARS:-

After Chikavirappa's death in 1776, Kodagu was under the twin rulers, Muddu raja and Muddayya, the cousins, and they ruled for four years till 1770. This kind of thing with two men together becoming rulers was an unique experiment and it did work out very well. Muddu raja and Muddayya Raja, demanded from Hyder Ali the Uchhengi district, but the latter asked for the three-fourth of the money that was due to him. This intrigue so created, resulted in a war when luckily, the Raja of Mysore, the Nayak of Ikkeri, the chiefs of Sode, Belur and Cherakkal had become the allies of the Kodagu Rajas, and, they stood united against this growing menace of Hyder Ali.

Now it was for the second time that Hyder's Army marched into Kodagu, and it was commanded by Fazullah Khan and through the Bisle Ghat. The Kodavas again showed their mettle and fought wonderfully and drove out the Muslims. Hyder Ali was then in Mangalore, and in 1768, on his way back, he admitted defeat and proposed peace. He surrendered the two districts of Panje and Bellare for the sum of 75,000 pagodas paid by Kodagu, and fixed the boundary of all those districts. Hyder, however, did not return the Uchhengi district to Kodagu. Thus, Hyder's wars in Kodagu that began in 1763, went on till 1768, till he had to demand peace and agree to the terms of the Rajas of Kodagu. That was certainly a good performance of the Kodavas of those times, whose valour, skill and fighting acumen were greatly admired by Hyder Ali himself who even ordered his men not to slay those 'handsome' people indiscriminately.

Hyder's commander Fazullah Khan retired to Igoor after being defeated by the Kodavas in a series of wars, when the whole of the enemy camp, treasure, guns and ammunition fell into the hands of the Kodavas. Though Hyder had acquired or conquered a vast territory comprising most of South India, Kodagu did not find a prominent place as his conquered territory, because his influence towards this district has always been on indirect lines and not direct.

SOME FAMOUS KODAVAS:-

Doddavirappa was a contemporary of Nanjunda of Peryapatna, Chikadeva of Mysore, Chennammaji of Ikkeri, Sadashiva of Sode, Venkatadri of Belur and Viravasu of Cherakkal. He made an epoch by his long reign and by defeating some of his powerful neighbours, especially the Raja of Mysore. Many other important landmarks were there in his time relating to Peryapatna, Ikkeri, Nanjarajapatna, Malabar and other districts. It is said that ditches and trenches

trenches were dug long before I750 and also the frontier gates were erected almost at that time. Walter Wilkins writing about this said that, "probably no country in the world possesses so many ancient earth-works-----in such a stupendous scale."*

In Kodagu these are called KADANGAs and those were compared to those ancient earthworks of deep trenches and raised walls as seen in England. All those were the special traits of the mountaineers and the Kodavas of those had scrupulously maintained their individuality although the names of good many of those heroes did not come to light as there was no practice to maintain records in the way that is done now.

Who were the Kodava commanders in the Palpare battle when they routed the Mysore Army, is not clear, but the name of Bonira Muthanna was well-known as he successfully lead his West-Coast expedition. Achu Nayak, Mukkati Nayak and others were involved mostly in local bickerings and skirmishes. Paradanda, and later, Mukkatira Ponnappa, Kalyatanda Ponnappa, Appachira Mandanna, and a few others were the heroes of the early I8th century. In the later half of that century, a new batch of heroes and diplomats emerged and among them, Kannanda Doddayya, Chonira Cheramana, Nayakanda Uthappa, Iychettira Appayya, Alamanda Subbayya and others came into prominence and a few among them rose up to high positions. All these have left their impressions in one way or the other and traditionally some of them are honoured by many folk-songs or folk-tales coined around their adventures.

Chonira Cheramana was a Dalvoy or a Commander in Chikavirappa's time, and after Hyder's Coorg campaign in I763, Cheramana was sent with him partly as a hostage and partly to turn out an important diplomatic mission. Cheramana succeeded in his mission and returned from Srirangapatna, but on the way in Mysore he died, it is said, of smallpox.

Another Dalvoy or General, Kannanda Doddayya, was the hero who faced Hyder's Army near Kajur-Bagalu in I767. Before setting out to war, he told Mudduraja that, "Twice have I returned after defeating the Muslims and made obeisance to the Raja but this time I shall not return". Doddayya fell fighting, and some reports say that Appachira Mandanna also died in the same war. Near Kannanda house in Madikeri over that fine hillock opposite to the Higher Secondary School buildings, there is a stone slab with a picture in relief of a Kodava warrior. The stone was erected in the paddy field in memory of the Dalvoy, and

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* Fortnightly Review, April I855.

and the members of that family still preserve a small silver plate with the relief picture in honour of their renowned ancestor.

HYDER - A CARE-TAKER:-

After the death of the twin rulers of Kodagu, Mudduraja and Muddayya Raja in I770, there arose a dispute as to who should be their successor, while Devappa of the Horamale branch of the ruling family, had already ascended the throne by his own right, and he ruled till I774. In the meantime, Lingaraja of the Haleri branch went to Igoor to seek Hyder's help, and, the latter thought that it was a fine opportunity to him to interfere, and, therefore, sent an army to Kodagu against Devappa who fled to Kote Raja of Malabar. This Kote Raja in turn desired to avenge the death of his ancestor Viravarma and that made Devappa's position still insecure. He, therefore, left for Harihara where he was captured by Hyder's men and then brought to Srirangapatna. Devappa's family was also taken to Mysore and consequently Hyder got Devappa killed, and thus put an end to the Horamale branch of the Kodagu ruling family.

After putting down the supporters of Devappa, Hyder Ali restored Kodagu to Lingaraja, a brother of the late Mudduraja. Wynad also was ceded to Kodagu by Hyder who eventually became a care-taker of the Kodagu affairs. He also got the whole of Kodagu as a passage to the West coast. Amara and Sulia were taken by him in lieu of Wynad.

Hyder had Kodagu under his control for some time although the people of the district detested this external dominance. Hyder managed to rule the area but he trusted no Muslim in his department of revenue, and Col. Mark Wilkes wrote that, "the Brahmins whom he (Hyder Ali) employed were held in still greater abhorrence and contempt of the natives of Kodagu". This new regime destroyed all the minor establishments which had spread over the country for the collection of the revenue. Hyder's men not only surrounded Madikeri, but also moved in several columns to penetrate into every part of Kodagu, but the people, especially the Kodavas, reacted bravely in spite of Hyder's 'excellent intelligence system.' Hyder return- to Srirangapatna in I775 after his Western expedition.

"SUCH COMELY HEADS---"!

Hyder Ali's army had met with defeats many times at the hands of the Kodavas right from the year I763. When his general, Fazullah Khan had a success in I765, Hyder claimed Rs. three lakhs as the expenses of his army. It was then Chonira Cheramana was sent with money to Srirangapatna and also to conduct peace terms.

Hyder's next invasion of 1773 through Arkalgode was undertaken with the help of Lingaraja who played a role of a traitor against his cousin. Initially, Devappa's men drove out the Muslims, but then with the additional strength they got from Lingaraja, the Mysore army entered through Balele. It was then Devappa fled to Malabar and from there to Harihara where he was captured. Col. Mark Wilkes in his 'History of Mysore' said about Hyder's Kodagu expedition of 1773, as follows:-

"For the purpose of direct communication and permanent conquest, it was necessary "to possess this interjacent country (Kodagu), and, Hyder accordingly entered Kodagu in "November 1773. The invasion was entirely unexpected; and, the chief body of the Kodavas, "without any previous arrangements, assembled on a woody hill, which Hyder encompassed "with his troops. In imitation of the Northern hordes, whose manners the Muhammadens of "India affect to imitate, he proclaimed a reward of Rs. five, for each head which should "be brought before him, and sat down in State, to superintend the distribution of the re-"ward. About seven-hundred had been paid for, when a peon approached, and deposited two "heads, both of them of the finest forms; Hyder, after scrutinising the features, asked "him whether he felt no compunction (or, did not your heart burn within you?) in cutting "off such comely heads; and immediately ordered the decapitation to cease, and prisoners "to be brought in. From whatever motive the orders may have been derived, it is the only "gesture in his whole life that incurs the direct suspicion of pity. The apparent con-"quest was of little difficulty; the Raja (Devappa) betook himself to flight; and Hyder, "whose chief object was to tranquillise the country, erected the fort of Madikeri in the "most central situation; and, confirming the landholders in their possessions at a moder-"ately increased the revenue, returned to Srirangapatna, whether the fugitive Raja was "soon afterwards brought, having been discovered in his place of concealment in the terri-"tory of Mysore."

THE PRINCES IMPRISONED:-

Though Linga Raja I, succeeded in securing the throne with the help of Hyder Ali, he had no happy days as a ruler. During the regime of Devappa, there was a famine in Kodagu in 1773, and that was combated with increased collection of grains. Hyder's expeditions also taxed the resources of the country to a great extent, and he kept on demanding Amara, Sulia, Panje, Bellare, and Yelusavirasime. Lingaraja, in the meantime fought to secure the whole of Wynad and erected a wooden fort at Kalpavathi to mark the boundary of his territory

Confusion prevailed throughout the decade of the Seventeen-seventies. Apart from the quarrel between Devappa and Lingaraja, the people had to attack Kote Raja on one side

side and with the men of Hyder on the other. Nayakanda Uthappa of Beppunad, and who had married the Raja's sister, Nilammaji, himself seemed to have turned against the Raja, but he attacked the Mysore Army at Tomara Ghat and later smashed the fort of Viravarma there. Uthappa fled to Bythur later on and died there but his descendants returned to Kodagu and reestablished themselves in the ancestral soil.

Linga Raja I died in I780. Hyder Ali thought that it was the favourable moment to take complete possession of Kodagu under the pretext of being the guardian of the late Raja's sons. The eldest son of the late Raja was Viraraja, the hero of the Kodagu history. He was only I6 when his father died. Hyder imprisoned the entire family of the late Raja in the fort of Gorur, while a Muslim garrison held the Madikeri fort. Karnik Subbarasayya was appointed Mamaldar in charge of the State affairs. The people of Kodagu viewed this miserable state of affairs seriously, and, therefore, they broke up in open rebellion in I782. However, after a confinement of nearly six years, Viraraja, his brothers Lingaraja and Appaji and the rest of the members of the family were rescued by the faithful twelve Kodava Karyakars like Appaneravanda Achayya, Kattacheravana Boluka and others. They came in disguise to Peryapatna like the Muslim nobles, stayed there for some time and then got the entire party of the Raja's family released from the prison. They entered Kodagu through Balele and took refuge in Kuruchi village in Kiggatnad.

HYDER AND KODAGU:-

When Hyder Ali had detained the Kodagu princes and made Subbarasayya as their chief, the Kodavas were enraged especially when they found a Brahmin administering the State. The Kodavas held the Brahmin with "greater abhorrence and contempt". Subbarasayya reported about this to Hyder Ali stating that the Kodavas had taken up arms against this new regime. Hyder had told him that after settling some affairs he would reinstate the princes, but he died shortly after that in the same year in I882 at Arcot when he was on an expedition there.

Hyder's vast kingdom, his administrative and revenue system and his popularity remained in order to facilitate his successor to carry on. Hyder's military build up and his military achievements were extraordinary. As to Kodagu, his revenue system as a care-taker in the time of Lingaraja I, was very liberal. Mark Wilkes said,-

"An insurrection in Kodagu of the most determined aspect suspended for a time the "designs of Hyder Ali in other directions. Compared with the revenue in his old territories

"territories, that which had been arranged for Kodagu was extremely low; but their standard "comparison was not what had been exacted from others, but what themselves had formerly "paid-----".

In a way it could be said that it was Hyder Ali who afforded a lot of fighting spirit to the Kodavas. He was a great as well as a born soldier. His army when he invaded Karnatic in I78I, and just a year before his death, according to Mr. Sibbald who was in his court for twelve years, was as given below:

"Regular Native Infantry- I2,000, Irregular 36,000, Infantry clothed and disciplin- "ed with French, Portuguese, Christian and deserted Europeans- 28,000, Match-stock men- "I2,000, Europeans including the English and the French- 200, Native Artiller Corps- 2,000, "Total------90,200."

That was certainly a force of great strength and capacity to have been acquired by one man within a period of only twenty-five years and who faced all kinds of enemies, both Indian and foreign, with courage, tact and determination.

CAPT. MACLEOD'S REPORT:-

Capt. Macleod, in his lengthy report sent to the Home department, dated the 8th December I795, "respecting the affairs of Karnul, Coorga (Kodagu), Corringatta and Tanjore taken from the Enclosures", gives in detail the political situation of the time. This report by an English officer in the court of Hyder Ali, begins with the following statement:

"The Coorga (Kodagu) country fell under the dominion of Hyder Ali in------when he invaded Malayalam. The districts of Amara-Soolya and Yelusavirasime, ancient appendages of Coorgs (Kodavas) were alienated, and Coorga itself was parceled out in Jaghirs. The period when this partition took place is not exactly stated.

"This authority of the Mysore Goverhment was at different times disputed by the Coorgs (Kodava) chiefs.

"CAPTIVITY AND ESCAPE: In-----the Raja Haleri Viraraja Wodeyar and his brother, both infants, were conveyed to the fort of Peryapatna, where they were held in captivity till----- when they both escaped. The period of their escape is variously stated.

"THE WAR OF I780 ETC:- During the war of I780-84, the Coorga (Kodavas) people made common cause with the Company against the Mysoreans. Oota or Ootia Naig (Nayak)* appeared as their civil and military chief. This man anxiously looked to the British for protection but was necessarily abandoned by them when in consequence of the treaty of Peace concluded between Great Britain and France orders were received in India for opening negotiations with Tippu Sultan on liberal terms-----@"

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* Who this OOTA NAYAK is not clear, whether the prince himself was called as such or whether it refers to Beppunad Uthay Nayak, or some other Nayaks by that name- is not known.
@ The gaps in this quotation was in the original writings as well.

The political divisions of Kodagu without the external districts of Amara, Sulya, Puttur, Peryapatna etc, consisted of six taluqs and thirty-five Nads, and those Nads were very small in size, and each Nad with an average number of eight or ten villages. That kind of division of a small district certainly helped those in charge of administration, and the Rajas in the I7th and the I8th centuries concentrated their interests mostly to this part of Kodagu where the Kodavas, the only amcient inhabitants, barring a few tribals, lived for centuries.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST KODAGU CHRONICLE BY MAHONEY.

CAPT. MAHONEY'S WORK:-

James Sibbold in about I785, Robert Taylor in I790 and Capt. Macleod in I795 wrote long reports concerning the political situation of Kodagu of the time, and all these British officials stressed on the strategic situation and importance of the land, the distinct characteristics of the people and so on. It could be said that Robert Taylor was the first Englishman who wrote as such after travelling from Tellichery to Nalknad through Virarajpet and that was during the first half of the year I790. It was Taylor's diplomacy that got Kodagu to the British in I790 when the famous treaty of Tellichery was signed. Capt. Murray was the first Resident in Kodagu with his headquarters in Virarajpet, and after him came Capt. Dennis Mahoney who resided in Nalknad for some time.

Sibbold, Taylor and Macleod had written only on the existing situation of Kodagu, but it fell on the shoulders of Mahoney to go into the deep past and thus bring out a historical review of the Kodagu politics. In that way, Mahoney could even be said that he was the first historian of Kodagu. He collected information from the Raja and many people and for the purpose, he even went as far as Sulya, and it was certainly a great job that he did when there was nothing written about Kodagu. After ten years the Raja got his 'Rajendraname' written, but it was a belated as well as a biased work, while Capt. Mahoney did the work as a pioneer historian. Submitting the work to the Governor-General Earl of Mornington, on the 23rd June I798, John Spencer, J. Hartley and J. Uthroff, said that:

"We have the honour of submitting for your perusal a summary of transactions in the "Coorga (Kodagu) district, digested by Capt. Denis Mahoney, which as far as relates to "the Amara and Sulya question, may be found to form an useful accompaniment to, and, in "several parts an essential improvement on, the extract from the Raja's records forwarded "to your Lordship's predecessor in our letter of the 30th March (I798)."

"THOROUGHLY CONSIDERED":-

Capt. Mahoney succeeded Capt. Murray as Resident of Kodagu, and he was entrusted to do this job, which came out in the form of a report to the Government in March I798. Submitting the work, to John Spencer and others of Tellichery, of the office of the Board of Commissioners, Denis Mahoney wrote, that:

"------When (I) first arrived at this place from the coast, I investigated by con-
"versations with the Raja, the history of the present Coorg (Kodagu) possessions having
"retrospect to as remote a period as the authorities sanctioned. I exerted every possible
"means to the same end whilst in the lower Districts of Amara and Sulya, and, obtained what-
"ever little knowledge the better order of inhabitants there were capable of affording on
"like points. Returned here lately, I went through the few records the Raja is possessed
"of, carefully noting the heads of events that appeared connected with what I had in view
"having by those means made acquainted myself with all that was to be hoped from the utmost
"industry and patience. I thoroughly considered of the materials thus brought together
"and after having duly weighed the tenor of your instructions and the specific ends thereby
"sought after, I determined on going to the whole- the form of a general narrative as in
"fact comprising a detail of occurrences from the earliest period that could be traced with
"any degree of certainty. No. One of the accompanying enclosures will accordingly be found
"a record of transactions in 'Coorg Mallu' (?) (or Coorg Maathu- Kodagu language) and of the
"neighbouring countries as connected therewith, when bringing together such documents for
"your information.

"Gentlemen, it was under the conviction that I was thereby affording the only ground
"upon which opinion could rest, or any substantial conclusion be drawn from; in short, I have
"been actuated by the best intentions and the event of your expectations not being thereby
"fully answered, I shall lament more as my misfortune than my fault.

"------The Government, the prepossessor of the people, and the total want of the common-
"est legal documents, prove so many obstacles in the way to truth when such is the case, to
"assume ultimate responsibility exceeds the privilege of any individual whether the act be
"considered in support to himself or justice towards his employers any partial or detached
"authority (that) I might have presented could have carried but unsubstantial weight, while
"I become involved in the just mentioned predicament------the most insignificant occurrences
"very generally correct and give full weight to those of the greater note-----".

MAHONEY BEGAN THUS:-

The short sketch of Kodagu history as narrated by Mahoney for the first time began thus:

"Any research that has for object to trace his original and lawful possessions of a count-
"ry where the proofs and documents usual to more civilised parts, have either no being, or
"are not to be discovered the end thus sought after can only be effected when aided by a de-
"tail of all transactions that may be said to bear the stamp of general concurrence or assert-
"ion on the part of the people. In this view have I brought together the following abridged
"account of'Coorga Malla' (those who talk Kodagu language ?). It goes not back any consider-
"able period, yet so far only does the best authority sanction, and as the events alluded to
"throughout, are supposed in like manner by what must be deemed the best authority to be had,
"I allow myself to hope some substantial effect may result therefrom.

"I. Shaleevaan (Shalivahana), an ancient king of great fame:-

"Shalivahana was a great king who in former times ruled over all the territories south "of Cosses (Kaashi or Benares.)

"His reign gave rise to the Era of Shalivahana Shaka, I790 years down to the present "period:-----according to which the people of Coorgg (Kodagu) reckon the present Canarase "(Kannada or Hindu) year of 'Colauytee'(?), the I720th.

"The Coorg (Kodavas)- a distinct people and governed by the House of Haleri:

"On the demise of this prince (of Haleri), the countries included in the tract just "alluded to, became, as many separate kingdoms. The Coorgas (Kodavas) were constituted "a distinct people and have ever since been governed by the House of Haleri.

"The Annals of Coorug (Kodagu) traced no further back than I554 of the Shalivahana Era:

"Whether owing to revolutions that may have taken place, to the genius and disposition "of a people habituated as the Coorgas (Kodavas) always have been, to the most unsettled, "nay to a style of life at times approaching to savage or to whatever other cause, it is "difficult to say, but there exists not any material, by which to trace the History of this "country further back than I554 of the Shalivahana Shaka."

"A PERIOD OF I66 YEARS":-

After beginning his narrative in the above manner, Capt. Mahoney next came down to refer to the dynasty of the ruling Raja, when he stated thus:

"A period of I66 years; The records such as they are, that throw a light on the latter "period of I66 years have been entirely collected by the reigning Raja whose information "was principally drawn from conversations with his father and other aged men, in the very "early part of his life; and from fragments here and there picked up within those few years, "and as the general tendency of those records have been found to correspond with accounts "received from a variety of the inhabitants conversed with throughout the country-----.

"Mudduraja Wodeyar, Raja of Coorg (Kodagu) in I554 of the Shalivahana Shaka, had three "sons: He (Mudduraja) governed Kodagu I66 years ago-----Seerbai Doddavirappa Wodeyar, ----- "the second son Appaji Raja and the third Nandaraja.....

"Haleri, the ancient residence of the Raja of Kodagu: In former times, (Haleri) was "the principal residence of the Rajas------Makearee (Madikeri) was first built by Mudduraja "Wodeyar who bestowed it on his eldest son whom he shortly after seated on the throne.

"-----Mudduraja retired himself from all public business-----Appaji Raja lived with his "father at Haleri-----and a place at Horamale was allotted for the residence of (Nanda Raja) "------The territory of Kodagu is mentioned as extending eastward in those days to a place "called 'Oodoor Coorug Hally' or Hodoor Coorghully, a little beyond 'Cottah Malevaree' or "Kattemallaavadi, where a very conspicuous stone marked the boundary.

"Peryapatna was considered as belonging to Kodagu governed by Nanjaraja-----who was "connected to the Haleri house.....The Ikkeri Rajaship included the country's known by "the names of Bedanore, Bilgee, Mangalore, Nileshwara and many others yielding a total re- "venue of I8 lakhs of Pagodas and was possessed by Swami Somashekara Nayak.....

"-----A series of hostilities between the Rajas of Mysore and Kodagu, led to the "capture of Peryapatna by the former and the total destruction of the Raja and his family. "Thus was it formally separated from the Kodagu dependancies. The Mysore Raja, soon after "this, advanced into Kodagu with a considerable army which Doddavirappa most successfully "opposed at a place called Palpare-----.

"It was during this interim of this invasion that the Kote Raja of Malabar, insti- "gated by a man of Kodagu, marched a body of Nairs up to the Tomara Ghat-----but they were "soon surrounded and cut to pieces."

IKKERI AND KODAGU:-

Capt. Mahoney had taken immense trouble to collect information concerning the ancient Kodagu when there was nothing in record to help him in his work. The following are a few of the facts that he has mentioned in brief in his work:

"Bellarey was partly conquered by the Mysore Raja-----The Kodagu Raja possesses the Yelu- "savirasime, and the Mysore Raja attempts to wrest it from him-----It was agreed to vest the "management of the same in the Kodagu Raja-----Somashekar Naik of Ikkeri invaded Cherakkal---- "and Kodagu stands security for the ransom demanded by Somashekara from the Cherakal Raja----- "but Cherakkal Raja fails to keep up the promise made to the Kodagu Raja-----"

Writing about the connections "between the Rajas of Ikkeri and Kodagu", Capt. Mahoney wrote as below:

"A great degree of intimacy had at all times subsisted between the Rajas of Ikkeri and "Kodagu; it is also asserted that they were nearly related-----It appears that Somashekar "Naik is consequently induced to make the Kodagu Raja whom he styles as his son, a gift of "a small tract of territory below the Ghats, for his future nourishment, or, in other terms, "to supply him with milk and butter-----As the name thereto given goes to imply Amara- ex- "pressing milk and butter-----This donation (of the territory of the name- Amara) of the "Ikkeri Raja was composed of portions from villages included in a division of the lower "country denominated as 'Magane' districts. The four villages were Kadaba, Bellare, Benda- "ree and Sulya------Sulya was purchased by the Kodagu Raja from Ikkeri whose Naiks had cont- "ributed money to the temples above the Ghats, and particularly to the Bhagamandala temple---- "

Capt. Mahoney then goes on to state about the personal life of the Raja Dodavirappa and the tragic episodes concerning the members of his family. It is said that the Raja threw his son Appaji into a dungeon "where he languished for twelve years, and it is supposed, was then put to death". Most of these facts seem to have been given to him by Viraraja since much of these things are seen in the Rajendraname also, a work dictated by the Raja himself, some years after Mahoney's work.

THE SUCCESSIONS:-

After the death of Dodavirappa, his grandson Chikavirappa became the Raja of Coorg (or Kodagu), and the latter was so called due to "the dimunitiveness of his person; his growth was checked by confinement," Almost at this time, Somashekar of Ikkeri also died, and he was succeeded by his adopted son Boodi Basappa Naik, and in Mysore Dodakrishna Raja died, and he was succeeded by Chamaraja. Mahoney's narrative brings all these episodes into a perfect chronology, and he had taken great trouble to collect all this information. His account of the situation goes as under:-

"The death of these three Rajas (of Kodagu, Mysore and Ikkeri) happened within a short "period of each other. A year and a half after Chamaraja succeeded to the throne of "Mysore, his subjects from causes of disaffection to his person or exwited by the machi- "nations of some ill-minded men, seized and confined him in the Fort of Koppal Doorg. His "young son Chika Krishna Raja is made to succeed him at which time Chikavirappa ruled in "Kodagu and Boodi Basappa Naik in Ikkeri------.

"It may be necessary to observe at this place that during the reigns of the above prin- "cess, who principally swayed in the countries under view here, the districts of Amara "and Sulya and one half of Yelusavirasime remained through unquestioned possession of the "Kodagu Rajas. The revolutions that will be found to have taken place shortly after this "period in the Ikkeri and Mysore kingdoms, announced themselves by the death of both Rajas "and the succession of women to the throne. The Rani Irmajee (Rani Virammaji) succeeded "Boodi Basappa in Ikkeri, and in Mysore Rani Dodamma (Devarajammanni) and the junior queen "Rani Laxmammanni Krishna Raja, succeeded-----.

EMERGENCE OF HYDER ALI:-

Capt. Mahoni who wrote this chronicle much before Mark Wilkes wrote his History of Mysore, has eminently succeeded in his attempt in chronicling the past events. Writing about the emergence of Hyder Ali, Mahoni wrote that:

"-----Hyder Naik appears now in the service of Karachuri Nanjaraja, the Generalissimo "of the Mysore Forces, (and he was) the Princes principal manager for all affairs. Things "continued in this order for ten years when the Rani's tender partiality towards a Brahmin, "named Khande Rao, filling some under station in her house-hold, began to attract the pub- "lic notice. Her (the Dowager queen Devarajammanni's) affections for this minion so far "prevailed as to induce her to invest him with the first powers in the State. As soon as "accounts of all these circumstances reached Kalachuri Nanjarajayya, he formed the design "of seizing Khande Rao, and, accordingly exerted both force and strategem to gain this "end. The Rani learning the danger to which her favourite is exposed, and, gains over "a considerable part of the army in order to oppose and revenge herself of the General.

"-----Hyder Naik was put in the command of the troops, and directed the measures which

"which Nanjarajayya wished to be pursued. Hyder very soon subdued the Rani's party, "seized Khande Rao and threw him into a dungeon and made the Rani a prisoner in her own "palace. From this moment all is (?) grasped by him. The country, the army and treas- "ure were Hyder's and every person presuming to oppose or even deny his power is put to "death. His friends and relations were called into filling the first offices and a comp- "lete new order of things were established.

"Hyder having thus secured his authority at Srirangapatna, he proceeded towards Mysore "in the ostensible intention of fendering to Nanjarajayya an account of his Ministry----- "when Nanjarajayya was consequently attacked----(and finally) became a prisoner of Hyder "Ali-----Hyder had now surmounted every difficulty and had become a complete sovereign of "Mysore-----"

HYDER ALI AND KODAGU:-

Hyder Ali had now taken to extensive campaigns in order to extend the kingdom of Mysore, and Captain Mahoney tells about Hyder's connection with Kodagu, as under:

"------He (Hyder) took occasion to object to Yelusavirasime being solely administered by "the Kodagu Raja as the country ~~divided~~ stood divided between the both Sarkars. The bound- "ary was determined on by mutual consent of Hyder and Chikavirappa Wodeyar of Kodagu, and a "fort erected by the former on his frontiers which received the name- Mallipatna-----.

"-----The inconsistencies of Rani Virammaji of Ikkeri about the same time presented a fur- "ther field for Hyder's ambition. The Rani became enamoured of a Lingayat among her depend- "ants named Nimbayya whom she raised to consequence by every means in her power. Intoxicat- "ed with his good fortune, this protege began to consider the young prince destined for the "throne as the usurper of his rights and a barrier to his further preferment. Such causes "of jealousy and uneasiness were represented to the Rani-----after which Nimbayya was arrested "with all power----.

"A conduct like this (the murder of the prince) could not fail to challenge general horror. "The people murmered and evinced symptoms of great unwillingness to submit. The experienced "and crafty Hyder was at hand to notice the ebb and flow in the tide of affairs in Ikkeri. "He seized the propitious moment, entered her kingdom at the head of the large army-----and "completed the conquest of it.

"Nimbayya was put to death and the Rani was confined in the fort of Kevaldoorg where she "died. Hyder assumed the title of Hyder Ali Bahadur, and after the conquest of Ikkeri he "called himself the Nawab Hyder Ali-----Chikavirappa (of Kodagu, in the meantime) died. With "him became extinct the elder branch of Dodavirappa's family. There remained the two already "noticed- of Haleri and Horamale, the former possessed the right of succession, but was oppos- "ed. Of the house of Haleri, two were noticed viz, Mudduraja----and Muddaiah of Horamale----.

"The administration of affairs continued with the two Rajas, (Muuduraja and Muddayya) joint- "ly, and for one year, neither being crowned during the time. (After four years in ~~18~~ 1770) both

'both died. Lingaraja of the House of Haleri and Mallayya Raja, son of the deceased 'Raja of Horamale, became the-----representatives. A period of eight years had now elaps-'ed since the conquest of Nuggur (Nagar ?), and its dependencies during which time the 'Kodagu Raja's right to the districts of Amara and Sulya remained unquestioned."

HYDER -A DECIDING FACTOR:-

Mahoney's narrative continued as below:

"------Nawab Hyder's enquiry took place, and when it was made evident that they (Amara 'and Sulya) had belonged to Kodagu during a part of the reign of Somashekara of Ikkeri, 'and that had continued to be so during those times of Boodi Basappa Naik and the Rani 'Virammaji, and that eight years since his conquest (of Ikkeri), Hyder had further sanct-'ioned the Kodagu Raja's right to them-----.

"So fully did the Nawab appeared (to have been) pleased with the result of the investi-'gation-----that he observed that: "If the Ikkeri Raja has thus noticed the Kodagu Raja '(as a son), I am willing (that) he should also have marks of my favour; Let him, there-'fore, hold the districts of Panje and Bellare from my bounty."

"Thus, Amara and Sulya appeared to have been the ancient possessions of Kodagu while 'the districts of Panje and Bellare are further added to their country.

"Six months after the above transactions, the two pretenders in Kodagu stood up; the 'first, Lingaraja-----the latter, Devappa Raja-----Great disturbance and acts of violence 'ensued. Lingaraja, unable to oppose his adversary, retired without the territory of 'Kodagu to Belur near Manjrabad, taking ~~him~~ with him his nephew, Appaji Raja, and his three 'sons, and also his eldest, (the present Raja, Viraraja the Elder), where they continued 'to reside until the state of affairs in Kodagu favoured their return.

"The disposition lately evinced by the Nawab towards the Kodagu family readily suggest-'ed to Lingaraja to look to that quarter in his present distressed situation. He (Linga 'Raja) accordingly addressed the injustices done-----and oppressions exercised by the 'usurpers (Devappa and his supporters.)

"Hyder was then busy with the Mahrattas, but in the fourth year (in 1774 ?), he came 'with a force in support of Linga Raja. The first attempt proved unsuccessful, and a 'more judicious plan was adopted and affairs were brought about to the utmost wish of Linga 'Raja (who was reinstated). Devappa Raja was compelled to seek refuge in Kote (Malabar), 'the Raja of which obliged him to pay a large sum of money as the ransom of his head which 'he claimed in atonement for that of the one of his family formerly put to death in Kodagu. 'He then quit that country and appeared to have died shortly after------.

HYDER'S INTERFERENCE:-

With the death of Devappa, the Horamale branch of the Haleri family became extinct, and Hyder Ali reinstated Lingaraja on the Kodagu throne. But he also demanded a large sum of money as reimbursement of the expenses he had been at so doing. Lingaraja pleaded his

his inability tp pay, and, thereafter, a formal agreement was entered into between Hyder Ali and the Raja. Capt. Mahoney continued to state that:

"The Kodagu Raja agreed to pay Hyder a yearly tribute of Rs. 24,000. Previous to this "settlement, Lingaraja had suggested to the Nawab that Kalpati had formerly constituted the "southern boundary of Kodagu and it had then been separated therefrom-from since sixty or "seventy years and was ever since forcibly withheld by the Kote Raja. He further added "that an enquiry of the elder inhabitants would prove what he said to be fact.

"Linga Raja, by the Nawab's desire, proceeded to Srirangapatna whither many of the in-"habitants of Kalpati were summoned. Their testimony appeared to have been satisfied Hyder "of the Kodagu Raja's right to that tract country of the country, and therefore, the Raja "was authorised to take possession of that (Kalpavati).

"As soon as the above transactions were concluded-----Hyder observed to Lingaraja, "I have "reinstated you in the possessions of your ancestors by expelling the usurper Devappa. I "have further secured to you the country south of your present boundary as far as Kalpati, "the ancient right of your family. I now require the share of Yelusavirasime above the Ghats, "and Amara, Sulya, Panje and Ballare below.

"It was in vain for Linga Raja at this time to remonstrate when a murmer might have caused "his utter destruction. Yelusavirasime became thence annexed to Arkalgode and the lower "districts of Amara, Sulya, Panje and Bellare were placed under Mangalore. So these dist-"ricts were just seized on by Hyder, and Linga Raja marched to Kalpati with 3,000 men. Here "he immediately erected a fort and remained an entire year in adjusting all necessary affairs, "when he returned to Madikeri bringing with him 1000 men and leaving a permanent body of 2000 "men at that station (Kalpati)."

HYDER'S MANAGEMENT:-

After helping the Kodagu Raja to get Kalpavati and taking from him in return the other Western districts, Hyder Ali now found another opportunity to manage the Kodagu affairs through his governors, after the death of the Raja and whose sons were just the minors. Capt. Mahoney proceeds to state that:

"The 2000 Kodagu remained at Kalpavati for six years, but they were compelled to abandon "it-----from want of provisions-----and the Kote Raja had possessed every neighbouring inlet. "An unsuccessful attempt was made (after a couple of years) to regain Kalpati, whereon the two princes of the Kodagu family were killed-----and a great number of men too----The remaind-"er fled back in utmost disorder and dismay.....Lingaraja who continued to manage the affairs "of the kingdom died (in 1780) leaving the kingdom to his eldest son, Viraraja Wodeyar, as "Appajiraja (the brother of Lingaraja) and his two sons, were also killed. When the Kalpati "expedition took place, Viraraja (the Elder) was between sixteen and seventee years of age.

"-----As soon as Hyder Ali learnt about the death of Linga Raja, he addressed himself to "young Viraraja, saying that, "a long intercourse of friendship has subsisted between my

"my Sirkar and your family, and I learnt with infinite regret the death of your late worthy "parent. I must therefore inform you that your age and inexperience render you as yet "unfit for the purposes of Government. I propose to prove myself the guardian of your "youth and your dominions, until (you are) able to manage for yourself. Do you in conse-"quence remain quiet, and I will manage everything?

"Thus was the Raja (Viraraja the Elder was then I6), was laid aside, and his country "was entirely possessed by the Nawab Hyder Ali. A Brahmin named Subbarasayya was placed "at the head of affairs in Kodagu and the Nawab's troops introduced into most part of it. "Soon after this, Hyder went into the Karnatic whither he was called by his war with the "English. Subbarasayya shortly discovered the disposition of the inhabitants little fav-"ourable to his Government. He accordingly addressed his master (Hyder) acquainting with "the symptoms as they manifested themselves throughout.

"Giving it as his opinion, Subbarasayya wrote that "as long as the young Raja was "allowed to reside in the country, no hope could be entertained of a full submission to "the Sirkar's authority (Hyder's)" and commending his removal with the whole of his family, "Subbarasayya continued to administer Kodagu for some time."

THE PEOPLE REBELLED:-

Capt. Mahoney had now come to state the affairs of his own time and that of the Raja's, and most of what he stated were the versions given to him by the Raja himself and some elderly people of the time. Much of this is also found in the Rajendraname that was got written by the Raja after eight years of Mahoney's writing this. The latter wrote that:

"-----The people then rose up in a mass declaring their lawful Raja as just laid aside, "and that the Government of the country had been usurped by strangers and avowed their "determination to inflict a due punishment----on the authors as well as the actors in such "inquity. They surrounded the Madikeri fort and soon possessed of it-----putting most of "the Nawab's troops to the sword. Subbarasayya found means however to make good his es-"cape. The Nawab's minister Purnayya, decided that Viraraja, his wives, his children "and domestics be conveyed without loss of time to Gorur, a small fort near Maharanidurg, "and the order was executed in the month of Bhadrapad, and the death of Hyder Ali took "place in the following year (I782).

"When the inhabitants of Kodagu had thus successfully opposed this intruding power, "and took Madikeri palace and levelled it (to the ground), they resumed also the possess-"ion of all the countries that their Raja had been deprived of by Hyder Ali viz, Amara, "Sulya, Panje, Bellare and Yelusavirasime.

"As soon as Tippu had taken the management of affairs in Mysore, he invited the Kodagu "Raja (who was in Gorur Fort) to take up his residence at Peryapatna, as a place of greater "safety. An English army being at this time actively employed in the neighbourhood, the

"the Raja knew too well the nature of this invitation to think of starting any objections. "His compliance was immediate and the whole family was lodged in Peryapatna.

"-----The small-pox declared itself shortly after in the Fort of Peryapatna, and out "of about 500 that originally entered, there remained at the end of the year not more than "forty or fifty (people). Among those that fell victims on this occasion, the Raja had "to lament a mother, three sisters and many other near relations. The inveteracy with "which the malady raged is attributed to the want of every comfort and many necessaries, "confinement to every inadequate space and being most of the day exposed either to the rain "or sun-----".

TIPPU SULTAN'S RAIDS:-

The reports on Tippu's campaigns and expeditions into Kodagu were written comprehensively in the Rajendraname as dictated by the Raja. Capt. Mahoney too was mostly prompted by the Raja's versions of the story when he wrote this note in 1797-98, but basically the facts are the same though differently worded. It is said that:

"-----When Tippu's army moved to Mangalore, he detached an army of 20,000 men under "Khajih Khan and Ramaji Salankar to penetrate into and take possession of Amara, Sulya, Panje "and Bellare-----Tippu's force is said to have suffered most considerably in the attempt and "to have been shortly compelled to rejoin Tippu at Mangalore. This happened (in) the first "month of Krodha (?)-----(when) Tippu ascended the Astrah (Astagram ?) Ghat and came with his "army to Peryapatna. Early in the evening-----his army entered Kodagu by different roads."

The details concerning this has been quoted from Mahoney's notes in the other chapters. Some of the sentences ~~xx~~ so quoted seem to have been repeated there because the narrative required it to be so. One such reference is like the below stated fact:-

"Lally (the French General) experienced great opposition and was unable to penetrate (thr-"ough Siddapur), but Tippu's army made good their way. The party was detached to the relief "of Lally, and the whole army joined-----The rains soon being close at hand, an amicable adjust-"ment was deemed expedient, and it was accordingly entered into by Tippu with the whole of the "inhabitants, above and below the Ghats. Past offences were ostensibly pardoned and the de-"pendent districts completely possessed. Mir Jamaluddin, stationed at Madikeri with 4000 men, "ordered to rebuild the fort, and the entire people of the country committed to the superint-"endence of Syed Rassul Ali. With the affairs thus ordained, Tippu returned to Srirangapatna.

"After the end of Rasul Ali's influence over Kodagu, the people again took the management "of Kodagu into their hands-----Madikeri fort was half-finished by this time-----Tippu left "Srirangapatna with a considerable force, joined Jamaluddin at Bettadpur and entered Kodagu. "From Santemaal, he detached half his force to Madikeri where serious opposition was made to this party. The Kodagu army waited for them about half way-----and they were necessitated to "submit to a great loss. Repeated experience now warranted Tippu in the conviction that a

"a regular warfare with the people of Kodagu afforded not the most distant hope of their "subjugation. His guilty mind, therefore, readily suggested the measure of their total "extirpation and furnished if possible proofs of still greater depravity and profaniness "in the mode by which he appeared to have carried his horrid purpose into execution."

TIPPU'S ATROCITIES:-

Capt. Mahoney, perhaps, was the first man to put down in writing about the atrocities committed by Tippu Sultan in the years between I784 and I789, in Kodagu, although the figures given here and elsewhere seem to be grossly exaggerated and that may be due to the ignorance of the people of that time who reported those facts to the English writers. It must also be said that that most of the facts were supplied to Mahoney by the Raja himself, and that is confirmed by the fact that the same account is found repeated in the 'Rajendra-name' that was got written by the Raja, who in turn desired to depict Tippu as a monster. The details concerning Tippu's atrocities are given in other chapters and they are the quotations from the writing of Capt. Mahoney himself, who also said as below:

"-----The settlement of the country adjoining to Santemaal and Madikeri, occupied the "better part of a month after which the army moved to Bhagamandala where too like adjustments "were made. It was from this last place that under the most specious pretence, Tippu ex-"tended his baneful wings over the devoted inhabitants------".

Capt. Mahoney has blindly told what some Persian propaganda bulletins of the time might have written saying that "64,000 of the inhabitants (of Kodagu) were seized". As already said, this is an exaggerated figure because in those days the population of Kodagu was, perhaps, not even half of that figure. Mark Wilkes wrote that Tippu carried away 80,000 men and women and children, but it could be said with some certainty that the actual number of men and women so taken away from Kodagu might be not more than 5000 or even much less than that. One must here note that the old Persian or the local language records are totally unreliable. The British authors were not at all responsible for what they wrote because they were just giving as faithfully as possible from the records or versions left by the Indian writers, politicians, the Rajas and others.

It is said that "nearly I5,000 are said to have escaped from the Sultan's dominions," Even this figure also seem to be totally wrong and unreliable according to the facts stated above. Capt. Mahoney proceeds to say that:-

"The hardships endured by this immense concourse of unhappy victims exceed almost any "belief, for, the mind of the man is generally averse to knowledge-----As soon as the Army

"Army reached Peryapatna, the surviving people of Kodagu were disposed of in every direction "ion and thus lodged in so many Forts where all the males were circumcised-----Tippu, as "it had been before, observed the entire Kodagu people on the present occasion----."

THE KOTE RAJA -RETALIATED:-

According to Capt. Mahoney, Viraraja was in confinement for some time in Kote Raja's territory, and was made to execute a bond. Under the head, "His Life Declared Forfeited" and "Ransomed", Mahoney wrote that:

"-----Viraraja returned to his country. He had an opportunity of retaliating on the "Kote Raja about three months after the period just alluded to. Kote Raja ascended into "Kodagu in order to take possession of the districts that he flattered himself to have obtain- "ed. The balance of account for head for head is made to appear against the Kote Raja's "two ancestors-----slain by the latter's ancestors-----The Kodagu Raja claims, and is, re- "instated in the tract of the country North of Kalpati, which was noticed as having been the "ancient boundary of his kingdom. The Kote Raja was allowed to depart.

"When Viraraja had assumed a sufficient footing in his country, he began by dispossess- "ing all the Muslims whom Tippu had established here, dividing each property as they had "accumulated, or then enjoyed among his own people, and in return, for the indignities exer- "cised by their master on so many thousands of his subjects. He caused them to be made "to swallow swine's flesh, both ears bored and ponderous iron rings fixed therein in which "situation they were turned out on the road to Srirangapatna. The men of Adoni had it at "option to return to their own country, a privilege most took advantage of----.

Tippu's army had to experience a great difficulty, and the people of Kodagu, being themselves very good in the guerilla warfare, routed the Mysoreans led by Ghulam Ali Bakshi and others. Capt. Mahonni continued to say that:

"-----Encouraged by Ghulam Ali Bakshi's successful descent, the Sultan ordered a reinfor- "cement required on Malabar to march by way of Kodagu. Fazul Khan consequently made his "appearence with 5000 regular Infantry and 2000 Padeahs (peons) attended by a French Major "named Joan Hustoore (?). This body advanced without any opposition into the hearts of "the country. So pleased and lulled into security was Fazul Khan by the forbearence of the "Coorgs (the people of Kodagu), that he declared that he had no hostile designs against them, "that he was bound for Malabar and had intended making the Heggals Ghat his way. The "Kodagu Raja (Viraraja the Elder) about this time had provided himself with many necessaries "and brought his people into a tolerable order. The moment was so favourable that he fail- "ed not to turn to the utmost account the unguarded discovery (that) Fazzul Khan had made. "The troops encamped for a day at the head of the Heggala Ghat in order to collect the whole "of the baggage and followers (soldiers)-----The property (the booty) so collected by the "Raja on this occasion consisting of arms, ammunition, treasure, provisions, men and cattle

"cattle was considerable and may be said to have laid the foundation of those brilliant "exertions he afterwards made. The report of this defeat terrified the Sultan's people---- "who found a quantity of war-like stores and ammunition-----".

GALLANT EFFORTS OF KODAVAS:-

Capt. Mahony continued to state all about the exploits of the Raja and the people of Kodagu, the Kodavas particularly, long before they could get the assistance from any external sources. It was said that:

"-----When Tippu heard of these disasters, he sent his brother-in-law, Burran-Uddeen at "the head of the army of 15,000 regular Infantry and 5000 Peadahs (peons) with the orders "to seize the Raja (of Kodagu) and destroy his people, and also to lodge six months' pro- "visions in the forts garrissoned by his troops. Kushal Nagar (later Fraserpet) was fully "relieved, and the army when proceeding on the road to Madikeri (were) attacked by the "Coorgs (the people of Kodagu) who killed 400 men and secured a great share of the provi- "sions. Burran Uddeen lodged what remained in Madikeri, and unable to assist Beppunaar "(Beppunad) and Bhagamandala, and finding himself in other respects unqualified for the "service required, he returned with his army to Srirangapatna.

"Burran-ud-deen had no sooner reached Srirangapatna then he received orders to prepare "again for Kodagu. The Sultan himself at this time was about to depart for Malabar whi- "ther he directed Burran-ud-deen to follow so soon as the ends looked after in Kodagu "should be accomplished. The Sultan set out from Srirangapatna and Burran-ud-deen still "continued (to be) there-----.

"In this (interim and rainy) period, Virarajendra being apprized of the designs of the "enemy marched against Kushalnagar which he appeared to have seized by a bold and most "masterly Coup-de-Main in the open day (light). His people entered promiscuous with the "Sultan's whom they almost entirely put to the sword out of 700 that formed the nominal "garrison; 400 with the Killedar, lost their heads. A quantity of ammunition and other "articles being secured, the place was set fire to. Beppunad next surrendered after a "resistance of three days. Seven guns, some ammunition and other articles were found "here. This fort was in like manner destroyed-----.

"The country was favourable to their mode of attack-----Sheik Amir fled in the course "of the night and joined Burra-ud-deen. They continued together and marched towards Bha- "gamandala at 'Kauntanaar' (Kantamurnad). Some opposition was given but at Nuruti (is it "Nelaji ?) in Nalknaar (Nalknad), a most serious conflict took place when the Coorgs (Koda- "vas) as usual claimed the complete victory having killed a member of the enemies and took "the greater part of their provisions. When Buraan-ud-deen reached Bhagamandala, he found "himself so short in eatables as to be under the necessity of having resource to the dist- "ricts below the Ghats as well, for, himself as to deposit in this and other forts----".

THE KODAGU PEOPLE WON:-

The Coorgs (the people of Kodagu) fought steadfastly from post to post and recovered

recovered all the important forts after chasing the men of Tippu. Capt. Mahoney said:

"-----Burran-ud-deen returned to Bhagamandala, and, from thence to Nalknad. From there "he proceeded to Beppunad, and, after attempting in vein, the Heggala and other Ghats, he "chose the road to Srirangapatna-----The other Muslim troops also withdrew-----About two "months later, 10,000 of the Sultan's troops entered Kodagu with a design to reduce Madikeri "bringing with them for that purpose a vast quantity of provisions-----.

"Bhagamandala was next attacked and taken by the people of Kodagu-----Nine guns and some "ammunition and provisions etc (were) destroyed-----Appaji Raja, the Raja's brother, was "sent down to the Mensea Ghat with a strong force. He recovered the districts of Amara, "Sulya, Panje and Bellare, and afterwards attended the conquest of the north-west----and "Mangalore-----Appaji then returned and the whole management of the affairs throughout the "tract-----was committed to Kombale Naik (the Killedar of Madikeri) which he continued to "exercise until the late peace between the hon'ble Company and the Raja-----.

"The Raja next marched in person, and after seizing the whole of Yelusavirasime----add-"ed to his country 'Maugaur' (is it Chikmagalur ?)-----The head-Katcheri (Munshi) 'Mandee-"Appen Appayen' (or Mande-appan, Appayan or Mandepanda Appayya) and Nagger Hally (?) conti-"nued the sole managers of those quarters until the peace- just mentioned when all except "the half of Yelusavirasime was abandoned.....

"An effort was made to the establishment of friendship and union between the two Sirkars, "and a treaty appeared to have been accordingly entered into-----A last forcible attempt was "made by Tippu through Kadar Khan who entered Kodagu with 7000 men but he was entirely de-"feated, and after the most humble solicitations, he was permitted to return unmolested----".

This narrative of Capt. Mahoney ends with the statement that, "The English army ascended "the Heggala Ghat-----" in 1791, and the report is signed by Capt. Mahoney on the 27th May 1799. Much of what is stated above seems to be the Raja's version because the author has committed a couple of serious factual errors, and that was because he wrote just what the raja told him. Nowhere the author said about the Coorgs (Kodavas) or their leaders appealing for the help of the English which they did many times since 1783 according to the letters of James Sibbald and others. Mahoney's writing that the English "made overtures to the Kodagu Raja for friendship", should have been the other way round, because it was the people on behalf of the Raja who made 'overtures' to the English. The last sentence in Mahoney's report is that, "The occurrence that have been since taken place are of too great notoriety to require any detailed mention here", and, of course, this too was the statement of the Raja which the latter exaggerated when he dictated his 'Rajendraname' after a few years.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BRITISH INTERVENTION BEGAN.

HYDER'S GUARDIANSHIP:-

James Sibbald resided at the court of Hyder Ali for twelve years in a public capacity. He got through one Aziz Saheb, an officer in Mysore service, and also a Governor of Bedanur in 1763. J. Sibbald in his report wrote some more about Kodagu in the letter that has been quoted already behind. He wrote, that:-

"The distance from Tellicherry to Srirangapatna is within 110 miles. The road leads "through Cherakkal for 30 miles eastwards, and those of the Coorga (Kodagu) Raja which con- "fine on the Western boundary of Mysore near Peryapatna, a considerable town-----within 35 "miles from Srirangapatna.

"The country from the sea coast to the foot of Mysore mountains, abounding in rice fields "and covered with thick woods in many places, would not admit of cavalry acting with vigour "or effect, and would consequently deprive the Mysoreans of their great aid in maintaining "an European war."

The quarrel between the two branches of the Kodagu royal family was the main cause for Hyder Ali to take interest in Kodagu although he had begun his Kodagu campaigns in 1763. Devappa Raja of the Horamale branch was the rightful heir but Lingaraja I of the Haleri line asserted his own right with the help of Hyder Ali, and that ended in a disastrous consequence with the extinct of the Horamale branch. Hyder retained his authority over Kodagu for some time with Lingaraja acting as just a stooge of his, and after the death of the Raja, Hyder placed himself as the guardian of the minor children of the late Raja. James Sibbald continued to say that:

"----It will now be requisite that I furnish you with the information which I have pro- "cured of the political temper and inclination of the Raja of Coorgha (Kodagu), without "whose acquiescence and even zealous concurrence in the cause, the success of our measures "might at least be rendered dubious and unpromising.

"This chief is the only tributary whose territories have not been subdued or immediate- "ly annexed to the Mysore dominions. Whether from the natural strength inherent in the "province or from the military abilities of the chief, he has been enabled to maintain, for "the space of ten years, a certain species of independence."

"HOME MISCELLANEOUS SERIES:"-

The reports sent by the visiting Britishers had consisted of information pertaining to the local politics. In one such "Home Miscellaneous Series", Volume 685 of 1785 sent to

to the Home Government through Fort William, some more facts about Hyder's time in Kodagu were given and that went through Capt. Macleod. In that, it was said that:

"A great part of that tract of country called Malabar coast is in the immediate possess-
"ion of Hindu chiefs, tributary to the Mysore prince who have been frequently in arms against
"him-----Hyder derived a formidable strength to his artillery from an unfortunate event which
"in the year 1776-77, took place in Karnatic.

"The territories extending from Calicut to Palcatachery (Palghat) are in the possession of
"the Nairs, a professionally military people, and, who, from being compelled into a state of
"vassalage by the Mysore prince, would doubtless, on seeing a reasonable prospect of success,
"endeavour to throw off the yoke. The Zamorin or the principal chief of the Nairs, often
"took arms against Hyder and during our former war with Hyder, he offered to cooperate with
"our forces on the provision of obtaining possession of Palcatacherry----"

From this, it was clear that the English were trying to muster support of the chiefs of the coastal regions against Hyder Ali. They had also known by that time that in the words of J. Sibbald that "the success of our measures without his zealous concurrence, might, at least, be rendered dubious". After the death of Lingaraja I who was a staunch ally of ~~the~~ Hyder, the Kodavas rose in febellion against Hyder's rule in 1780. Till then the arrangement was, J.Sibbald says, that:-

"On the stipulation of his (LingarajaI) remaining in the peaceable possession of his
"country, and in the full exercise of his power, he (the Raja) has agreed to pay into the
"Mysore treasury the annual amount of Rs. 35 lakhs."

But contrary to this agreement with Hyder Ali, Lingaraja organised a revolt against the Muslims although he died soon after in 1780. Sibbald stated about this thus:

"The Coorgha (Kodagu) Raja embracing the occasion of Hyder being engaged in a Karnatic
"war, declaredly revolted against his Government and that YOU MAY BE ENABLED TO FORM SOME
"JUDGMENT OF HIS POLITICAL PRINCIPLES AND THE USES WHICH A CONNECTION WITH HIM MAY EVENTUALLY
"be applied to. I will insert the copy of a letter which he (the Raja) wrote----".

COL. FRASER'S REPORT:-

It is not clear who exactly wrote to James Sibbald the above said letter stated as that of the Raja. Its contents were also not known. It seemed that Lingaraja after indulging in one treacherous deal against his cousin, must have now tried to get the British support to put down his benefactor Hyder Ali. That was why J. Sibbald spoke of the 'political principles" of the Raja. However, as the revolt started by Lingaraja against Hyder's men was going on, the Raja died in 1780, but the Kodavas continued their fight as they found that Hyder

Hyder had designed to carry away the late Raja's family out of Kodagu in the name of his guardianship. In the meantime, Hyder himself died in I782 and Tippu Sultan succeeded him. Col. Fraser's report gave a retrospect of these times as below:-

"In I780, Lingaraja, who had betrayed the Horamale branch of the family into the hands "of Hyder Ali, died, having a natural son Appaji, and two sons by his queen, Viraraja and "Lingaraja. Hyder destroyed the entire Horamale family now and declared himself guardian "of the two young Kodagu princes and appointed a Brahmin Subbarasayya, who had been former-"ly in the service of the Kodagu Rajas- as Mamaldar of Kodagu. In the same year Hyder Ali "led his army against Arcot. The Kodavas were indignant at the seizure of their princes "and the ascendancy of a Brahmin. In the monsoon (June I792) they broke into open insur-"rection, and in September the princes at the instigation of the Mamaldar, were deported "to the Gorur Fort. The Kodavas flew to arms and swept the Muslims from the country. "Hyder Ali died in (December) I782------".

As Tippu Sultan succeeded his father, he continued his father's policy and also the latter's campaigns. The British saw that Tippu was becoming a menace as he was harrassing the most of the chiefs of Malabar and others. Logan wrote in his 'Malabar', that:

"The Tellicherry factors addressed the English begging that Kodagu, Kollatiri, Kotta-"yam and Kodattnad Rajas and the Iruvallinad Nambiars might be secured independence. This "was in I784 when Tippu continued Hyder's policy."

What was the motive of Tippu in harrassing those poor people in those districts? Firstly to convert the people into the Islam and thus increase his followers and secondly the usual expansion programme of the kingdom. It was to stop this kind of atrocious thing that was taking place, perhaps, the British, came on the scene.

SOME MORE USEFUL RECORDS:-

After Tippu came to power, he investigated the right of the Kodagu Raja to hold Amara and Sulya, and these two small disputed districts were the subjects of lengthy correspondence for a long time. Thomas Munroe, Collector of Kanara, wrote in I800, that:-

"Both these (Amara and Sulia) were originally given in Jaghir by the Rani of Bedanur "to the Kodagu Raja. They were reannexed to Mangalore by Hyder Ali in I762, given up "again in I764 on account of the Raja's assistance to him at that time with large supplies "of rice and grain (that was the Raja- Chikavirappa), and again resumed by Hyder Ali in "I767 (in the time of Mudduraja and Muddayya Raja), prior to his entering Karnatic, and "continued under Mangalore till I790 when they were again seized by the Raja and have re-"mained in his hands ever since except the ten villages which reverted to Tippu at the "peace of I792 and continued to be so till last May (I799)-----".

Belur, Manjrabad, Arkalgode and Yelusavirasime districts were the Northern border areas, and among them Yelusavirasime had a chequered career after having had been passed to several hands. That taluq was under the chiefs of Ikkeri, Belur, Manjrabad and Mysore before coming into the hands of the Rajas of Kodagu. Col. B. Close wrote an account of this northern district in his report dated January I800, and said, that:-

"During the Government of the Rayahs (the Rayas of Vijayanagar), Belur which yielded a "revenue of three lakhs of Pagodas, was held as a Jaghir by one Krishnappa Nayak, a Paleygar, "and since that period Yelusavirasime is included in Arkalgode and the revenue paid to Mysore.

"The Raja of Kodagu having many years ago plundered and made himself master of the country, "the Raja of Mysore sent one Subba Rao, the manager of Belur, Hassan and Maharajdurga to Yelu-"savirasime with a force to expel him, and in which he succeeded. Those persons who had "assisted the Raja of Kodagu, were punished, and such as had refused to join him were reward-"ed with Jaghirs and lands to cultivate. This district of Yelusavirasime was again brought "under Mysore and revenues were paid to Mysore. It had I76 villages.

"The late Hyder Ali united to his Government, Kodagu country, on account of disobedient "and refractory conduct of the Raja and put in possession of Appaji, his near relation and "rival (Lingaraja I) who had formerly submitted himself (to Hyder). This man was desirous "of bringing Yelusavirasime under his authority, but was informed that this could not be done "as it was with Arkalgode and had no connection with Kodagu."

AND, YET OLD VERSIONS:-

The first official historian, Capt. Dennis Mahoney, gave a comprehensive account of the ancient situation of these neighbouring districts when he wrote his report about Kodagu in I798. Mahoney said that:-

"Haleri had been in former times the principal residence of the Rajas, and that continued "to be so when Madikeri was first built by Mudduraja----who governed Kodagu I66 years ago..... "The territory of Kodagu is mentioned as extending eastward in those days up to Koorghully, a "little beyond Kattemalavadi------The Ikkeri Rajaship included Bedanore, Bilgee, Mangalore, "Nileshwar and other districts yielding a revenue of I8 lakhs of Pagodas-----A series of hosti-"lities between the Rajas of Kodagu and of Mysore led to the capture of Peryapatna by the "former-----Thus it was formally separated from the Kodagu dependancies-----The Mysore Raja "was successfully opposed by Doddavirappa Wodeyar------and it was during this time, the Kote "Raja, instigated by a man of Kodagu, marched a body of Nairs up the Tomara Ghat.

"The Mysore Raja (after his defeat at Palpare), in his next expedition, made himself master "of a considerable part of the kingdom of Bellare-----and marched force and possessed himself "of Yelusavirasime-----but its management was vested in the Kodagu Raja and the revenue shared

"shared by both-----Somashekar of Ikkeri invaded Cherakkal while the latter solicited the "interference of the Kodagu Raja against the Chief of Ikkeri. The result was that a consi-"derable sum of money was demanded with ransom of Cherakkal and Kodagu became Cherakkal's "security for the payment thereof.

"Somashekar of Ikkeri was induced to make the Kodagu Raja whom he styled as his son, a "gift of a small tract of territory below the Ghats, for his future nourishment, or in other "terms, to supply him with milk and butter. The name therein goes to imply (that) AMARAH-"meaning 'milk and butter'-----The four villages were Kadaba, Bellare, Bendaree (?) and "Sulia-----Doddavirappa of Kodagu thought that people of Sulia would prove of the highest "convenience to some temples above the Ghat-----Later both Amara and Sulia were purchased "by the Kodagu Raja, and public ceremonies were performed in that connection."

TIPPU SULTAN EMERGED:-

In the introductory note on his book, 'An Officer', said that Kodagu, "a key to the military operations in the country, over which Hyder Ali established his dominion", was of great importance to the English. In the book published in 1857, the author said that:

"In ancient times, the Rajas of Kodagu who are mentioned by Ferishta, as being independ-"ent soverigns as far back as the year 1538, and were feudatories of the Ikkeri Government, "and, when Hyder Ali, having taken Ikkeri, incorporated the kingdom in his growing domin-"ions, he considered himself the liege lord of Kodagu; it is true that he was, for a long "time, failed in his assertion of suzerainty, but at last succeeded, by dint of force and "fraud, in coercing the refractory hill chiefs into a state of vassalage and enforcing the "payment of tribute.

"It was not till about this time that Kodagu became welknown to Europeans, and indeed. "the English may be said to have been first acquainted with it in the Mysore wars in which "the Company were engaged from the year 1782 to 1799----".

From 1782 to 1799, the seventeen years' time, was a period of incessant wars and skirmishes, and that was the time when Tippu Sultan pledged upon the conquest of Kodagu for fourfold reasons. Firstly, he wanted to carry on his father's wishes, secondly, he too wanted Kodagu as a highway to his coastal dominions; thirdly, he swore on destroying the English people and towards that end he did not like the Kodagu chiefs getting friendly with the English; and, fourthly, he realised the strategic situation of Kodagu which was an important area ruled by a native chief.

Soon after the death of Hyder Ali, General Mathews of the Bombay Army captured Nagar and Kodial (Mangalore) forts. But in May 1783, Tippu with his brother Karim Khan, and an old shrewd commander Muhammad Ali, rushed to the scene and besieged the Mangalore fort on the 23rd of that month. Col. John Campbell, a young officer of the 42nd Royal Highland Regi-

Regiment attacked Tippu who personally commanded his forces. The British lost their position after an intensely fought battle, and Col. Campbell was killed in I784 when he was only 32. The Supreme Council of Fort William applauded the brave defence of Mangalore under John Campbell who was supported by the British forces summoned from Tellichery and Bombay.

TIPPU SULTAN AND KODAGU:-

After recovering Mangalore, Tippu Sultan returned to Srirangapatna in I784 through Kodagu. With the success he achieved, Tippu was, no doubt, in a fine spirit that he directed Syed Hameed to enter Kodagu through Arkalgode. The Kodavas rushed to attack the force, and under the command of Keremane Hombale Nayak of Murnad, they drove the men of Tippu back to Mysore. Hombale Nayak, an only non-Kodava Commander of those times, did very well in the battle, and therefore, he was sent to Tulunad later on to recover the districts of Amara and Sulya from the Muslims, and, in which task he succeeded by capturing the whole of Puttur and round about districts.

Tippu Sultan was only 32 when he took over the reigns of his father's dominion. He lacked Hyder's tact and skill. He was emotional though more learned than his father, and courageous. Anyway, Tippu plunged all of a sudden to his expeditions against his powerful foes.

It was already said that in I780 the Raja of Kodagu, Lingaraja I, died leaving behind two sons by his queen, who were then minors. Haider Ali who had already been a care-taker of the Kodagu affairs during Lingaraja's time, was the guardian of the latter's children, and put them in the prison and later put them in the Gorur fort. The Kodavas, of course, revolted against the Mamaldar Subbarasayya, who was appointed by Hyder Ali. But before the latter could do anything, he died in Arcot in I782. After that, Tippu Sultan, instead of solving the Kodagu crisis and anarchy, he straightaway sent an army to Kodagu, and that army was turned back by the Kodagu soldiers. Thus Tippu failed in Kodagu in his very first campaign.

In the meantime, the Lingayat princes of Kodagu and their family who were camping in Kuruchi in Kiggatnad, came to Nalknad and stayed in Ketolira house for some time. The elder prince and heir, Viraraja took charge of the state affairs. He made arrangements to send the Pulianda family people to Maggula village near Virarajpet and started building the palace at the site selected which eventually became the famous Nalknad palace.

TIPPU'S SECOND CAMPAIGN:-

The Raja of Kodagu, the young Virarajaja, was still in Nalknad. He sent men to Kumbla, Manjeshwar, Bailangadi and other places of South Kanara to get some brahmins to Kodagu for religious services, and thus a new group of people were brought into this district about 180 years back.

The defeat of Tippu's army by Keremane Hombale Nayak's men in North Kodagu embittered the former so much that he set upon his raiding campaign in 1785 around Peryapatna, Belur and Manjrabad, and then marched into Kodagu, and this time it seemed that he had gained control of some parts of Kodagu. Tippu later appointed Nagappayya, a nephew of Subbarasayya, as Mamaldar or Governor of Kodagu, and that again infuriated the Kodavas who were now bent upon driving out not only Tippu's men but his Mamaldar Nagappayya also. According to the historian Beveridge, "the young Raja had about 4,000 faithful warriors", and the number of his adherents increased thereafter.

Tippu came to know about this organised upheaval in Kodagu, and, therefore, he despatched a force of more than 10,000 men under his commander Jalaluddin, to suppress the revolt. Tippu himself went to Bhagamandala and halted with his army at Devatapambu grounds to which place he politely invited people as if for a treaty. On their arrival, he seized the people and their families and sent them to Mysore. The Kodavas led by Kulletira Ponnanna and others fought at Uluguli, Bettadpura and other fronts. Tippu gained some ground and left some Muslims to settle in Kodagu, but in the northern sector his men were defeated. Tippu succeeded, however, in carrying away some hundreds of people who were converted by him to the Islam at Mysore. The number of the people so converted is exaggerated in the Persian records, but considering the population of those times, it must have been not more than 600 or 700 people or it could be even at 500.

Tippu's second expedition into Kodagu thus plunged the land into utter chaos and confusion. His governor Nagappayya was soon convicted to be hanged for deceiving and for not being loyal to him, but the wily Nagappayya fled to Malabar and surrendered himself to the Kote Raja.

THE GADDIGE WAR - SECOND:-

So the chaos and confusion prevailed for some time. On the 8th March 1786, John Carnac wrote from Bombay to the Committee of Secrecy of the East India Company Government stating

stating that 'the Koorga Nairs' had risen in revolt. Those earlier European writers somehow linked the Kodavas with the Nairs of Malabar but it is absolutely baseless because these two groups of people differ so much both ethnologically and culturally that there is no meeting points between them anywhere. Sir John Cornoc wrote that:-

"----On my arrival in Madras, a report prevailed of Tippu having been slain-----The substance "of this report was that there being an insurrection of the Koorga Nairs (?), Tippu had marched "against them, that having ordered about 4000 of his men-----to storm a battery of the enemy "they were repulssed with great loss-----It is surprising a tale that should be so circumstan-"tially related which was almost groundless, no other part being true but that Tippu had been "in the Koorga district. They lie on the north-east of Tellichery-----He had driven some of "the chiefs into their strongholds upon the Ghat, but he could not remain in the country-----to "bring them into subjection. I have good information of his having quitted that territory "early in January(1786)-----the Mahratta forces having advanced to the Kistna would render him "impatient-----."

That was in 1786, and the above letter of the Governor of Bombay revealed that the English had known about Kodagu and their interest in having an eye over Tippu's activities. Tippu had been anxious to take over Kodagu because he had smelt some sort of relationship taking place between the Raja of Kodagu and the English. He also found ample opposition in Kodagu to his Muslim settlers. Therefore, early in 1788, he made one more descent into Malabar when the Nairs, the Moplahs and the Kodavas rose in rebellion. Tippu had considered Kodagu as one of the doors to his capital and sometime later exclaimed towards those foreign intruders saying that, "to which of the English possessions is Kodagu adjacent?"

But the people of Kodagu did not like Tippu's interference either. In 1789, the Raja himself mustered a strong force and attacked his army and another battle was fought near the Siddeshwara Gaddige hill when the Raja won while Tippu was busy at Malabar. Viraraja disputed every inch of his land and guarded his small kingdom on all sides.

THE CONFUSION PREVAILS:-

Between the years 1788 and 1790, Tippu's atrocity and sabotage in Kodagu was that that the Raja of Kodagu took bold steps to fight him out in spite of his own insecurity, especially in the sense of his being young and inexperienced. In addition to that, Kote Viravarma was trying to wreak vengeance against the Kodagu Raja for the latter having killed one of his ancestors. Therefore, the Kote Raja, with the help of Tenka Moothanna and Badaga Moothanna destroyed the Kodagu Raja's Kuruchi palace and shared all the booty including the jewels among themselves.

With all that, Viraraja's territory up to Kalpavati to Wynad was in tact, and his loyal soldiers Kulletti Ponnana and others were keen on defending every inch of their territory. The two chiefs, the Kote Raja and the Kodagu Raja, drew up a conciliatory treaty in which they said that:

"Viravarma writes to Viraraja of Haleri that in consequence of my having slain two "sons of the late Raja's sons of Kodagu at Wynad and of your ancestor having slain former-"ly one of my ancestors at Tomara, one life goes for another, and for the remaining life, "I promise never to dispute about the country of Kalpavati in Wynad, hitherto claimed by "we both, and that part of the country is yours-----Our enmity is at an end."

When this was the case in the West, the Muslims in the East of Kodagu entered and plundered some Kodagu villages. Here again the Kodava soldiers did yeoman's service in keeping the intruders out. In recognition of Keremane Hombale Naik's services, the Raja appointed him as the governor of Puttur in I790 where he remained for eighteen years. He was later raised to the position of a Dewan. The Jaghir property that had belonged to the family of Bonira Muthanna had remained with no descendants to cultivate that at Kanta-Murnad, and that was passed on to Hombale Nayak. Ismail Khan, another able commander of the Raja, was also awarded with substantial Jaghir. However, after a relentless struggle and war, the Kodagu soldiers were able to recapture the forts of Madikeri, Kushalmagar, Beppunad and Bhagamandala.

THE EXAGGERATED FIGURES:-

From I783 to I789, Tippu's repeated attacks on Kodagu resulted in much loss of property and lives, but then the Kodagu soldiers stood as one man and faved the crisis with courage and confidence. During those days, Tippu's men carried away a good number of people from Kodagu and got them converted to Muhammadanism by force. The actual number of men so taken away and the amount of loot and plunder they carried on, were all exaggerated in the books written by the English historians. There was a reason for this and for which they were not responsible. Those pionnear writers of the history of our country wrote things on the basis of the Muslim and Persian records that were got written by the Chiefs and Sultans of different regions and those writings were in most cases were not true at all. Those Persian recorders wanted to exaggerate the scale of the cruel deeds of their masters in order to please them. When they wrote that Tippu Sultan carried away 80,000 people from Kodagu, they forgot that the entire population of Kodagu at that time hardly reached

reached that figure. In one of his letters written in his own hand, Tippu Sultan had mentioned that:-

"-----There are 500 Kodagu prisoners who must be dealt with in course of a month or "twenty days. Such of their women as are young must be given to the Muslims and the rest "together with their children, be kept in a prison on small allowance."

In spite of all this, the situation in Kodagu did not seem to be favouable to Tippu Sultan. He too, like his father, tried to play the role of a care-taker. He rebuilt the Madikeri fort and called it Jaffarabad, stationed his own men as officers among whom some were Brahmins and some Muslims, and set up a machinery to collect the land revenue.

The people of Kodagu, at the same time, were not quiet. They were literally true to their soil and kept on hunting Mysoreans from post to post. The young Raja still in his Nalknad palace, found his position almost secure but not till the British came to his rescue.

THE BRITISH INTERVENE:-

During those days of Tippu's menace in Kodagu from 1783 to 1789, and even before that, the British were the distant observers of the whole thing. But they were collecting every bit of information about the affairs taking place. The Kodavas with their guns and arrows were conducting guerilla warfare against Tippu's men who had indulged in loot and arson. The story of their burning the Kannanda house in Madikeri and hanging 24 men of the family and such other incidents were the common things in those days. In Tippu's army which had penetrated into Kodagu, there were Frenchmen and one Lally among them took active part in the campaign. Those of Kodagu who were converted in Mysore into Muslim religion were trained as soldiers and they were rewarded with presents and uniforms. They were called Ahmadiyas.

The British were just waiting for an opportunity to intervene in this dispute between Mysore and Kodagu, and, at last, they were there in 1790 as active participants in the struggle for power over Kodagu. A report sent to the Home Office in 1783, a year after Tippu succeeded his father, by James Sibbald, stated as below:-

"The Raja of Coorga (Kodagu) has the entire possession, from the bottom of the summit of "a remarkably strong Ghat, opening into the territories of Tippu at a distance of six miles "to the westward of Peryapatna.

"The pass being the only one in that part of the country, is of so important a nature that "Hyder made many vigorous attempts to seize on it, and has been necessitated to request a "passage for his army through it from the Coorgha (Kodagu) Raja through "his tributary.

"Tippu in the course of a late war with the chief (of Kodagu), attacked with a very "superior force, this most, and was, after a severe loss, compelled to desist. The country "from the sea coast to the foot of the Mysore mountains abounding in rice fields and cover-"ed in many places with thick woods, would not admit cavalry acting with vigour or effect--.'

THE RAJA REQUESTS HELP:-

The 14th June 1783 was the day when the first letter from Kodagu went to the British. Who exactly wrote that letter was not clear. Lingaraja I had died in 1780, and Hyder Ali in 1782. The late Raja's sons and their family were all imprisoned, first at Horur and later at Peryapatna. Tippu Sultan was busy with his wars against the Mahrattas and the others and his men had come into Kodagu also, which continued even till 1789 as already stated. But the Kodavas, presumably in the name of the imprisoned Prince, must have been thinking of other alternatives in order to meet Tippu's menace effectively because after the death of the Raja and the consequent imprisonment of the princes by Hyder and later by Tippu Sultan, they found that the State was in an anarchy. It was the foresight of the local chiefs of those days that sought the help of the British to keep Tippu at bay. One Outa or Outia Naigue, or Utha Nayak signed the letter. But it must be noted that this word 'Utha' is the short form of 'Uthayavar' in Malayalam, and 'Wodeyar' in Kannada. The English writers put Wodeyar as Uthiavar and Ootia in short. They thought that Uthayavar or Ootia was the proper noun and added to it the word Nayak which they wrote as 'Naigue' in those days.

Some prominent local warriors of the time when Kodagu was submerged in chaos between 1779 and 1789, were Appaneravanda Achayya, Pattacheravana Boluka, Keremane Hombale Nayak and Kullettira Ponnanna. When they found that with the death of their Raja in 1780 and the imprisonment of their princes accompanied by Tippu's atrocities, the future of Kodagu was at stake. Muslims were gaining ground at the border districts. The local chiefs saw this clearly. They also found that there no reliable neighbours to help them. It was then they decided upon writing to the British although at that time in 1783, seven years before the famous Tellicherry treaty, their influence around Kodagu was not even considerable. However, the leaders of the people of Kodagu wrote to the Company Government in Bombay a letter describing the circumstances that made them write that letter and sent it to James Sibbald who was then the British agent at Srirangapatna.

THE FIRST LETTER TO THE ENGLISH:-

The first letter that the leaders of Kodagu wrote to the Company Government in the name of their imprisoned Prince, Ootia Naigue or Uthayavar Naik or Wodeyar, and which was forwarded to James Sibbald who translated it from Kannada to English, was as below:-

"Tippu Saheb has taken Bedanore and is now gone with his whole force to Mangalore. He has "erected three batteries and his troops have surrendered and are now daily fighting with the "English. The news is brought to me by my own spies from his camp at Bedanore. If at this "time you could send six or 7,000 men by the way of Heggar (Heggala) Ghat where there is a "place called D'averse. There I would myself join the English troops and fall upon Peryapatna "which place reduced, we could immediately march to Srirangapatna which place also would "soon be in our possession.

"The enemy hearing of our troop being near to Srirangapatna, would immediately leave Mangalore "and go up the Ghats. By this more of proceeding, even Bedanore might be again taken and vic-"tory would attend us in every part. But if the English remain quiet, Tippu will be sure of "having Mangalore again in his hands. I am at this time fighting myself with the enemy at "Bytur-nad and am in hopes that the English army will proceed this way when "we might both join, and by the blessing of God, our business might be done agreeable to our "wish. You are sensible, and, therefore, what need I say more? I beg to observe to you at "this time that you should send five or 6,000 men to Heggala Ghat with two pieces of cannon and "then success will attend our affairs."

This is not only the first letter but also a very important letter. From this point, the Company Government set themselves thinking how to go to the aid of the Kodagu chief. The man who wrote the letter in the name of the young Prince of Kodagu, perhaps, must have got the signature of the Prince to the letter, dated the I4th June I783. They seem to have been then fighting near Bythur against Tippu's men from Malabar, and, therefore, the letter requests the English to get their army of about 6,000 men through the Heggala Ghat. The British considered the whole matter, and, commented that:

"When it is considered that this letter was written subsequent to the disaster, and at a "period when our affair wore a most gloomy aspect without forfeiting a claim to prudence or "fore-sight, I am induced to think that a reasonable reliance may be reposed in this Chief on "the opening of any favourable crisis.

"That you may further judge of the importance of this object and of the future benefits which "may arise from fixing a basis of some permanancy for its support, I will lay before you copies "of extracts of a letter which Mr. J. Sibbold wrote to the Governor of Bombay in May I783."

CHAPTER XV.

KODAGU TAKEN OVER BY THE BRITISH.

SIBBALD OPENS THE WAY:-

James Sibbald who started his career as a secret agent at the court of Hyder Ali and later of Tippu Sultan, seems to have been the man who brought the Company Government and the principality of Kodagu into a sort of relationship as far back as May 1783. The Kodagu princes were still in prison then but then he was able to contact the 'Uthayavars' or the 'Wodeyars', or Ootia Naigu as he puts it, of Kodagu, and set the wheel in motion. He wrote to the Governor of Bombay a detailed letter as below:-

"I must relate to you a part of my conference with Hiaz Saheb which I think of the "greatest importance for you to know. He told me that the English had it in their power "to strike the most important blow that could possibly be given to Tippu, and such as would "immediately reduce him to our own, but he said we knew not of this advantage or how this "blow was to be effected. He asked if the English would reward him if he met with success. "I ventured to pledge myself that they would. He then assured me that he had settled with "the Coorga (Kodagu) Raja for the safe passage of our troops through his country, who, how-"ever was in no condition to refuse it, but, which indeed if he was, would not do, being "in revolt against Tippu's Government. He said that the force requisite for this great "undertaking was 4,000 men to be collected at Tellichery in September, and he then would "engage (coward as he is) to conduct them with six pieces of cannon, in safety to the gates "of Srirangapatna in nine days from their leaving Tellichery, and that he would engage by "means of the above Raja, who must come in for a share of the spoil that the arrival of "our troops at the gates of Srirangapatna, should be the first intelligence the enemy would "have of their approach-----The distance from the frontier of the Coorga (Kodagu) country "being only two days' march----.

"His account of the late Nawab's (Hyder's) treasures in the palace is so immense that I "think it too extravagant to mention, but I am really of opinion, the capture of the place "would not be worth less than Rs. ten crores."

This appeared to be a grand scheme chalked out by the English officers, years before they actually undertook to act on those lines. From this stage it is interesting to see that both the English and Tippu were determined to take possession of Kodagu, and, therefore, it is well-worth giving some more background information about Kodagu.

CAPT. MAHONEY'S VERSION:-

The history of Kodagu based on the findings of Capt. Dennis Mahoney and the "Rajendra-name" give only one side of the story, and that 'story' consists mostly of what the Raja

Raja had said. But from the history of Malabar and that of Tippu Sultan, slightly different versions also could be found and that concerns mostly to the atrocity of the Raja himself which is found to have been omitted in the "Rajendraname". Capt. Mahoney, though the first recorder about Kodagu, he wrote his report in Nalknad, then the head-quarters of the Raja, and the information that he tried to give of the Rajas' times seems as though dictated by the Raja or his senior ministers. Writing about the earlier times, Mahoney ~~wrote~~ said that:-

"The Ikkeri Rajas had Bedanur, Bilgi, Mangalore, Nileshwaram and many other areas yielding "a revenue of I8 lakhs of Pagodas. A series of hostilities between the Mysore and Kodagu "Rajas led to the capture of Peryapatna by Mysore and the total destruction of Kodagu Raja "and his family. Doddavirappa opposed the Mysore Army at Palpare successfully. Kote Vira-"varma Raja instigated a man of Kodagu, marched a body of Nairs up to the Tomara Ghat and de-"feated the Raja.

"Mysore Raja in his next expedition made himself master of of considerable area~~s~~ of Belur. "Doddavirappa marched a force and possessed Yelusavirasime-----Mysore defeated but agreed to "share the revenue of that area both by Kodagu and Mysore."

Capt. Mahoney questioned a number of people of Peraje and Sulya about Kodagu history. On Sulya one man said that those districts had been included in Ikkeri who first made them over to the Kodagu Rajas in the days of Doddavirappa, that is, before I736. The district called Amara composed of neighbouring travts, and that was made over for the purpose of supplying milk and butter as the name itself implied. The cession of Amara and Sulya took place before a large number of people with TORANA at a place'to mark the boundary'.

In May I798, D. Mahoney questioned many people to verify the authenticity of Kodagu history and about the connection of Hyder and Tippu in respect of Kodagu.

THE EARLY HISTORY- AGAIN:-

Many people gave evidence before Capt. Mahoney on the ancient history of Kodagu. One Kodava farmer, Kelooree (?) Subbayya told him that Devappa Raja in I770 usurped the authority. But in fact, one should think that Devappa too had equal rights over Kodagu as his rival Linga Raja. Since Devappa was put down treacherously by Hyder and Lingaraja together, the accusation that he was an usurper existed even after that for a long time. However, what K. Subbayya told Capt. Mahoney about the early history of his time was as below:

"Devappa who had usurped the authority was obliged to fly in consequence of a force which "the Nawab (Hyder) sent from Pattan (Srirangapatna) with Lingaraja who was the lawful prince. This

"This force had been solicited by the latter sometime before. In consequence of this "transaction our Raja promised to pay the Nawab a yearly sum of money-----Devappa was de- "posed and Lingaraja came to power. As to the Nawab's orders, we marched with 3000 men "from Madikeri to Kalpavati in Wynad to extend the frontiers. Lingaraja accompanied us. "We passed Kuttanad in the third day and reached Kalpavati without opposition. A fort was "built there in a month's time with mud and wood. Lingaraja stayed there for a year meet- "ing people. Manjur (?) Appayya was our Killedar and all affairs of the country rested "with-----Ryots paid him fees. The commander next to Lingaraja was Onapare (?) Appayya, "who was a Foujidar----I am now between 50 and 60 years of age (May 23, 1798)----"

"We were relieved from there in turns- about a hundred ~~xxx~~ at a time. When Lingaraja "left a year before, he took with him a thousand men. Kodavas were stationed in Kalpavati "for six or seven years and Hyder carried out administration through Lingaraja I. I don't "know the cause for abandoning Kalpavati. Maybe, for want of provisions.

"A year or two latter about 2000 men were ordered to go there to resume possession. As "they marched they were attacked by Kote Raja. Our two Rajas (some members of the family "of the Raja) were killed along with many Kodavas. The rest fled back."

Among the others who gave the same information as above to Capt. Mahoney, were Maraura(?) Moothanna, of 53 years,and Moondan (?) Appayya, aged 40 years. Another Kodava soldier Medayya also said the same.

MAHONEY ON AMARA & SULYA:-

On Amara and Sulya districts, Capt. Mahoney's version seems to be authetic as he did not always agree or rely on what the Raja had told him. He wrote that:

"A period of eight years had now elapsed since the conquest of Nuggur (by Hyder) and its "dependancies during which time, the Kodagu Raja's right to Amara and Sulya remained un- "questioned. The Nawab was told-----that during Ikkeri Somashekara's time they had belonged "to Kodagu, and that continued to be so even in the days of Boodi Basappa Nayak and Rani "Virammaji-----The Nawab, so satisfied of the fact, and, is said to have observed, "If the "Ikkeri Raja has thus noticed the Kodagu Raja (as a son), I am willing that he should have "marks of my favour also. Let him, therefore, hold the districts of Panje and Bellare "from my bounty"-----.

"Six months after the above transactions, the two pretenders in Kodagu stood up, the "first, Lingaraja------and, Devappa Raja-----Great disturbance and acts of violence ensued--- "---Lingaraja, unable to oppose his adversary, retired without the territory of Kodagu to "a place named Belur-----taking with him his nephew Appaji and his three sons-----where they "continued to reside until the state of affairs in Kodagu favoured their return----.

"About the period-----the Mahratta army had invaded Mysore-----After two years Lingaraja "was reinstated, and, Devappa, the Usurper, was compelled to seek refuge with Kote Raja----- "(and) the Horamale House became extinct after Devappa's death by Hyder's men----".

While writing on Hyder Ali in his lengthy report on Kodagu, R. Montgomery Martin wrote in about 1864, as below:

"Coorg (Kodagu) is a magnificent mountainous region, three ti 5,000 feet above the sea-"level, with a fertile soil and healthy climate, is situated on the Western side of India, "between Malabar and Mysore. It formed an ancient Hindu kingdom or Raj, and is referred to "by the Persian historian Ferishta as an independent sovereignty in 1538-----The Coorgs (Kodavas) "a handsome race of a light colour, have the characteristic temperament of highlanders, brave, "devoted to their chiefs, irrasible, chivalrous and hospitable....."

"Hyder Ali, after his usurpation of Mysore Raj in 1760, endeavoured by force and by fraud to "become master of Kodagu. His son and successor, Tippu, pursued the same object with great de-"termination, and seemed nearly to have attained it when Viraraja (the Elder) by the help of "some devoted adherents escaped (with other members of his family) from the frontier of Perya-"patna where he had been imprisoned and circumcised by Tippu."

THE UTAYAVARS FIGHT:-

R. Montgomery Martin's account of Kodagu continues as below:-

"Coorgs (Kodavas) had suffered fearfully in their struggles to maintain their independence "and authority of their ancient (Lingayat) King, and again at the hands of Muslim usurpers of "Mysore. On one occasion, they defeated a regular army of 15,000 men and they continually re-"newed their resistance, retreating when defeated into the depths of their forests, until Tippu "marching against them in great force, drove the brave but disciplined mountaineers before him; "divided his army into detachments, and, adopting the plan of circular hunts, identified with "infamous memory of Timur the Tartar, closed in upon the unfortunate people, and carried off "thousands of victims to undergo the two-fold misery of circumcism and captivity. Further "resistance appeared hopeless when the presence of the young Raja changed the state of affairs. "The Coorgs (people of Kodagu) flocked round him and at length having organised his brave follow-"ers with much skill, he drove the invaders from post to post, till he had expelled them from "the country."

The headmen, chief or the Nayaks were called Utayavars in Malabar, and as Wodeyars in Mysore. As already said, Ootia Naigue, was one Uthayavar Nayak, who wrote to the British for help in 1783, and again in 1784 and 1785. Anyway, it is not clear who exactly this 'Uthayavar' of Kodagu at that time when the princes of Kodagu were still prison till 1785. During that state of anarchy from 1780 to 1785, the Peryapatna and the Malabar chiefs were trying to take some parts of Kodagu adjoining their territories. But after the return of the princes from the prison, the people of Kodagu rallied round them, and they not only succeeded in repulssing Tippu's forces but also pushed out the Malayalee intruders in the West. Mr. Logan, in his book, 'Malabar' gives an account of this as below:-

"The Foujidar of Kottayam wrote in March 1788 that both the Kottayam and Kolathnad Rajas "and other principal chiefs had taken refuge in Tellicherry. Prior to his retreat to the "South, the Kottayam Raja had in December 1788, extorted from the Kodagu Raja, while a refu-"gee in Kottayam, pursued by the Mysoreans, a grant of Kiggatnad, one of the'countries' com-"posing Kodagu. But when shortly afterwards, Kottavam ascended the Ghats to take possess-"ions of Kiggatnad, the Kodagu Raja turned the table on him and forced from him a deed re-"linquishing Wynad as far as Kalpavati."

MAHONEY SPEAKS OF TIPPU:-

Capt. Mahoney, the first recorder of Kodagu history, told about the numerous expeditions of Tippu Sultan to Kodagu and Mangalore. He wrote that:

"-----Tippu moved into Mangalore, and when after a Peace with the English, that place "was restored to him. He detached an army of 20,000 men under Khajih Khan----to penetrate "into, and take possession of Amara, Sulia, Panje and Bellare-----~~This~~ They said to have "suffered considerably in the attempt and to have been compelled to rejoin Tippu at Mangalore

"-----Tippu entered Kodagu by different routes. Lally (the French Commander) was sent "by Siddapur route with about 15,000 men while the former (Tippu) advanced by Balele. Lally "experienced great opposition and was unable to penetrate-----The rains soon being close at "hand, an amicable adjustment was deemed expedient, (and) it was accordingly entered into "by Tippu Sultan-----.

"Past offenses were ostensibly pardoned and the dependent districts completely possessed. "Mir Jumla Uddin, stationed at Madikeri with 4000 men, was ordered to rebuild the Fort, and "the entire (Kodagu ?) was committed to the superintendance of Syed Rassul Ali. (With the) "affairs thus ordained, Tippu returned to Srirangapatna-----Rassul Ali's influence prevail-"ed for five months, after which the people of Kodagu again took the management of the count-"ry into their own hands, committing great execution on Tippu's troops and re-possessing "themselves of the whole of the dependant districts. Madikeri fort was half-finished by "this time. Rassul Ali's troops were confined to its immediate limits and every avenue "thereto guarded by the Kodavas (or the people of Kodagu)-----.

"As soon as Tippu learned the state of Madikeri, he despatched 15,000 men to its relief "under Jamal-ul-ddeen. This force gained Madikeri after some struggle-----He lost a fourth "of his army and arrived at Bettadpur and wrote to Tippu who left Srirangapatna with a force "and joined Jamaluddeen and entered Kodagu. They arrived at Santemaal and then detached "half the force towards Madikeri where a very serious opposition was made to this party----.

"As soon as Tippu had reached Madikeri, he issued a general proclamation to the inhabi-"tants of Kodagu holding forth the most ardent desire of a good understanding with them and "asserting their comfort and well-being to be objects of highest importance-----The settle-"ment of the country adjoining Santemaal and Madikeri, occupied the better part of the month, "after which they moved to Bhagamandala where (too) like adjustments were made. It was "from this last place that under the most specious pretences, Tippu extended his baneful "wings over the devoted inhabitants-----".

THE PEOPLE WERE CHEATED:-

Capt. Mahoney, in his chronicle, gave a correct assessment of what had happened when thousands of people were carried away by the people of Mysore under Tippu's orders. Here the exact number of people so carried seem to be again exaggerated because he too had to rely upon the versions given to him by his contemporaries. He wrote that:

"-----A peace, most advantageous, was then tendered (by Tippu) and, was accepted by the "people of Kodagu, and ratified (with) the Khuraan, in the most solemn----manner, by Mir Sadiq, "Tippu's principal minister-----(After that) a considerable army branched out from hence in all "directions and was so deposed of as to connect every avenue with the main passage forming a "direct line from Bhagamandala to Srirangapatna (and to wheel in to the thus given point of "view on the dreadful signals being made enfolding each its allotted group of victims.

"The ostensible business at Bhagamandala (was) performed, and every necessary arrangement "made by Tippu; and, well-understood on the part of the principal actors (of Tippu)-----(The "people) were given to understand that (Tippu's) army was to set out on a given day on its re-"turn to Srirangapatna. The Sultan, therefore, actuated by a fatherly solicitude apprehended "a movement of a great body (of men)-----It was in consequence of his pleasure that certain "proportions of the fighting men of each Division----(were made) to line in the high roads at "stated places and distances-----The unsuspecting people of Kodagu already lulled into perfect "severity, expressed the utmost gratitude for this benign instance of the royal favour and acted "pretty generally and sufficiently, in conformity with the Sultan's wishes. Thus were the "villages all over Kodagu left unprotected and the principal force of the country in the way to "be most completely secured."

Capt Mahoney stated that 64,000 'inhabitants were seized'. This is an exaggerated figure, because in those days, the population of Kodagu was, perhaps, just that. Mark Wilkes wrote as if it was about 80,000 people, but the actual number might have been after all, not more than 5000 or it could even be put at I,000 and odd, and even among them a good number of people escaped. These exaggerated figures might have been given to those foreign writers by the Raja himself to show the magnitude of Tippu's cruelties and Tippu's men might have written it in their Persian chronicles as though it is a prestige for them. These figures were of a propaganda value in those days to the Governments concerned.

THE EXAGGERATED FIGURES:-

Capt. Mahoney proceeded to state as below:-

"The army moved and signal was given. The numerous outposts fell upon their prey (captured "men)-----men, women and children-----(were) dragged forth, and by a motion of a general accord-"----the whole (body of men) wheeled into line and became incorporated with the mass of the army-"----which continued its march. 64,000 of the inhabitants of both sexes and of every age were

"were assorted to have become the prey of Tippu. About 2000 evaded the vigilance of the "guards-----About I5,000 are said to have escaped from the Sultan's dominions-----The hard-"ships endured by this immense concourse of unhappy victims exceed almost (any) belief----As "soon as the Army reached Peryapatna, the surviving Coorgs (the people of Kodagu) were dis-"posed of in every direction and thus lodged in so many Forts where all the males were cir-"cumcised-----"

It should however be repeated that the above facts with such huge figures were first given out by the Persian recorders of Tippu and the Kannada writers of the Raja of Kodagu, and both these had some special motives in publicising the incident with colour and fanfare, and in those days that helped them to serve their ends. Anyway, the basic facts concerned to the episode is, however, correct, but as to those figures it could be read in some hundreds and not in thousands as shown there.

The English Company Government used to receive new of all these by several sources, but their main source of information was James Sibbald who has been writing his reports even from I780. He also reported the geographical situation of Kodagu and one such letter of I785 of J. Sibbald, said as below:

"The road from Mangalore to the foot of the Ghat in November to the setting in of rains "is very good-----When our troops reduced Mangalore in I768, Hyder Ali, apprehensive of an "attempt upon this Ghat cut down a number of large trees, and in many places thrown across "the narrow part of the road-----When he (Hyder Ali) came down in May I768 against Mangalore, "he was obliged to solicit the passage for his troops through the Kodagu Raja's territory "which he obtained. I mention this to show that some of the Ghats in his country may be "suddenly rendered absolutely impassable to an army where any opposition is expected."

BETWEEN THE YEARS I785 & I789:-

From I767 to I789, for 22 years, the condition in Kodagu was chaotic and there was no good Government at all. From I770 to I774, Devappa's shaky regime,collapsed, and Lingaraja behaved just as a nominee of Hyder Ali. With the Raja's death in I780 and that of Hyder's in I782 and with the princes in prison, Tippu Sultan found his way easy to Kodagu. Gen. walsh wrote how the Prince got himself released, and said:

"----He (Prince Viraraja) was kindly treated from policy, and persuaded the usurper (Hyder "and later Tippu) that if he would send him back to his own country, he would prevail on "all his subjects to submit to the Mussalman yoke; they having previously betaken themselves "to their hills and fastnesses, from whence he could neither drive nor recall them. This "man's name was Virarajendra. It is said that he took an oath of fidelity to Hyder before "he was released, and that in after times he boasted of this breach of faith----".

Much of this statement seem to be just the ear-say. Viraraja was too young to show so much of cleverness to Hyder, but, perhaps some of his people might have tried to deceive Hyder by saying things as above said by Gen. Walsh. When exactly the Princes were rescued from the Peryapatna fort, is not clear. A Government record says that it was in I788. It should be wrong because there is no evidence for their being in prison for such a long time from I782 to I788. Moreover, the Kodagu Uthayavars "Ootia Naigues" were writing in the name of the Raja for the British support, and at the same time they were also fighting against Tippu's men and about which wars much has been already said. In the "Narrative Sketches of the Conquest of Mysore", it is said, that:

"This friendly chief (Viraraja), when a boy, was by the course of the family feuds, a pri-
"soner of Hyder Ali, who compelled him to become a Mussalman-----He made his escape in I785 into
"his dominions where he instantly offered his service to the English and he proved a most use-
"ful ally-----".

MAHONEY ON RAJA'S ESCAPE:-

Capt. Mahoney in his chronicle about Kodagu gave an account of the result of Tippu Sultan's expedition over Kodagu, and said that:-

"One half of Kodagu with the whole of Yelusavirasime was now annexed to Peryapatna. Of
"the other half which was committed to the Superintendancy of Syed Hassan Ali, the Killedar Jafar
"Ali Baig took charge of the fort (of Madikeri) and called it Jaffarabad. The lower districts
"of Amara and Sulya became annexed to Mangalore. Muhammadens were brought from such parts of
"the Sultan's dominions as they could be spared and placed in the houses and possessions of the
"exiled people of Kodagu-----Adoni was plundered of its inhabitants and about 4000 (peope) were
"forcibly transplanted into Kodagu.

"The order of things thus established in Kodagu----the present Raja (Viraraja) made his escape
"from Peryapatna and arrived in the course of the night in his own dominions. He was then in
"the 26th year of his age. No sooner had the Raja freed himself from the Sultan's chains----he
"arrived at Kuruchi village with his family. An officious person appears to have opened an in-
"tercourse between him and the Kote Raja whereby the latter was represented as a sincere welwish-
"er of the Kodagu Rajas and extremely anxious to assist him in his present distressed situation,
"a meeting alone could be the means of realising this friendly disposition, and Virarajendra, in
"compliance with an invitation, consequently expressed, repaired to Marenad (in Malabar border).
"Here he was surrounded by a party of Kote Raja's people. Many days passed in confinement and
"messages were sent----".

Here the Raja seemed to have again been entrapped by another neighbour of his, who forced him to sign a bond. This aspect of the Raja's story seems to have been concealed by the Raja's men and even historians. Capt. Mahoney wrote about this, that:

"The only means of preserving his (Viraraja's) life which had now become forfeited for "one of the Kote Raja's ancestors, formerly killed at Tomara in the days of Doddavira Raja. "The bond was signed and by it the districts of Ammothinaar (Ammathinad), Kikkatu-Pattanar "(Kiggatnad) and Yelusavirasime, and a small piece of grounds at Tomara, were ceded to the "Kote Raja's jurisdiction (just for the use of a particular temple or god.)

VIRARAJA RETURNED:-

Viraraja returned to the country and took the earliest opportunity to retaliate against the Kote Raja who had turned against Kodagu to take control of the temples. The intruder was forced out of Kodagu and the ancestral boundary up to Kalpavati was agreed between them. Capt. Mahoney continued to say that:-

"When Viraraja had assumed sufficient footing in his country, he began by dispossessing "all the Muslims (that) Tippu had established there, dividing such property as they had "accumulated-----The men of Adoni had it at option to return to their own country, a pri- "vilege most took advantage of.

"The appearence and representations of the Muslims on their arrival at Srirangapatna ex- "asperated Tippu to the highest pitch. He instantly resolved to revenge this insult to "his Government and faith. An army was ordered to invade Kodagu under Ghulam Ali Bakshi, "consisting of 6000 horses, 4000 regular Infantry and 500 Peadahs (peons). No very ser- "ious opposition was made to their entrance from the general want of ammunition that pre- "vailed among the people of Kodagu, and their passage in consequence marked by all possible "depredation. The Kodagu people were necessitated to keep chiefly to the woods from whence "they occasionally issued giving to Ghulam Ali's men considerable annoyance.....

"The people in Malabar being informed of the situation in Kodagu, determined to use "(force) against the Sultan's authority. Disturbances shortly followed, and that caused "Ghulam Ali to be ordered into that quarter with the entire (body) of his force----(Later) "encouraged by Gulam Ali Bakshi's successful descent, the Sultan ordered a reinforcement "required on Malabar to march by way of Kodagu. 2000 Padeahs (peons) attended by three "French officers. So pleased and lulled into security, was Fazul Khan that he declared "that he had no hostile designs against them, that he was bound for Malabar, and he had "been making Heggala Ghat his way (to Malabar)-----.

"The Raja of Kodagu had provided himself with many necessaries and brought his people into "tolerable order-----He watched the troops of Fazul Khan passing near Heggala Ghat with his "1000 and odd men. It was then the Raja's troops attacked the enemy. It is said that "about 1500 men were killed among whom were the four French officers. The Kodagu troops "captured arms, ammunition, treasure, provisions and cattle. The report of this defeat "terrified Tippu's people who were in Bellary where a quantity of war-like stores and "ammunition were found."

TIPPU WAS DRIVEN OUT:-

"When Tippu heard of these disasters", said Capt. Mahoney, "he sent his brother-in-law Burran-Uddin at the head of an army of I5,000 men and 5000 peons". These figures were supplied to him, perhaps, by the Raja, to show that he had dealt with a mighty force. Capt. Mahoney continued to state that:

"Burran Uddin----had orders to seize the Raja and destroy his people, and also to lodge "six months' provisions in the forts garrissoned by his troops. Kushalnagar was fully relieved and the army when proceeding towards Madikeri, was attacked by the people of Kodagu who "killed 400 men and secured a great share of provisions. Burran Uddin-----was unable to assist "Beppunad and Bhagamandala, and finding himself in other respects unqualified for the service "required, he returned with his army to Srirangapatna.

"Burran Uddin was soon ordered to prepare again for Kodagu. Tippu was at this time was "about to depart for Malabar-----Viraraja being apprized of the designs of the enemy marched "against Kushalnagar which he appeared to have seized by a bold and masterly attack-----400 men "along with their Killedars lost their heads. Ammunition and other articles were secured. "Beppunad surrendered after a resistance of three days----and the fort destroyed.

"Burran Uddin conducted his second expedition into Kodagu with an additional force, 4000 regu- "lars and 2000 peons. He entered by way of Siddapur, Sheik Amir by Balele and Syed Hamaam by Somwarpet, "and they penetrated without opposition-----Sheik Amir fled and joined Burran Uddin. A serious "conflict took place in Nalknad and the Kodavas claimed complete victory-----and Burran Uddin "was again defeated for the second time near Bhagamandala. Later he returned to Srirangapatna "through Nalknad and Beppunad. Syed Hamaam's men also retreated.

"-----Two months after this, Tippu's troops again entered Kodagu with a design to reduce "Madikeri----The Kote Raja also attacked the Raja through Tenka Moothanna who destroyed the "Raja's house at Kuruchi, killed some members of his family and carried off their jewels. And, "at length, the Kodagu Raja obtained the most decided advantages-----Bhagamandala was also "taken by the people of Kodagu and so also Amara, Sulia, Panje and Bellarey by Appaji Raja who "led the troops. The management of those districts was committed to Hombale Nayak (later the "Killedar of Madikeri). After that Yelusavirasime was also recovered, and 'Mandee Appan Appayan "or Mandepanda Appayya was the 'manager' there....."

THE BRITISH MOVE:-

On this occasion of massive attacks on both sides between the Kodavas and Tippu's men, the actual number of men carried away from Kodagu, still remained a mystery, but Rev. Moegling, the authour of "Coorg Memoirs" wrote that:

"On this occasion (sometime before the war of I79I, 5000 men were carried away by Tippu's men "with their wives and children, altogether I2,000 souls----".

Here it is not clear when exactly they were carried because Tippu had been, according to various reports, had been ravaging Kodagu, from I783 to I789. Capt. Mahoney said that:

"A last forcible attempt was made by Tippu to relieve Madikeri in the month of Magha of "of the year Sadarani (?). Kadar Khan entered Kodagu with 7000 men but he was defeated---- "He was permitted to return unmolested----"

The Kodavas and the people of Mysore have been fighting for a long time even from I720, when the then Raja of Kodagu had 500 men as his body-guards. Till I790, for fifty years, there have been constant skirmishes and wars between these two countries or states. In the process, Haleri was left in shambles, Peryapatna had already fallen, the districts of Amara, Sulya and Bellare had become a bone of contention between the Mysore and Kodagu rulers, Nanjarajapatna, formerly known as Hole-Saal-hulli, was left in ruins, the Bhagamandala fort was sacked by Tippu (in I785 ?), the Madikeri fort was built and rebuilt many times, the Kodavas sacked and burnt Tippu's palace at Kushalnagar (in June I789) and Aramari fortress in Beppunad was also destroyed in August I789. The ancient KADANGAs or trenches that are found all over Kodagu, were no use at all, and they were breached all over and Tippu's men from their encampment at Holahalli, entered the precincts of Madikeri and destroyed properties as they did in the case of Kannanda family houses, which they burnt a few years before this holocaust.

These things that went on during those fifty years from I720 to I790, left the people of Kodagu with no alternative but seek the assistance of the British who were at the same time waiting for such an opportunity to intervene. The letters that were sent by 'Ootia Naigue' or the leaders of the people in the sbsence of the Raja in I783, I785 and I786 through James Sibbald, requesting the British help, were already there at the Company Government. Later, as Capt. Mahoney put it, "Overtures were made to the Raja by the English Company through Robert Taylor, Chief of Tellicherry, to the establishment of friendship and Union between the two Sarkars."

Thus, it was between I789 and I790, the Company Government and the Raja of Kodagu finally agreed to meet and talk, and with this programme, the British made a final bid to move ahead and take the Raja as one of their allies.

VIRARAJA IN TELLICHERRY:-

"The re-establishment of the independence of Kodagu rendered that state an object of extreme importance to the East India Company, as they themselves were at war with Tippu, and "every Ghat or Pass between Bombay and Mysore was held by him, excepting that of Heggala in "Kodagu. The same pass likewise afforded the sole means of inland communication between

"between Bombay and Tellicherry, the chief of a few straggling trading posts or factories, "then the only property of the East India Company, on the Malabar coast.

"A cordial alliance was entered into between the Raja and the Company, and a treaty was concluded on the 26th October I790."

This was how Montgomery Martin wrote to the British Government in his memorandum of I864. But what led to this change so quickly and promptly was a thing that could be guessed by everyone. As Tippu was busy with his expeditions, the Company Government of Fort William, Fort St. David and Fort St. George, have been working through their secret agents. They knew that Kodagu was an important and strategic spot that should be occupied at least indirectly, if not directly. They decided to conclude a treaty with the Raja of Kodagu assuring him of their help for which he had asked them a few years before that and even later. The British also knew that they could not get into Kodagu by any route excepting through the Heggala Pass (from the West) and, therefore, they fixed the venue of their talk with the Raja at Tellichery with the English Chief of Trade in the west-coast.

The Raja seized that opportunity and proceeded to Tellicherry in October I790, for the conciliation talks between him and the English. Lord Charles Cornwallis, who had become the Governor-General of India had also known the importance of Kodagu to deal with Tippu. He stated to have said, according to Rev. Moegling, that, "If Tippu will not be at peace with the Raja of Kodagu, Company will not be at peace with the Sultan."

The Treaty of Tellicherry, at the outset, seemed to have been just a formal treaty, but what appeared out of it was that the Raja of Kodagu, without himself being aware of what had happened, was turned out to be just a native chief with limited powers and with a guarantee offered to the independent existence of his country. The talks held were almost on the basis of subsidiary alliance, and the Raja of Kodagu was made to pay an annual tribute to the Company together with other obligations on his part. Thus, Kodagu became a territory of the British but ruled by the native chief who was assured that he need not directly be involved in a war with Tippu any more and they (the British) would be his guardians.

THE SUN AND MOON WITNESSES:-

According to the treaty of Tellicherry, the Raja became a feudal chief under the British with no powers to deal with external situations. The terms of treaty and the Articles of Agreement entered into between Robert Taylor, Chief of Factories, Tellicherry, on behalf of the honourable United English East India Company on the one part, and, Haleri Viraraja Wodeyar of Coorg, (Kodagu) on the other- October I790, were as follows:-

"FIRST: A firm and perpetual friendship shall subsist between both parties as long as "the Sun and Moon endure.

"SECOND: Tippu Sultan and his adherents shall be considered as the common enemy of "both parties, and in the prosecution of the war in which the English are at present en-"gaged, the Kodagu Raja shall, whenever it may be in his power, do his utmost to distress "the enemy, and to admit the English troops at any time to pass through his dominions, "should they have occasion to penetrate the enemy's country from this coast; he, moreover "engages to furnish them with such supplies of provisions as the country can afford at "reasonable rates, and to join the English army with such a force as he can spare whenever "any operations are carried on above the Ghats or in the country of Tippu Sultan.

"THIRD: The Raja engages to give the Company the preference in purchasing, at a reason-"able and moderate price, such articles of commerce as are produced in his country and the "Company may want, and he engages not to permit any other European nation to interfere in "this respect.

"FOURTH: This English East India Company engage to do everything in their power to "render him, the Kodagu Raja, independent of Tippu, in the same manner as the other powers "who have entered into an alliance with the Company, and they shall, whenever a peace "takes place, insist upon it as an express stipulation, that the Kodagu Raja shall be con-"sidered as the friend and ally of the Honourable Company, and in no manner subject to "the authority and control of Tippu of whom he shall be declared totally independent.

"FIFTH: Should the Raja's family or that of any of his subjects have occasion in the "present troubles to take refuge in Tellicherry, the Company engages to receive them at "the foot of the Ghats and conduct them in safety to Tellicherry under a guard of Sepoys, "where they will find an assylum, and be protected during the troubles; a house shall be "provided for them during their residence at Tellicherry, and the families shall be re-"turned in safety whenever required. In testimony of the perpetual friendship that shall "subsist between both parties, which neither party will ever disturb, we jointly call God, "the Sun, the Moon, and the world to witness this our agreement and mutual pledge of faith.

"Concluded at Tellicherry, this 26th day of October in the year of Christian Era, 1790, "by Robert Taylor, Chief etc, Factors, in the name of the English East India Company, the "Governor-General of Bengal and the Governor of Bombay on the one part and Haleri Viraraja "on the other, each of the parties present, that is to say, the Chief of Factors at Telli-"cherry and Haleri Viraraja of Kodagu, having hereunto put their names and seals at Telli-"cherry, the day and year above written, and mutually exchanged copies of the Agreement."

"Sd) Robert Taylor; Lawrence Shah (Seal); Samuel Ince; the Raja of Kodagu (Seal).

CHAPTER VI.

THE ENGLISH ARMY PASSES THROUGH KODAGU.

THE TREATY AND AFTER:-

Long before the British manouvred the Raja of Kodagu into the Treaty of Tellicherry, there have been at least half a dozen letters from Ootia Naigue or Uthayavar or Wodeyar of Kodagu, and the first letter to that effect was of 1783, in which the leading men of Kodagu including some Wodeyar of the Raja's family (at that time the Kodagu princes were in the Peryapatna fort) had requested the Company Government to go to their rescue in order to put down Tippu. The English were waiting for such an opportunity and after some time in 1789, they decided on the plan. They also collected reports both from J. Sibbald and their agents in Malabar on the strategic situation of Kodagu. The English thought that to put down Tippu's influence in the West Coast, they should first placate the Kodagu Raja and capture the district if possible after taking possession of the Heggala Ghat through which alone their army from the west coast could pass as Tippu had taken Wynad, Arkalgode and Mangalore.

The Company Government alerted the Bombay Government and the Army on this new arrangement with the Raja of Kodagu, and, accordingly, Gen. Abrecrombie moved with his army to the Malabar coast and conducted talks with the Commissioners of Tellicherry and later with the Raja of Kodagu, while the latter at the same time, had taken the fort of Madikeri after a severe battle with Tippu's men. They had talks with Gen Abrecrombie at the Kodagu-Malabar border ~~somewhere~~ somewhere near Perambadi and that talk opened the way for a treaty between the Company and the Kodagu Raja.

After the treaty of Mangalore with Tippu Sultan and a treaty with the Kodagu Raja at Tellicherry in 1790, the events moved fast. Tippu tried to break the good relationship that was cemented between the Raja and the Company Government. His series of attacks on Kodagu by stationing Muslim garrisons at various Kodagu forts were also of no avail, because the English had built a firm friendship with the Raja. Lord Cornwallis wrote to Gen. Abercrombie to make securities for support from the West in their campaign against Tippu. He also informed Tippu that the Company Government had formed an alliance with the Raja of Kodagu and it was obligatory that he (Tippu) too be in good terms with the Raja. But Tippu wrote back to the Governor-General, that:-

"You first formed an alliance with Kodagu; now you have concluded a treaty of peace "with me. Having become friends of us both, you ought to abstain from interference when we "have quarrel among ourselves. I desire no peace with Kodagu."

THE ARMY MOVED:-

The Raja's talk with the representatives of the Company Government in August 1790, and the Treaty of Tellicherry in October 1790, resulted in his being completely under the mercy of the English. One of his very important meetings with Gen. Abrecrombie took place in 1790 at Maggula where he camped after travelling from his new Nalknad palace. The small town where they met and talked was named as Virarajendrapet, in honour of their historic meeting. Capt. Mahoney wrote that after their meeting,:-

"----Gen. Abercrombie desired ~~[illegible]~~ the Raja to get back to his kingdom (from the Army "camp near the Malabar border) to collect supplies and to intercept a convoy of grain belong-"ing to Tippu, now on its way to Srirangapatna. He would shortly send about 30,000 bullocks "to carry the provisions stored up in Kodagu and Srirangapatna. Viraraja returned home and "Abercrombie went to Sultanpet where the Bombay troops had encamped."

Gen. Robert Abercrombie had made a long leap from Bombay to Kumbla, Cannanore, Tellicherry, Cherakkal and Kodagu and at all these places he succeeded in recruiting a large number of men to his army. Not only he gained the friendship of all those local chiefs of those small dist-ricts of the West coast, he saw that he enlisted active support of all those people in the ~~[illegible]~~ war against Tippu Sultan. As Abercrombie's army had begun to ascend the Ghats of Kodagu, the 'Grand Army' of Lord Cornwallis was marching down to Srirangapatna from Dharwar side. Lord Thurlow of the East India House, reported on the 20th July 1791, that:-

"-----The Grand Army under the command of Lord Cornwallis consisting of nearly 25,000 men "with plentiful supply of provision, was at Muluwagal on the 25th February (1791)-----General "Abercrombie was at the same time strongly posted on the Podacheran or Corga (Kodagu) Ghat at "the head of 75,000 (?) men within forty miles of Srirangapatna. The troops had made excell-"ent roads considering the difficulties of the country-----".

Abercrombie's army of 75,000 men seemed to be a huge one, and it seemed to have been a true account because he collected men from all over the west coast from Calicut to the tiny townships and islets like Anjigo and other areas. But this entire mass of men did not march to Srirangapatna and a good number of them were stationed at different out-posts. As to the recruitment of men from Western islands, W.C.Jackson, Secretary, Fort St. George Secretariat, wrote to John Hutchinson, Resident at Anjigo, on the 1st October 1791, that:

"Lord Cornwallis having desired that the drafts to complete the coast battalion serv-
"ing with the army under Gen. Abercrombie might be sent to Anjigo and from thence embarked
"for Cannanore. I am directed by the hon'ble President-in-Council to inform you that
"those drafts to the number of 320 men under the charge of Capt. Wahab will search Anjigo
"in all this month and that it will be necessaryto have a sufficient number in readiness
"for their accommodation and conveyance to Cannanore."

"TRY ME----THEN BE SEEN":-

Viraraja the Elder of Kodagu was in close touch with the British, and, for him there was no other alternative. After the Treaty of 1790, he was only a feudatory chief of his kingdom under the Company Government. In a letter about Tippu's atrocities and about his "enticing away a great many of the people of Kodagu when he (Tippu) forcibly engages to go to war", the Raja wrote to Lord Cornwallis, dated the 15th June 1791, that:

"At this time, I am upon the best terms of friendship with the General of Bombay and
"Tellicherry (Armies), belonging to the Company. In the month of August 1790, I had an
"interview with him, and having entered into engagements of alliance, we mutually executed
"a treaty, under the oath of inviolable friendship. Now such is my connection with the
"English, that we are of one soul, though of different countries. I am ready to execute
"whatever you shall desire; you will be made perfectly well-acquainted with my attachment
"to the English from the General (Abrecrombie) of the Bombay Army. Tippu has by binding
"himself by oath enticed away a great many of the Coorga (Kodagu) people whom he forcibly
"engages to go to war; should they of their own accord desert or be taken prisoners, and
"come into your Lordship's hands, deeming them, as belonging to yourself be pleased to en-
"courage them, and send them to me by the safest road. Your kindness towards me in this
"point is necessary, deeming me inviolably attached to your Lordship----"

In another letter, the Raja made himself known to the Company Government that he was their subordinate and his existence and of his State on which he presided over, depended upon the good-will of the British. The British, at the same time, tied him to their alliance, and Tippu Sultan being their common enemy, Kodagu became a small but very important link between the west coast and Srirangapatna. In his letter of the 6th July 1791, Viraraja wrote to the Governor-General Cornwallis, that:-

"At this time, the General (Abercrombie) of Bombay has charged me with a letter to send
"to your Lordship requesting me to get and transmit a speedy answer. Therefore, I send it
"accompanied with one from myself by the bearer-----.

"I contracted a friendship with the General of Bombay, from which time considering God as
"my witness united my interest with yours and from the time of the execution of the treaty
"have been ready to execute whatever was required of me. I consider with my soul your pros-

"prosperity or adversity as my own; whatever your Lordship considering me sincerely attach-
"ed and devoted to your service; and supported by the Company, shall impose upon me, I will
"execute. Be pleased to direct the General here TO TRY ME AND IT WILL THEM BE SEEN. I hope
"your Lordship will favour me with an answer to this."

"EVERY POWER IS IN MOTION:"-

Sir Patric Cadell, in his "History of Bombay Army", wrote that:-

"-----Gen. Abercrombie, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army-----joined by the force
"Capt. Dow-----captured Cannanore on the I7th December (I790), the enemy's force of 5000 men
"surrendering to him. These brilliant successes established British supremacy in Malabar.
"Joined by Col. Hartley in January I79I, and by the 73rd King's, Abrecrombie proceeded to
"ascend the Ghats to cooperate with Lord Cornwallis's army (Grand Army) which was advancing
"by Bangalore after storming the fort there, upon Srirangapatna.....

"With infinite labour, the Army penetrated the Coorg (Kodagu) country as far as Peryapatna
"early in May (I79I). Cornwallis, however, in spite of his successes in the field, had been
"obliged to destroy his heavy guns and retire owing to the failures of the two Mahratta armies
"under Hari Pant and Parasurama Bhau to arrive with the necessary supplies-----It was not possi-
"ble to cooperate before the rainy season and Abercrombie had been ordered to return to the
"coast, which his army reached "worn down by sickness and fatigue" and exposed to torrential
"rains of the area. There they refitted for the campaign and in December again in four bri-
"gades, the four European regiments as before-----and finally joined Cornwallis in front of
"Srirangapatna on the I6th February I792, and, on the I9th, they successfully crossed the
"Kaveri-----"

Thus a stage has been set up for the Mysore War of I792. The Raja of Kodagu was too pleased to help the British not only by giving a right of way to their army but also by his immense supply of food grains, especially rice. He personally supervised the collection of those things.

On the other side, the Grand Army of Lord Cornwallis came down from Dharwar and encamped at Nandidoorg in October I79I. The immediate cause for these troop movements in this enormous scale were that the British wanted to put down the growing power of Tippu, and also to cut off his relations with the French and other local Chiefs. Tippu was the last powerful enemy of the British in India, and all eyes were on him. The Madras Courier of January I792, wrote that:

"The operations of the Grand Army now upon the eve of important commencement, engage the
"thoughts of our Indian world, nor is the expression hyperbolical; every prince and every state
"on the peninsula, that we have acquaintance with, or a knowledge of, is either
"directly or indirectly interested in the events. Every power is in motion; either in the cabi-
"net or in the field; either in hostility to our measures or exerting their endeavours to pro-
"mote their success.

THE RAJA'S SUPPLIES:-

On the I7th February I792, General Abercrombie left his artillery and military stores, left Heggala in charge of a regiment commanded by Col. Finch, and made an arrangement with Viraraja to supply these troops with provisions and to increase the general stores. The Colonel had to give receipts to the Raja. The main body of the Bombay army then marched to Siddapur, and, in the meantime, at the other end, the commanders of the 'Grand Army', Lord Cornwallis and Gen. Meadows, with their troops moved from Bangalore to Srirangapatna.

Viraraja the Elder took special trouble to assist the English army that passed through Kodagu to Srirangapatna. He collected rice through his men in Kodagu, a total of 500,000 Dangals (2½ seers a Dangal) in Kiggatnad alone under the charge of Subedar Ketolira Achayya (Achanna) who had orders to supply to the agent of Gen. Abercrombie. Apart from rice, the Raja provided to the English army thousands of heads of bullocks, sheep etc, and as many things as he could provide from his territory. As the British army was gaining ground all around, Tippu sent a letter to the Raja of Kodagu through one Kadar Khan, in which the Sultan said to forget the past and lay aside enmity. He wrote that:-

"It would be better to have friends that were at hand than friends at a distance. The "Company would in the end leave you to your fate and forget to reward you for your services, "while I, if you would espouse my cause now and assist me in expelling and destroying the "British army, offer to give you for ever Heggadadevanakote, Bettadpura, Konanur and Arkal-"gode------".

That was what Tippu Sultan wrote to the Raja, but the latter found it very hard to digest the contents of the letter. On the other hand, the Raja's men detained the bearer of the letter, Kadar Khan, at the frontiers, but the latter managed to send the letter to the Raja with a fellow-ambassador. Viraraja took that letter to his saviour, General Abercrombie, and after consultations with him, replied to Tippu, that:

"By similar promises you have formerly deceived and ruined Kodagu. God has given me "one tongue with which I have pledged fidelity to the English. I have no two tongues like "you------".

MESSAGES TO ENGLISH ARMY:-

Major Cuppage, commanding Coimbatore, wrote to Sir Charles Oakley, Governor, Fort St. George, forwarding an extract of a letter received by Gen. Abercrombie from his Koorg (Kodagu) camp, dated the Ist January I792. He said in his letter dated the 9th January I792, that:

"-----Extract of a letter (that) I received this morning from General Abercrombie, dated "the Ist January 1792, stating that-----'I am glad to inform you that the weather is not quite "settled and the road on the Ghat perfectly good; in two days more, I shall have the whole of "the bettering train and stores at the top of the pass-----I shall be able to execute any orders "I may receive from your Lordship."

In the meantime, from the Ashtagram camp of the 'Grand Army', Major Cornwallis wrote to Major Cuppage of Coimbatore, dated the 9th January 1792, that:

"I have----to request that you will use your utmost exertions to prevent the enemy from "receiving supplies either of money or grain from the country below the Ghats, and you will "at the same time recollect that Tippu's main army is at no great distance from you, and be "careful not to expose your detachment to any mortifying checks."

On the same day, the 9th January 1792, Cornwallis wrote to the Governor, Sir Charles Oakley, explaining his anxiety over the movement of the Mahratta force under Parasurama Bhau, and then continued to say that:

"This injustifiable conduct on the part of Bhau will greatly distress me, and render it "very difficult for me, not withstanding all the forts we have taken to keep up the communi- "cation with our supplies, or to bring General Abercrombie forward on the south bank of the "Kaveri. I shall trust (that) we will overcome difficulties of all kinds and in the end comp- "letely accomplish the substantial parts of the plan of the campaign----".

The Grand Army split in different units surrounded the vicinity of Srirangapatna. The Madras Courier correspondent gave a thorough account of all the preparations that were carried out and said that:-

"Each has its own field officer of the day, and they are to be connected by a chain of "sentinels, so that one wing with the cavalry may be employed in opposing the enemy in the "field; if they should (be) hardy enough to make their appearance there, whilst the other, "joined to Gen. Abercrombie's army, are occupied in carrying on the seige."

The role of Kodagu in this great event was manifold. Kodagu districtd served as a main thoroughfare to the English army that came by the West, and the Raja supplied them with plenty of rice, bullocks etc. Kodagu was assured of its stability and an independent existence although it went through a kind of feudal subordination. However, the district found a respectable place in the history of the country from that time onwards and her reputation was much enhanced and resounded all over.

KODAGU IN THE NEWS:-

News about the British action against Tippu Sultan, and about their army movements towards the fort of Srirangapatna, were flashed all over the country, and the Gazettes and the Couriers

Couriers of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras published the whole thing in great detail. Robert Abercrombie's army which started from Bombay, got swollen at the Malabar coast, was an army of 8,500 strong. It passed through Kodagu which in turn became a staunch ally of the British. On the way, the Army met with an incident concerned to a spy of Tippu. The report said about him as below:-

"We were fortunate a few days ago as to detect one of Tippu's spies by the vigilance of "the Coorga (Kodagu) Raja and Capt. Reynolds in whose service he had the address to engage "himself, and he was found to be a man of family; but after being examined by a Board of "Officers, he was hung in a public bazaar as an example to those that may hereafter venture "on so dangerous an employment."

The circumstance under which the spy was caught was later explained in another news bulletin as below:-

"A spy-----had been engaged himself in Capt. Reynold's service, who had reasons to dis- "trust him, and in putting his fidelity to trial, received convincing proof of his treachery; "he sent him under pretence of suspecting the attachment of the Corgah (Kodagu) Raja, with a "message to him of other tendency-----apprizing at the same time the Raja of the experiment.

"The man thinking there might be ground for the suspicion, was no sooner in the Raja's pre- "sence, then he at once proposed negotiating with him for Tippu. He declared himself autho- "rised to make the proposals, which were, that if he would prevail on the General to send up "his guns, his treasure and other stores of value to the top of the Ghat, before the Army, "and admit through his country a couple of cushoons of horse to seize them, and infantry to "carry them off-----The man, on his return, was put in irons and on several letters being "found on him and his person, identified by a Board of Officers, he suffered for treason on "the gallows."

UP ON THE WESTERN GHATS:-

It was for the first time, an army of that strength and magnitude had marched over the Ghats between Kodagu and Malabar, and it was a tremendous feat in those days, i.e. 180 years ago. The experiences of this army during their march was reported in the Indian papers of those days as below:

"Advices from Gen. Abercrombie's army of the Ist March (1791) mention that they marched "from Balliapatna on the 21st February (1791), and had attended the Podecherrum Pass through "the territories of the Corgha (Kodagu) Raja.

"The army got through this difficult Pass without meeting with any interruption. It is "described as extremely high, rocky and in some places almost perpendicular; for an extent "of forty miles the army marched through forests and thick jungles. It would appear that "the enemy could have had no suspicion of Gen. Abercrombie's intention of invading the Mysore "country by this pass, as from the difficulty of ascent, a few troops might have defended it against any numbers.

"At the head of the Pass, the army found the bones and cartouch boxes of three regi-
"ments of Hyder's which were cut off formerly by the Corgha (Kodagu) Raja.

"Gen. Abercrombie by the last accounts was encamped about 70 miles distant from Sri-
"rangapatna, but it was supposed, his first attack would be directed against Peryapatna, the
"former capital of the Corgha (Kodagu) Raja, and taken from him by Hyder.

"A large body of Nairs were acting in conjunction with our troops and had rendered the
"most essential service. The day after our Army got possession of the Ghat, the General issu-
"ed the following order:

"Podacherrum Pass, February 26, I79I. (G.O.)

"The Commander-in-Chief would have ~~mi~~ more pleasure in congratulating the Army on the
"easy though important possession of the Corgha (Kodagu) Ghat, were he not a witness to the
"inconveniency the corps in advance had already sustained and were he not pursuaded that with-
"out the exertion of every person in the Army, they must still sustain for some time. The
"difficulty for transporting the stores and provisions through so intricate a country, can
"only be renedied by the labour of the battalions and the zeal of the officers. He now there-
"fore calls on them in the most earnest manner to evince their interest for service by allow-
"ing their private convenience to give way to the public good, and the General persuades him-
"self that the officers will follow his example, and supply their cattle and followers to assist
"in so necessary a service."

About the assistance, the English Army got from the Raja of Kodagu, a brief reference was given in a note issued to the Press in June I79I. It said that:

"General Abercrombie by the last advices was ready at the head of the Ghats to march, and
"expected to join Lord Cornwallis with his forces-----The General has eighteen pounders and one
"month's provisions, and the Corgha (Kodagu) Raja had engaged to supply, carriages for the stores
"and provisions which the General was not able to transport with his own cattle----".

THE RAJA AND BAHADUR KHAN:-

In the Calcutta Gazette of the I4th April I79I, another incident about the Raja's involvement with the chief of Tippu's forces, one Bahadir Khan, was reported, as below:

"Bahadur Khan with 5000 of Tippu's troops, and 500 cattle, had been sent from Sriranga-
"patna, to the relief of Mackra (Mercara ?). On the 24th February (I79I), the Corgha (Kodagu)
"Raja attacked them in the front and rear though rather too defiant to do much execution. Baha-
"dur Khan marched on some few miles, but on the ~~25~~ 25th, he was completely hemmed in. His peo-
"ple remained in this situation a day and a half without a drop of water. At length having
"400 men killed and no possibility of forcing the Raja's strong posts, Bahadur Khan presented
"himself before his enemy, and acknowledging his inability to escape, asked the Raja what terms
"he was to expect. The Raja told him that he must lay down his arms and surrender at discret-
"ion. The other replied, "There are terms to which I cannot accede; and were I to accept of
"them, my matter would certainly put me to an ignominous death; and you, Raja, should remember
"that you are under some obligations to me. You will remember that when you were a prisoner in

"in the dominions of my master and under my immediate charge. I, not only lightened the "burden of your chains and even at the risk of that life which is now in your possession, "both permitted and aided you to escape. Now you have an opportunity to show your love "of gratitude, and to return the obligation."

"Yes, Khan," answered the Raja without hesitation; "Well do I remember your friendship. "Go, and take with you all your people but never permit me to free you or any of them again "in my dominions, and of this, I must exact your promise."

" Bahadur promised and he was permitted to return.".

However, the seige of Srirangapatna of February I792, had nothing to do with the Raja of Kodagu directly, although he was a main character in the political drama of the time. Led by Lord Cornwallis, on the moonlight night of the 6th February, the British forces marched into the island of Srirangapatna in three columns. After a heavy fight on the seventh day the English occupied all the strategic positions around the island when Tippu was forced to agree to the armstic terms.

A STUDY IN RETROSPECT:-

Previous to this war of I792, the Raja of Kodagu had applied to the British for assistance. His letters of request for help had been there since I783, although thev were in the names of 'Ootia Naigues' or 'the Uthayavar or Wodeyar Nayaks' of the time, but it was only from the August of I790, the British could come to a definite understanding with the Raja, and from that time, the English moved fast into a war with Tippu. The terms of treaty after the war, were as below:-

"i) To give up half the dominions he held before the war ii) To release all the prison- "ers held since the time of his father (Hyder), iii) To pay as indemnity of Rs. 3.30 crores, "and iv) to hand over to the English two of his youngest sons as hostages."

This armistic terms revealed that the circumstances proved very disappointing to Tippu Sultan. Col. Fraser's report of I834, summarised the course of events that led to this major setback of Tippu, and the part played by the Raja of Kodagu, and the troubles that he had to encounter on account of Tippu's belligerancy. Col. Fraser wrote that:

"In I784, Tippu, after having treacerously seized Gen. Mathews and his officers at "Nuggur and reduced Mangalore, marched through Coorg (Kodagu) on his way back to Sriranga- "patna and compromised matters with the insurgents. The young Coorg Rajas and their fami- "lies were imprisoned in Peryapatna. Before the lapse of a year, Coorgs (the people of "Kodagu) rose again, defeated a force of I5,000 men sent against them from Srirangapatna, "but afterwards submitted to Tippu himself who treacherously carried them to Mysore. They "were replaced by Muslim landlords whom Tippu supplied with labourers from Adawani in

"in Bellarey, and Nagappayya, a nephew of Subbarasayya, was charged with the Government of "Coorg (Kodagu), but he was soon convicted of embezzlement and condemned to the gallows "when he fled to the Kote Arasu in Malabar.

"In December 1788, Viraraja escaped from Peryapatna with his family and for whom he found "a refuge at Kuruchi, a sequestered spot in Kiggatnad near the sources of the river Laxmana-"thirtha. He now sallied forth at the head of his Coorg (Kodagu) people, to fight the Mus-"lims. In a short time he had cleared the country of usurpers from Bisleghat to Manantody. "Plundering expeditions into Mysore were carried on at this time and the gallant Viraraja, "once on his return from an expedition, visited Kuruchi----".

TIPPU LOST HEAVILY:-

The third Mysore War was a well-planned and well-manouvred war. After that a series of meetings took place between Tippu Sultan and the British representatives, and the most important of the out-come was that he had to surrender the districts of Salem, Dindigal and Malabar to the British, and also had to relinquish his partial control over Kodagu. The detachment of Baramahal and Kodagu broke down the natural barriers which offered natural protection to Tippu's kingdom, and, with that, the further invasion of Mysore both from the East and the West became easy.

To add to this, the pathetic incidents like Tippu's handing over of his two young sons to the British as hostages, and the payment of indemnity of Rs. 3.30 crores, and things like that were all moving. That sum was collected "as a reimbursement of the expenses of the war".

The treaty that was negotiated after the losses and casualties on both sides, seemed to be humiliating and expensive to Tippu Sultan. It was signed on the 19th March 1792. Tippu lost half of his territory but still had an outlet to the sea in Kanara or the west coast. A great part of Malabar went to the British.

Sir Robert Abercrombie and the Raja of Kodagu, in the meantime, became thick friends. The Raja met the general of the English army again at Virarajpet to which place the Raja's name was confirmed on this occasion, and then they decided upon having a fresh treaty as a result of the consequences of the Mysore war. The British had recognised Tippu's claims for a passage through Kodagu together with the district, and the Government of Bengal agreed that Tippu was "justified-----but-----it would have been returned to him but for the treaty with the Raja of Kodagu."

THE RAJA WAS PROTECTED:-

After the war, Tippu was very angry with the Raja of Kodagu who had become a staunch ally of the English. The route through which the English army came from the West Coast had been a

a bone of contention for several years and among different ruling chiefs, and now the British succeeded in breaching the Ghat and entering Mysore. Tippu naturally was furious against the Raja, and he, even went to the extent of threatening the British to break off the negotiations, and the circumstances of which has been vividly described in the book on Lord Cornwallis' correspondences. At Chapter XIV of the book, it is said that:

"When the portions of the territory which were to be ceded came under discussion, most "vehement opposition was made by Tippu. The conduct of the Raja of Coorg (Kodagu) had "already been mentioned, and Tippu flattered himself that when peace with the English was "concluded, he should have full leisure and power to punish a chief whom he called a re-"fractory vassel. But Lord Cornwallis was determined not to abandon a faithful ally, and "therefore, claimed, as part of the Company's share, a belt of territory, the possession "of which protected the Raja from Tippu. The latter was so indignant, that although he "had already paid a crore, and that his sons were in Lord Cornwallis' camp, he threatened "to break off the negotiations. Without an hour's hesitation, Lord Cornwallis ordered "the seige works to be resumed, and the hostages were actually on their march towards "Bangalore, when Tippu yielded and the definitive treaty was signed----".

The Raja's services to the Company did not go unrecognised, and, on the other hand, he was amply rewarded. In the treaty of March 1793, it was stipulated that the Raja pay the Company 8000 Hans or Rs. 24,000 annually which he was supposed to have been paying to Tippu, and which the Raja denied. This money payment by the Raja was at once commutted by Lord Cornwallis. An English friend of the Raja, "an officer", later on in 1857 wrote, that:

"----Marquiss Cornwallis, with all the high-mindedness of an English nobleman grateful "for the services rendered to the common cause by the Raja, and of which he was an eye-"witness, for the gift of an elephant, an animal abounding wild in the Kodagu country, "which the Raja was required to present annually to the East India Company----".

CHAPTER VII.

AFTER THE WAR OF SRIRANGAPATNA.

THE RAJA'S CONQUESTS:-

After the war of Srirangapatna, the English danced with joy on account of the success they gained. The Madras Courier of January 1792 wrote on the operations of the 'Grand Army' at the Bangalore fort and on the later achievements, and said that:

"Success- is the propitious word and omen to our arms, and to the cause of justice. With "such an army as ours what force can combat; its onset must be irresistible and over-whelm "everything that may attempt to oppose it. An army well-appointed in every respect, innured "to the toils of war, and accustomed to the conquests, amply supplied with the provisions, "attended by a full treasury, and headed by leaders whose high and approved abilities our humble "eulogies cannot reach. "

On the eve of the final assault of the fort of Srirangapatna, they said, in continuation of what they said above, that:

"Every day now accumulates importance, and will increase our anxious hopes until the great "crisis arrives which is to determine the fate of Tippu; a crisis from whence humanity is to "derive a reestablishment of her much injured rites and from whence the human murder of our "counfrymen is to obtain revenge."

The Raja of Kodagu had gained some round-about districts to his territory during his struggle with Tippu, and those areas were those on which he had the ancient rights since the days of the Ikkeri and Belur chiefs. Capt. Macleod's report gave some more details of the Raja's exploits as well as the losses. He said that:

"Conquests made by the Raja during the war, and relinquished at the time of Peace (in "1790 and again in 1792)-----.

"In his letter of the 7th June 1792, the Raja informed the Commissioners appointed to "settle the province of Malabar that formerly there were disputes between him and Tippu; that "took the whole of his country; that he took from Tippu. Igoor, a good country that lay con- "tiguous to Mangalore and Bedanur districts, and that he had given up the country of Igoor "by order of General Abercrombie.

"In a letter bearing the same date, he informed the chief of Tellichery that he took cer- "tain districts belonging to Ajur Nagur (?) and Mangalore, and that at the conclusion of peace "he evacuated Tippu's country.

"In a subsequent letter to the same person, 17th July 1792, he mentioned having taken "sundry places situated between Subramania and Mangalore, also the districts of Ajur, the "whole of which he relinquished.

"In his letter of the 2nd April 1793 to Gen. Abercrombie, he noticed the restoration of "the village of Ergur (Irkur) which he taken from Tippu."

THE RAJA ALSO LOST:-

Capt. Macleod proceeds to say about the Raja's conquests, that:

"Finally during his conference with Capt. Mathew Murray of Nalknaar (Nalknad) in July "1793, the Raja mentioned the names of the sundry places which he had wrested from Tippu "during the war and relinquished at the conclusion of Peace viz, Phithur (Puttur), Oopenghu- "rry (Uppinangadi), Panja and Bellare, and hinted at other places situated beyond Amara and "Sulya, of the whole of which the annual revenue amounted to 40,000 Hans. He declared "that he could have maintained the possession of those places in defiance of Tippu, and, "even at this time, the inhabitants came to him for protection which he could not give them.

When the definitive treaty was signed in March 1792, the Kodagu Raja lost heavily, and so also some other minor rulers of the west coast. Viraraja lost Amara, Sulya and Yelusavirasime taluqs, and that meant that he was left only with the area to the South of Madapur, Suntikoppa and then Madikeri and the whole of South Kodagu. The explanation of the British for this action is seen in Capt. Macleod's report, that:-

"Having noticed briefly the events of the war, it will be proper to take into consi- "deration the disputes which succeeded the treaty of peace concluded at Srirangapatna on "the 16th March 1792 respecting the districts of Amara, Sulya and Yelusavirasime, and the "invasions and predatory incursions which took place on both sides whether authorised or "unauthorised by Tippu and Kodagu Raja.

"On the 15th March 1792, the day previous to the signature of the Definitive Treaty, "Lord Cornwallis writing to Sir Charles Oakley, Governor of Madras, informed him respect- "ing the progress of the negotiation and the vigorous defence for which the enemy was pre- "paring; on the subject of Kodagu, he observed that it was with great difficulty that Tippu "was brought to act in quiet (?) that country.

"This circumstance was mentioned to the Raja by Mr. Farmer, Supervisor of Calicut. in a "letter dated the 19th July 1795. He had already in his letter of the 27th June, directed "Capt. Murray who was deputed to Nalknad to tell the Raja that by the cession of the Malabar "country, Kodagu was understood to be included, and that merely to show the good faith of "the Company to him, that it was very unfortunate that no well-informed person was present "on his part when the Minutes of Peace were settled, and that by a similar mistake and neg- "ligence, certain other Rajas were entirely precluded from protection of the Company, for "which reasons it would be necessary for the Raja to content himself with the taluq of "Kodagu dismembered of the districts of Amara and Sulya and Yelusavirasime, in the defence "of which he would receive no help from the Company Government. Capt. Murray was directed "that in the event of a negotiation with Tippu's officers, to insist upon the Raja's title "to the three dostricts."

Capt. Murray met the Raja at Nalknad with the above message on the 15th July 1792. When the Raja heard that he lost those three important districts, he "upbraided the English with

with ill-faith in neglecting his interests, with tears of rage." However, the three districts of Amara, Sulya and Yelusavirasime have a long chequered history.

THE RAJA WAS ALERTED:-

The Treaty of Srirangapatna was signed, and Tippu Sultan's wings were sufficiently clipped. But before the ink with which the treaty was written could dry, troubles at the Kodagu and Mysore borders began, and the people of Kodagu took to some retaliatory measures against the Mysoreans. Moreover, the Raja of Kodagu felt himself powerful with the support he got from the British on account of his treaty with them in October I790. However, the Governor-General Lord Cornwallis wrote to the Raja of Kodagu on the 5th June I792, that:

"It has been represented to me by Tippu's vakeels residing with me that the subjects "of your country commit depradation, and make incursions into the districts lying on the bord-"ers and belonging to Tippu Sultan.

"Although I am well-convinced that such conduct cannot have been observed with your know-"ledge, yet it is incumbent to communicate to you the information which I have received, and "accordingly, I send you the copy of the letters which Tippu received from his Ameens.

"As peace has been happily established between Tippu and the Company, it is highly nece-"ssary that all acts should be prevented which can in any respect lead to renew disagreements "or be in the contrary to the rules and customs established between nations and particularly "those of the hostile nature complained of which Tippu will with propriety "resent; I, therefore, desire that you will immediately issue orders throughout the country "to proclaim the peace concluded between the Company and Tippu-----."

Lord Cornwallis, while he was on his way to Madras from Srirangapatna, directed his Persian translator, to write to Ghulam Ali Khan and Ali Rezza who sent the complaints from the Ameens of Peryapatna on the behaviour of the Kodagu Raja and his people. The letter dated the 2Ist September I792, was as below:

"-----His Lordship influenced by a sincere desire to accommodate every difference that "might arise subject to his amicable interference, wrote to the Coorga (Kodagu) Raja, and tra-"nsmitted such letter through the Governor of Bombay and in duplicate through the Chief of Tellicherry. The latter received a letter from the "Raja-----From its contents, Tippu will judge how much confidence is to be placed in the re-"presentations of his Ameen and will, his Lordship trusts, be assured that the Raja will con-"duct himself in a friendly manner; at the same time he flatters himself that Tippu will not "molest the Raja in the quiet possession of his just rights-----".

THE RAJA'S LETTER:-

The above mentioned letter of the Raja, dated the I7th July I792, to the Chief of Tellicherry, was as given below:-

"I have received your two letters-----Formerly when Hen. Abercrombie's army was there, "Tippu and his principal officers wrote to me that they knew I was in friendship with the "English which could prove of no advantage to me, because they were people who belonged "to Europe and Tippu's territories were adjoined to me. That in giving the preference to "his friendship, Tippu would consider himself as bound to be strictly my friend, and to give "me every assistance in his powers for which reason, I ought to commit some treason against "the English army to make them go away. Immediately on receipt of these letters, I sent "them with their messengers to the General, and wrote to Tippu that having but one tongue "I had pledged my word to the English, and never would prove false to them; having so pledg-"ed myself, as I would not side with Tippu, the English army passed through my country and "arrived at Srirangapatna-----at which he has written to the Governor-General that I had "committed outrages in his territories, and other bad things against me. The letter which "you sent from the Governor-General of Bengal mentions that having made peace with Tippu, "his country ought not to be molested.

"After the peace was concluded, the Governor of Bombay was here, and he told me that "according to the articles of peace, I might not to molest the territories of Tippu nor "would he molest my country and that I should retain quietly my ancient possession for "which reason I relinquished all the places; I had taken from Subramanya to Mangalore and "the district of Ajur (?). I retained two districts namely Amara and Sulya which I have "possessed ever since the time of the king of Ikkeri, now for 200 years. Tippu actually "came to take these places by force. I told them (Tippu's men) that these places had be-"longed to me, for the Company; I put a stop thereto, but they disregarding my endeavour, "fired and by force took those ~~Bedanore~~ places and my people.

"The Nawab Hyder Ali, when he took Bedanore, examined the districts appertaining thereto "and found that the two places formerly belonged to the Ikkeri Raja and were given to the "Coorga (Kodagu) Raja on which account Tippu has no reason to force-----in this manner-----"

"Sd) Virarajendra Wodeyar.

GEN. ABERCROMBIE CERTIFIED:-

In the last meeting with Viraraja the Elder at Cannanore in March 1793 while proceeding from Bombay to Calcutta, Sir ~~Robert~~ Richard Abercrombie honoured the Raja by drawing up a new agreement to certify his 'gallant ~~chief~~ ally' and to bind him still closer to the Company. The terms of the agreement were all worded in flattering terms and that served the Raja as a certificate rather than an agreement. It said that:

"The Raja has himself recovered his heriditory principality from Tippu Sultan. The "Company have in no way assisted him in the struggle. When hostilities between the Company "and Tippu commenced, the Raja of his own ~~accord~~ accord, attached himself to the Company "and concluded a treaty, the documents of which are preserved in the archives of Tellichery.

"The Raja freely opened the country to the Bombay forces which marched from Tellichery

"to Mysore and was most zealous in providing the Company's troops with everything he could "procure for them in Kodagu and Mysore. Without his friendly assistance, the Bombay army "would have met with great difficulties. Of his own accord the Raja refused to receive pay-"ment for his supplies of grain, cattle etc.

"Tippu repeatedly tried to shake the fidelity of the Raja but the latter never swerved "from his allegiance to the Company.

2In March (I792) when the treaty was concluded at Srirangapatna, Lord Cornwallis in order "to ~~make~~ free the Raja of Kodagu entirely from the power of Tippu, desired to take him under "the protection of the Company. Tippu raised a most violent opposition but in vain. Upon "that he falsely stated that Kodagu paid him a yearly tribute of Rs. 24,000 which he would "transfer to the Company.

"In opposition to this falsehood, the Raja of Kodagu asserts that he has never paid such a "tribute, but he, quite willingly to pay of his own free will, the sum of 8000 Pagodas (Rs. "24,000) to the Company every year for their friendship and protection.

"The Company, on the other hand, engages not to molest the Raja and not to interfere in "the Government of Kodagu, as the Raja is comptent to take care of his own affairs.

"dated the 3Ist March I793. Sd) Robert Abercrombie."

THE OFFICIAL AGREEMENT:-

Sir ~~Robert~~ Richard Abercrombie, after proceeding to Cannanore, drew up an official agreement with ~~the Raja~~ the Raja in a strictly business-like manner, and more technically worded. It said, "The ~~Engagement~~ with the Raja of Coorg (Kodagu) in I793".

The terms of agreement began saying that, "Haleri Viraraja of Coorg (Kodagu) being desirous "that the situation in which he stands with regard to the hon'ble English East India Company "may be clearly understood by all their servants, I do hereby declare and certify", that:

"i) That the said Raja at the commencement of the late war with Tippu Sultan (the Raja then being in possession of the greatest part of the Kodagu country, the reminder of which he afterwards recovered without the aid of the Company) offered his assistance to the honourable Company, which we accepted, and an agreement was accordingly entered into between him on his own part, and Robert Taylor Esq., Chief of Tellicherry, on the part of the Company, as will appear by the records of the settlements.

"ii) That the Raja entered most heartily into the war, and supplied the Bombay army under my command with a quantity of grain and cattle without which the troops would have been greatly distressed, and for which the Raja has hitherto declined taking any pecuniary compensation.

"iii) That from the commencement of the war till its conclusion the Raja continued most firmly attached to the interests of the Company, notwithstanding the repeated attenpts of Tippu to seduce him.

"iv) That in March last, in settling the Article of the treaty of Peace at Srirangapatna, Lord Cornwallis, in consideration of the noble and disinterested conduct of the Raja, determined to render him entirely independent of Tippu and to extend to him and his country the

the protection of the Company, the numberless objections that were made to this were overruled, and the tribute amounting to 8000 Hans, said to have been annually paid to Tippu from the Coorg (Kodagu) country, was transferred to the Company.

"v) That the Raja readily agrees to pay to the Company 8000 Hans annually for their friendship and protection though he declares that Tippu Sultan never received that sum from his country.

"vi) That no interference was ever intended on the part of the Company in the interior management of the Raja's country, trusting that a prince possessing the most liberal sentiments will make the happiness of his people his constant study.

"vii) GIVEN UNDER MY HAND AND SEAL AT CANNANORE, this day the Thirty-first of March in the year of our Lord One-Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety-Three. Sd) R. Abercrombie.

NOTE:- The Hoons or Hans are reckoned at three rupees each the sum- therefore that the Raja will have to pay annually at Tellicherry amounts to Rs. 24,000."

Cannanore, the 3rd April 1793; Sd. Robert Abercrombie.

ALWAYS A FEUDATORY CHIEF:-

From October 1790, and especially from the time the above treaty was agreed upon between the Raja and the English, the former remained a trusted friend of the Company and his affairs prospered. On account of this treaty, he could not realise his dream of gaining Kodagu independently for himself. It had only passed on to the English from Tippu Sultan's control, either full or partial. In fact, the Raja, from the time of his father Lingaraja I, and from the year 1774 when Devapparaja lost his fight due to Hyder Ali's interference, had been always a feudatory chiefs and never the absolute masters for nearly twenty years prior to this treaty of 1790 and 1793. The Company wanted the Raja to pay them the tribute and asked him to return the districts which he got from Tippu. Accordingly, Panje and Bellare were given to the English and the Raja retained Amara and Sulya. This was an act of injustice on the part of the Company towards the Raja although according to the treaties of 1790 and 1793, the Company drew him closer to their interests.

The Raja was then a young man, buckishly dressed in nankeen pantaloons, European boots and a shirt made in the English fashion. The original inhabitants, the Kodavas, it is said, "were fierce-----not easily to be managed. They have always been an unlettered nation" said an 'English Officer' who wrote about them at that time. After the war, and on the eve of their retiring from Bombay with their army, Sir Robert Abercrombie and Sir James Hartley, went to the Governor-General and said, as reported by "An Officer", that:

"The raja of Kodagu, our faithful ally from the commencement of the war, who has served "us at all times to the utmost of his power, opened the country to our troops, supplied us "with provisions during the whole course of hostilities and risked his life in many a fight "against Tippu, and to whom we have given in most solemn assurances of friendship and protect-"ion, will now be left to the mercy of his still too powerful neighbour and dreadful enemy."

That was how the Bombay Government had seen the Raja and the territory which he left open to the English army to pass through. The map of the Western India was brought out for the first time in 1792 in which Kodagu and Malabar were shown as British possessions they got as a result of the treaty of October 1792. Gen. Abercrombie was the man who succeeded in securing Kodagu with a gesture of friendship and goodwill, and that friendship and goodwill worked very well between the people of Kodagu and the British for quite a long time.

HELP CAME TOO LATE:-

During that long struggle for passage to the West Coast or for a right of way along the Ghats to the plains down, the main areas of dispute were not only Kodagu but also the adjoining districts of Amara, Sulya, Bellare and Yelusavirasime. These regions were disputed even from the days of the Ikkeri and the Belur chiefs. After the fall of Bedanore in 1763 at the hands of Hyder Ali, the latter returned to Mysore through Kodagu and then started his campaign over those areas claiming a passage to Malabar on the strength of his occupation of Ikkeri kingdom which consisted of the above-said districts also. From that time on, for over fifteen years, Hyder Ali conducted several campaigns over Kodagu and created a fatal rift in the Kodagu ruling family Hyder died in 1782, but the problem of Kodagu did not end with him. Tippu continued the same aggressive policy, when in 1783, 'Ootia Naigue' or Uthayavar or Wodeyar, a chief of Kodagu, sent his appeal to the British for help about which much had been said in the pages behind. That was, however, the first contact that Kodagu had with the British, but the latter seemed to have been a bit friendly with Tippu in those days, and that depended mainly on the extent of friendship the English and French enjoyed among them.

Anyway, the British help to Kodagu came too late after six years in 1790 and 1792, when Kodagu was converted to a feudal state of the British with the native chief in charge of the internal administration. Capt. Macleod, in his well-written document stated the circumstances of the time, and that is dated the 8th December 1795:-

"In February 1784, while the negotiations were carrying on in Mangalore, 'Ootia Naigue' "(a local chief) made earnest application to the Commissioner-in-Chief for the British Army

"Army on the Malabar coast for assistance informing him at the same time that the country "below the Ghats to the northward of Mangalore, were all in Tippu's hands, and that the "Sultan was preparing to reduce Corga (Kodagu) for which he had assembled I2,000 horses, "30,000 foot and 40 pieces of artillery etc at Astaree (Astagram ?), situated about ten "miles north-east of Kodagu camp and country's, through which it would be necessary for him "to fight his way if he intended to attack Tellicherry."

WHY ACCEPTED FRIENDSHIP:-

The Commissioner of Malabar, Capt. Robert Taylor, writing to Jonathan Duncan of Bombay Government, on the 2nd April I793, explained further, the mutual cause that led to their connections with the Raja of Kodagu. In that he made it clear that his desire to occupy the Ghat Pass between Malabar and Kodagu was the reason to develop and accept friendship of the Raja of Kodagu. He said that:

"-----In justice to the Raja, I beg leave to state the circumstance which gave rise to "our connection with him. Soon after the breaking out of the war, the Raja and his broth- "er who had been confined from their infancy in one of Tippu's forts contrived to make "their escape and return to their own country where the Raja immediately found followers "and adherents with whom he made head against Tippu's troops and recovered his country; - "the fort of Mercara being the last place from whence he dislodged them.

"Reflecting on the importance of Having the Kodagu pass open to us, I gladly accepted "his offer of friendship and accordingly invited him to Tellicherry where the agreement "was entered into in October I790, at which time he was in actual possession of his country. "It is well-known that our troops availed themselves of the pass to proceed to Sriranga- "patna where they joined the Grand Army under Lord Cornwallis. It is justice also to say "that the Raja has ever shown himself our steady and zealous friend, and when bullocks were "wanted for the army he made a voluntary present to the Company of upwards of 3,000 heads. "At the conclusion of the peace he became under the Company's protection and as a mark of "his dependance on them the tribute to be paid by him was stipulated in the articles of "Treaty-----."

The details of the skirmishes which called for the immediate intervention of the British in I789-90, was said to be that after the escape from the prison, Viraraja met Tippu's forces which came under Ghulam Ali who was on his way to the west coast. On his march, he was attacked at Kodantur Pass (?) and suffered severe losses. Thereupon, Tippu sent a considerable reinforcement under four captains, and, amongst them there was a Frenchman, perhaps the same Bally whose name was mentioned once before. Viraraja waited for them at Heggala while the people of Kodagu fought the enemy and succeeded and looted their baggage and got the best of the booty.

FROM FIRE-PAN TO FIRE:-

So, it happened that when Tippu's forces were beaten by the Kodavas in the year I789, Tippu dispatched a strong army under his brother-in-law Buraan Uddeen, to secure forts of Kushalnagar, Madikeri, Beppunad and Bhagamandala. The final assault took place in June I789 when Viraraja headed an army I500 and attacked Kushalna ar on the banks of the Kaveri. Without discipline or organization, the Kodavas fought and drove the Muslims. By I790, everything was over. They displayed strength chiefly behind the stockades and the Kadangas. It is after this battle, the British through Robert Taylor of Tellicherry, began taking interest in the cultivation of friendship of Viraraja when the latter had to agree to get himself roped in by the British and to their conditions by the treatyof I790 and I793, and that some-how seemed to have been like his falling from fire-pan to fire.

But who was this 'Oota Naigue' or Uthayavar Nayak, who first appealed to the British for help in I783 and I784, is not clear. Capt. Macleod wrote about him that:-

"It might be supposed that Oota Naigue was either related or strongly attached to the "interests of the Raja of Coorga (Kodagu). He is, however, represented by Col. Andrew Gordon "in his letter of the 3Ist January I784 to the Bombay Government as an upstart Raja who was "making conquests in the Coorga (Kodagu) country. The Colonel informed them that Tippu had "marched a body of troops against him."

Giving a background story of of the treaty of I790, Capt. Macleod said that when the Treaty of Mangalore took place in I784, the Company Government had ignored or 'abandoned' the people of Kodagu. Further he said that:

"On the 11th March I784, peace was concluded between the Company and Tippu Sultan by "which event the people of Kodagu and of the Province of Malabar were laid open to the tyrant's "resentment-----It appears however, on the authority of Mr. Uhtoff, acting Resident of Poona, "(letter of the I7th October I795 to the Governor-General that the power of Tippu was not per-"manently established at that time- I784).

Col. J. Fraser, in his minutes of the I2th April I834, said that Tippu sent Muslim landlords into depopulated Coorg (Kodagu) and gave them lands and slaves and labourers from Adawani in Bellari district. He also said that; what Tippu Sultan stated to have instructed to his men in those days stating that:

"The country is given to you in Jaghir, to improve it and be happy; the extermination of "those mountaineers being determined on, you are required as an imperious duty to search for "and to slay all who may have escaped our just vengeance, their wives and children will become "your slaves."

Col. Fraser wrote also about the appointment of Subbarasayya's nephew Nagappayya who was charged with the Government of Coorg (Kodagu), but he repeated the old records in which it was said that Nagappayya was soon convicted of embezzlement and was condemned to the gallows, when he fled to Kote Raja.

UNAIDED, THE RAJA RECOVERED:-

Captain Macleod's report on Tippu's atrocities in Kodagu and the way the Raja and the people of Kodagu recovered the country without any external aid, was the most correct version than that was given in the 'Rajendraname'. It is said that:-

"Invasion of Kodagu by Tippu; Desolation of the country and deportation of the inhabi-
"tants: '----The ~~situation~~ Sultan was engaged in hostilities with the people of Malabar
"and Kodagu in the beginning of the year I786 when the allied Armies of the Mahrattas and
"the Nizam invaded his country in the direction of Buddammy (Badami). Although the exact
"period is not mentioned, it was asserted by Gen. Abercrombie in his letter of the I2th
"February I79I, to Lord Cornwallis that the Corga country (Kodagu) had been laid waste
"by Tippu for some years (as said by the Raja at a conference with Capt. Murray in July
"I793). Capt. Murray later wrote to J. Duncan, Governor of Bombay, on the I9th Septem-
"ber I793 and said that it was universally known that Tippu partly by force and partly by
"treachery carried away the captives-----and afterwards parcelled out of Coorga (Kodagu).

"Partition of the country into Jaghirs: In Jaghirs to his dependants----at this con-
"ference, the Raja observed that his country remained with Hyder and Tippu.

"Raja's escape from prison; the return ~~from~~ to his own country; Revolution of the in-
"habitants in his favour: 'till the time of his escape from Peryapatna which(he said)
"took place two or three years previous to the commencement of the war. The circumstance
"of Tippu's being engaged with the Mahrattas and the Nizam, in the Adoni quarter in I786
"and in January I787, would lead to a supposition that he evacuated the Corga country
"(Kodagu) about that time. The Raja proceeded to inform Capt. Murray that he immediately
"returned to his own country where he was acknowledged as their Raja by every man if, and
"that the inhabitants of Amara, Sulia and'Errusawera Sawmey' or Yelusavirasime, were among
"the first who showed their attachment to him.

"Period of the Raja's escape differently stated: The account given by Mr. Robert
"Taylor, Chief of Tellicherry, in his letter to the Malabar Commissioners, dated the 2nd
"April I793, is widely different from the account given by the Raja respecting the period
"of his escape, and leads to different conclusions. Mr. Taylor stated that soon AFTER
"the breaking of the war, the Raja and his brother, who had been confined from their in-
"fancy in one of Tippu's forts, made their escape.

"Revolution in his favour and expulsion of Tippu's troops: The princes returned
"to their own country where the Raja immediately found followers and adherents, with whom

"whom he made head against Tippu's troops.

"Unaided by the Company's troops: The Raja recovered his country, the post of Madi-
"keri being the last from whence he dislodged them."

CHAPTER VIII.

KODAGU AND THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT.

DUNCAN AND ABERCROMBIE:-

The affairs of Kodagu in its initial stages were attended to by the officials of the Bombay Government because Bombay was found conveniently closer to Kodagu through the west coast and by the Malabar route. The rest of the passes and districts around Kodagu were all the parts of the dominion of Tippu Sultan.

When the Kodagu chief 'Ootia Naig' first appealed to the British for help, he wrote to the Commissioner of Malabar in I783 and I784. Later on, till I790, some of the Company officials and agents visited Kodagu, and they included Capt. Robert Taylor who was in Kodagu in I790, and had preliminary talks with the Raja at Nalknad. Soon after that, the Raja's relationship with the Company Government became stronger, and that was so especially after signing the treaty of Tellicherry in October I790. Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, and Sir ~~Robert~~ Richard Abercrombie, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army, were the two spokesmen in those days, who directly dealt with Kodagu, and thus made it a feudatory state of the East India Company Government. At that time, Lord Cornwallis was busy commanding his Grand Army at Dharwar between January and April I79I. After dealing with the seige of Dharwar, Cornwallis came down to Bangalore and stormed the fort there, and then proceeded to ~~Sir~~ Srirangapatna. After the Mysore war, the Governor-General himself took interest in the Kodagu affairs, and in the book, "Cornwallis Correspondence", Page 72, the below information is given:

"General Abercrombie encountered no serious impediment in his march (through Kodagu) and "had reached without loss, the upper Ghats when he was ordered by Lord Cornwallis to retrace "his steps. He accordingly burried his artillery, and fell back into the British territory. "His movements had been materially aided by the Raja of Kodagu, whose history would at any "time have been considered worthy of the age of chivalry. The whole tale is romantic and "his character stands out in strong relief as compared with those of other Eastern princes. "Throughout the war, he was a most faithful ally and he received his recompense when the "treaty of peace was signed."

"EXTREMELY ADVANTAGEOUS":-

After the Mysore War of February I792, the British were in possession of some territories in the South, including Malabar and Kodagu. Governor-General Cornwallis addressed a letter to the Rt. hon'ble Henry Dundas, on the I7th March I792, in which he said, that:

"-----The possession of Kodagu and Pacatacherry (Palghat) effectually secure the "two passes by which only Tippu could possibly disturb us. The Rajas on that coast are "independent, but now become our subjects, and if we can put them in some degrees on the "footing of the Bengal zamindars and prevent their oppressing the people under them, the "commerce of that country in pepper, spices etc may become extremely advantageous to the "Company-----".

Again in his letter to the Court of Directors, written from his Mysore camp, on the 5th April 1792, an extract of which was already quoted behind, the Governor-General also said ~~that~~ about the extreme commercial and agricultural advantage they could have from these"tracts of hills" and "fertile countries" that they just acquired. He said that:

"-----I am convinced that Sir Charles Oakley (Governor of Madras) and Gen. Abercrombie "will select the most capable and trustworthy of your servants to manage the newly acquired "territories, and Gen. Abercrombie agreed so perfectly with me that it was of the utmost im-"portance for the national character and for the interest of the Company that we should com-"mence our Government of the countries on the coast of Malabar upon a good plan----before we "divided them finally into districts, to appoint Commissions to make temporary settlement "with all the chiefs-----.

"P.S.:- Tippu Sultan's country having been divided according to its revenue, and not "its extent, it will be obvious to you that the Nizam and the Mahrattas could not, in the high-"ly cultivated and fertile countries in which their portions were claimed receive the same numb-"er of square miles that fell into the Company, as in our portion Kodagu is included which pays "only a small and limited tribute, and there are considerable tracks of hilly and barren ground "in several of our other districts and for similar reasons, the division left to Tippu greatly "exceeds in the number of square miles-----".

PROTECTION OF THE COMPANY:-

The treaty of Tellicherry of 1790, and the later treaty of 1793 with the Raja of Kodagu, were the most generous gesture on the part of the Company Government. Not only they found Kodagu as a very resourceful territory but also they recognised the Raja's help to the British especially by supplying plenty of grain and cattle without taking anything from them in return. Declaring the Raja as totally independent, the Company Government said, that:

"Should the Raja's family or any of his subjects have occasion in the present trouble to "take refuge in Tellichery, the Company engaged to receive them at the foot of the Ghats and "conduct them in safety to Tellichery under a guard of Sepoys, where they shall find an asylum."

This treaty freed the Raja from the yoke of Tippu Sultan. In 1793, the treaty was modified when the Raja became under Company's protection and as a mark of dependance on them the tribute

tribute to be paid by him; By this, it was clear that the Raja was only a native feudatory chief of a British territory. The Governor of Bombay, J. Duncan opined that:

"As long as Kodagu Raja found it his interest to side with us, he would continue to do "so, but there existed not in his mind any permanent attachment between us that he must "therefore be treated with great delicacy in all our transactions with him."

Furthermore, for the grain and cattle supplied by the Raja in 1792 to the Company, he did not take any compensation from them. They wrote that:

"That in March last (1792) when settling the Articles of the treaty of peace at Sri-"rangapatna, Lord Cornwallis in consideration of the noble and disinterested conduct of the "determined to render him entirely independent of Tippu, and to extend him and his country "the protection of the Company-----A tribute amounting to 8000 Hans (Rs.24,000) said to "have been annually paid to Tippu from Kodagu, was transferred to the Company----The Raja "readily agrees to pay to the Company 8000 Hans annually for their friendship and protect-"ion though he declares that Tippu never received that sum from his country."

TIPPU AND THE FRENCH:-

What provoked the Government of the East India Company to take stern measures against Tippu and all so sudden as that in 1792, and after an all out effeort of a long strenous campaign with their armies from many sides? What again is the cause for the Bombay Government to cultivate friendship with the Raja of Kodagu, which friendship they hesitated to secure in spite of the Kodagu chief even five or six years prior to that?

The reasons are here. The peace treaty in Europe between the English and the French in 1784, was only on the surface. Internally, the French were not happy at the growing power of the English in India. Hyder Ali was an ally of the French, and, therefore, the latter desired his son also to cultivate the same friendship with them. But it so happened that Tippu too seemed to be in good books of the English. Here is an account of the reception that Tippu gave to the ship, 'Britannia' in 1789:-

"The Britannia touched at Tellicherry- (15th April 1789). Tippu came to the Fort (as "soon as) the news was received. He advanced towards the wall of the Fort with an array "of troops, Foot, Horse and Artillery and in a manner sufficiently insolent to put the "garrison on their guard. He sent his Vakils to demand the small adjacent land of Dhara-"puram of which Government of Bombay had order to take possession of."

This and many other reasons and incidents strained their relationship which was never cordial, and, for this, there were many more serious causes. Tippu's friendship with the French was developing fast. For instance, on the 11th of August 1789, he sent to the

the King of France some substantial presents, and, it was said, that:

"Tippu's present-----the mighty presents of Tippu's ambassadors at the court of the French "king; among others, a sword with which this "Oriental Alexander" processed he had, with his "own hand killed 43 of his enemies. The presents in all were worth a million sterling."

A POWERFUL INTERNAL EVIDENCE:-

A Declaration of the Governor, Fort St. George, by and with the authority of the Governor-General of India, after the last Mysore war, gives an essential information about Tippu's trying to secure help and friendship from many sources against the English. The extract of that Declaration is given below:

"-----After the fall of Srirangapatna, the British Government obtained possession of the "original records of Tippu, the correspondences of that prince's ambassadors, during their "residence at Fort St. George in attendance on his sons- the hostage princes in 1792-73, esta-"blished sufficient grounds of apprehension that their that their Highness the late Nawab "Muhammad Ali and the late Nawab Ougat-ul-Arah had entered into a secret intercourse with "Tippu of a nature so hostile to the British interests in India----.

"The term employed in the said cypher, particularly those intended to designate the Bri-"tish Government and its allies, the Nizam and the Mahrattas, stand united in a defensive "league against Tippu, contain the post powerful internal evidence-----".

This is a long note from the Madras Secretariat passed on from the agents of the Bombay Government soon after the war of 1792. These and many other reports against Tippu Sultan made the Company to firmly bind the Raja to their side, whereas on the Raja's "unshaken fidelity", Capt. Macleod wrote that:

"The Third Article (of the Peace treaty) states that from the commencement of the war to "its conclusion, the Raja continued most firmly attached to the interests of the Company, "notwithstanding the repeated attempts of Tippu to seduce him.

"A striking instance adduced: The Raja's letter of the 17th July 1792 to the Chief of "Tellichery affords a striking a instance of his fidelity. The Raja observed that while "Gen. Abercrombie and his army were in his country, Tippu's officers wrote to him requesting "him to commit some treason against the English army to make them go away, that he sent these "letters and the messengers who brought them to him to Gen. Abrecrombie, and wrote to Tippu "informing that he had but one tongue, and having pledged his word to the English he would "never prove false to them.

"The Fourth Article says that in March 1792, when settling the Articles of Treaty of "Peace at Srirangapatna, Lord Cornwallis in consideration of the noble and disinterested "conduct of the Raja, determined to render him entirely independent of Tippu, and to extend "to him and his country the Company's protection, that numberless objections were made to

"to this on the part of the Sultan, but were over-ruled, and that the tribute amounting "to 8000 Hans said to have been annually paid to Tippu from the Corga (Kodagu) country was "transferred to the Company."

"A TRIBUTARY STATE":-

Kodagu became a tributary state with the signing of the treaty by the Raja both in I790 and I792. Capt. Macleod wrote in his report, that:

"The Raja's pretended consent to remain a Tributary Prince: The Fifth Article stated "that the Raja readily agreed to pay to the Company 8000 Hans per annum for their friend-"ship, though he declared that Tippu never received that sum for his country.

"This stipulation was made in conformity to Lord Cornwallis' letter of the 23rd March "I792 to Gen. Abercrombie although the sum was considered to be trifling, no advance was "to be made.

"Complaints as to the payments of Tribute: Whatever willingness the Raja may have ex-"pressed in his communication with Gen. Abercrombie, his tone was materially altered when "at a conference with Mr. J. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, on the 4th April I793, a few "days after he complained of the change of circumstances in which he was now placed by the "modification of the treaty of October (I790).

"No Tribute imposed by the Treaty of I790: Of October I790, which imposed no tribute "upon him (the Raja), he did not see why he should pay for the Company's protection, for, "he considered them to be under obligation to him in a greater degree than he was indebted "to them, and as to the future, he was under an apprehension, for, he asserted that Tippu "could not overcome him by force or deceive him by fraud.

"Mr. Duncan (the Governor of Bombay) proceeded to observe that the Raja had not on his "part, entered into any engagements for the payment of his tribute; nor had he even been "asked to sign such engagements, since, from the tenor of his language, it appeared that "such a proposition would have only rendered him more jealous of the English, without effec-"tively securing the payments for which it would be necessary for him to trust to his good-"will and to his honour, of which he possessed a high sense, that he promised to pay up the "whole by the end of each year in such a way as should best suit him. He said he had rea-"lised nothing from his country since the war, but would, if required, borrow money and "pay the Company from the same time as the Malabar Rajas did. Mr. Duncan allowed him "about twelve months' abatement of tribute for the improvement of his country."

THE RAJA DEPOSITS MONEY:-

After thus reducing the Raja of Kodagu to the rank of a subordinate chief under the Company Government, the Bombay Government, as per the directives of the Governor-General, took interest to persuade the Raja to deposit some of his money in his account and in the books of the East India Company, and to that effect they promised him a good interest.

interest. From this point, another transaction took place between the Company and the Raja, and after years, that gave considerable headache to the descendants of the Raja. The receipt for this first payment was sent by the Military Pay-Master-General, Thomas Herring of Bombay Castle, dated the I2th July I793. It said that:

"I have the honour to enclose you the first Bill of Exchange drawn on me by Mr. Galley, "late pay-master to the Army in favour of Haleri Viraraja of Coorgha (Kodagu) for Rs.I,09,I92 "One lakh, ninethousand, one hundred and ninety-two), and request to be ~~forwarded~~ favoured "with your direction whether I am to accept to or not permit me to remark that it is not en- "dorsed by the Raja which may probably due as it is for so long, an amount that ample security "in all probability be required should it be paid without his endorsement.

"Sd) Thomas Herring, Military Pay-Master-General, Bombay, I2th July I793.

"Subject: A Bill in favour of Coorgha (Kodagu) Raja to be returned for ~~in~~ favour of endor- "sement:

"Agreed that the Bill be returned for the Raja's endorsement, and that he should be acquain- "ed that in the interest on Prmissory Notes is reduced to six per cent, he may receive the "amount from the Tellichery treasury with interest at eight per cent from the date of the "draft until is discharged, or the Chief Factors may grant him a certificate to be exchanged "at the Presidency for a Promissory note at six per cent."

"REPEATEDLY BORROWED":-

R. Montgomery Martin, speaking in defence of the then Raja of Kodagu who was away from his country, and long after ~~his~~ the latter's death, in I865, said in connection with these deposits. He found the British as mere traders who had repeatedly borrowed from Viraraja the Elder, promising him a good interest. To say how this transaction was initiated, Montgomery Martin quoted a letter of General Abercrombie, of the 23rd September I793, written from Madras, to the Raja. The first deposited amount from Kodagu went to the Bombay treasury and through the officials of the Bombay Government, and it is said by M. Martin about that as given below:

"He (the Raja) needed no aid from the Company."

This is not true. Military aid was asked by the local chiefs of Kodagu many times from I783 to I789, and it was only in I790, the British came to his help.

"He well-governed the country".

This is also not true. After the young prince was rescued from the Peryapatna fort by his able Kodava Karyakars in I786 or I788, Viraraja the ~~Eldr~~ Elder had to be always fighting with the men of Tippu with the help of his "loyal and warlike subjects".

"And lastly his expenditure was considerably within his (Raja's) revenue- a circumstance

"circumstance particularly convenient to the Company, who, borrowers from the beginning to "the end of their career, obtained repeated loans of money from the Raja to enable their "factors at Tellichery to purchase supplies of pepper and other Eastern produce for remitt-"ance to England.

"A letter from Gen. Abercrombie is extant, which is curious as illustrating how strong-"ly the safety of the investment was urged upon the Raja as a reason for continuing to lend "money to the Company at a considerably lower rate of interest than he might have obtained "elsewhere.

"To the Raja of Coorg (Kodagu), (wriiten from Madras), dated the 23rd September 1793.

"I have had the happiness to receive your friendly letter of the 1st July and the 28th "August (1793). I am extremely glad to find that you enjoy good health.

"With regard to the business on which you write, I have to acquaint you that the credit "of the hon'ble Company is so great that the Supreme Government has resolved to pay no high-"er interest than six per cent per annum and such of their creditors as do not choose to "accept so low an interest for their money may have the principal paid to them.

"Mr. Robert Taylor (of Tellichery) has been informed of this, and has been directed by "the Government of Bombay to tell you that, if you donot wish to let your money remain in "the Company's treasury at five per cent per annum, he will pay you with full amount of your "account with interest due upon it at the rate of eight per cent per annum. Lest there "should have been any mistake, I have written to Mr. Taylor an order that the business may "be immediately settled without giving you any further trouble.

"I wrote to you some time ago that I had procured a rifle gun for you and that Mr. Sand-"ford would send it to you from Bombay as soon as the weather would permit.

"I propose to sail for Bengal tomorrow when I shall always be glad to hear from you., and to know from yourself that you and your people prosper and are happy-----"

"Madras, 23rd September 1793, Sd) ~~Robert~~ Richard Abercrombie.

HOW IT HAPPENED?:-

The stage was set for the friendship of the two 'C's, (Coorg and Company) in the beginning of the year 1790, when in August of that year, Gen. Abercrombie met the Raja and later in October that year, the Raja signed the treaty at Tellichery. Thereafter, the course of events took a new turn with the Raja in the fore-front of the affairs and the name of 'Ootia Naigue' was not heard after that, and this 'Naigue' or Nayak or the local chief, was the person who had initiated this move to bring the Company and Kodagu together about six years prior to 1790. Capt. Macleod's report is as below:

"Overtures made by the Raja to the Chief of Tellichery (when the Raja) gladly accepted "the British terms. Mr. Taylor reflecting on the importance of having Coorga (Kodagu) Pass open, gladly accepted his offer of friendship, and invited him to Tellichery where an agree-

"agreement was entered into on October I790 at which time he was in the actual possession "of his country.

"Service rendered by the Raja: He ever after showed himself the steady and zealous friend of the British, and at one time or the other, furnished upwards of 3000 bullocks "for the use of the army.

"Question, as to the period when the war commenced- Discussed:

"To ascetain what is meant by the commencement of the war, will be found to be a "matter of some importance as respects of three districts, which were, for so long a time, "the subject of litigation between Tippu, the Raja and the Company; for the matter seems to "have been brought to this issue by the Commissioners, supervisors and the chief of Tellichery. "Was the Raja of Kodagu in the actual possession of Amara, Sulya and Yelusavirasime at the time "when the hostilities commenced? If so, it must be understood that in ceding the taluk- "Coorg (Kodagu), Tippu intended to cede the three districts as included in the territory poss- "essed by the Raja previous to the commencement of hostilities. Tippu's attack on the Raja "of Travancore lies on the 29th December I789, the first act of hostility committed by the "Company's troops against Tippu- affixed to the name of the taluq Koork (Coorg ?) in the treaty "of Srirangapatna.

"Coorga (Kodagu) tribute:- was a tribute of I000 Pagodas. Was this a sum charged by the "lump, or did it consist of certain particulars? The latter probably was not the case. It "was said that the disputed districts were annexed to the Government of Mangalore; a question "that would then arise: Was not a tribute paid by the inhabitants of these districts to the "Government of Mangalore, and to how late a period?

"The commencement of the war on the part of the Company would seem to have taken place in "April or May I790, prior to which date the Kodagu Raja is said to have commenced hostilities "with Tippu, and to have recovered a part of this country."

A ZEALOUS ATTACHMENT:-

Capt. Macleod's report on the friendship and mutual attachment of the Raja and the Company Government from the year I790, makes a readable piece of honest evaluation of the affairs. He continued to say about that as under:-

"The Raja's heroic conduct and zealous attachment manifested towards the British during "war of I789- I792.

"The progress made by the Raja, and the assistance afforded by him to Gen. Abercrombie dur- "ing the war, are briefly noticed by the Raja himself, Gen. Abercrombie and by Mr. Taylor. It "appears by Mr. Taylor's letter of the I6th September I793 to Mr. Jonathan Duncan, that the "Coorga (Kodagu) Raja retook his own country before the war began, invited the Company's "troops into it, afforded them a passage to Srirangapatna, and furnished them with every acco- "mmodation in his power, whereas the Malabar Rajas all fled. This young prince, at all times, "most zealously assisted the English, and when the Bombay army descended the Ghats at the end

"end of May 1791, kept possession of his country in defiance of Tippu, and against the beg-
"inning of fair season, opened the way

"Certificate granted to the Raja by Gen. Abercrombie setting forth the reconquest of "Coorga (Kodagu) by the Raja, and assisted by the British: Overtures made by the former to "the latter : And Treaty: Services rendered by the Raja:

"General Abercrombie's acknowledgement of the Raja's services was drawn up in the "form of a treaty, and by him presented to the Raja on the 31st March 1793, a few days pre-
"vious to his departure for Bombay.

"The First Article says that at the commencement of the war, the Raja was in possession "of the greatest part of the Coorga (Kodagu) country, the reminder of which he afterwards "recovered without the aid of the Company; that he offered his assistance and that in "consequence of this offer, an agreement was entered into on the 26th October 1790.

"The Second Article states that Haleri Viraraja entered most heartily into the war (of "1791-92) and supplied the Bombay army under Gen. Abercrombie with a quantity of grain and "cattle, without which the troops would have been greatly distressed, and, for which the "Raja had to this period, declined taking any pecuniary compensation."

GOVERNOR DUNCAN'S LETTER:-

The letters exchanged between Gen. Abercrombie of the Bombay Army and J. Duncan, Governor of Bombay, throw some more light on the subject of their friendship with the Raja, on the State frontiers etc. Gen. Abercrombie wrote from Cannanore on the 3rd April 1793 to the Governor and to the Commissioner of Malabar, as below:

"I have already informed the measures I have taken to obtain authentic information on "the subject of the complaints made by Tippu, and have sent for your perusal several papers "and letters relating thereto.

"My letter to the Presidency must preclude my gaining any further knowledge, how far "this representation is grounded or not. I am sensible however that you will use every "means not only to investigate what is past but to guard against any further disturbances "on the frontiers and to assist you; the Kodagu Raja is desired to deliver an answer in "writing to the complaint preferred against him and the commanding officer on the coast is "directed to give you information he may obtain from the surveyors or others, that may tend "to give an insight into the real state of frontiers. I have to request that you will be "pleased to settle with the Kodagu Raja the period at which his PESHUSH (tribute) is to be "paid and from which time it is to commence, an account which he has against the Company, "will be taken up with me to Bombay and settled there."

On this Mr. Duncan observed in his minutes as follows:-

"The preceding communication from the Government of Bombay being received yesterday "whilst the Raja Haleri Viraraja Wodeyar was just about taking leave of me on his return

return to Tellichery whence he is to proceed to his own country. I had left but a very "short time to converse with him on the subject of the last paragraph of Sir Abercrombie's "letter. I must also remark that in all cases of money or relatively to his dependance on "the Company, I have observed a shyness on the part of the Raja who seems not quite pleased "with the treaty of mutual amity entered into with him before the war, having since been from "circumstances so modified as to render him a tributary nor do I believe he would be very back-"ward if ever he should be ill-used or disgusted to throw off a connection of which he plainly "speaks as if the obligation were nearly all on our side, at the same time, he either feels, or "affects to feel, the utmost contempt for Tippu's power and asserts that the latter can never "overcome by force and as to that prince's fraud he is now on his guard against it; in short, "as long as the Kodagu Raja finds it his interest to side with me, he will continue to do so, "but there is as to not in his mind any permanent attachment between us. He must therefore be "treated with great delicacy in all our transactions with him, a mode of conduct which if pre-"served in, may contribute permanently to cement our connection and ultimately perhaps improve "the degree of his dependancy on the British interest.

"Meanwhile he has not entered on his part into any engagements for the payment of the "tribute nor has he even been asked to sign to any such engagements, once from the tenor of "his language it appeared that such a proposition would have rendered him more jea-"lous with us-----".

"POSSESSES MORE CANDOUR":-

Continuing his observations, Governor Duncan stated further, as below:

"With respect to the period of the payments of his PASHKUSH (tribute), I would not get "get him to be more particular than to assure me that he would pay up the whole by the end of "the each year, either in one or more instalments, as should be more convenient to him-----or "I told him that-----instead of reckoning his tribute as due from the date of treaty of Sri-"rangapatna, let its payable commencement be reckoned from this month (April 1793.)-----.

"I have to only add that in all my conversations with this Kodagu Raja who seems to be a "young man possessing more candour and openness of character than any native Indian I have "seen. I have repeatedly inculcated to him to beware of entering into border or other dis-"putes with Tippu which he has promised and will I trust have good deal of forbearence and "moderation in this respect. At the same time that he will not allow Tippu's people much to encroach on him without resistance to show his good disposition on this head, he desired that "he would as often as ever we liked appoint spies on his conduct-----.

"In the latter part of his conference with me, he offered to seize on and deliver up to "Tippu or EVEN KILL the Raja of Kumbla to whose present ravages he ascribes Tippu's late comp-"laints against him. In reply, I told him it would be quite proper for him to deliver up the "Kumbla Raja to Tippu, but if the said Raja-----enter Kodagu and fall into his hands, he should "keep him a prisoner and send him to us in that State to answer for his late conduct----that "is all that passed between us on the subject, and then this Raja took his leave."

Now coming to the subject of Amara, Sylya and Yelusavirasime, both Tippu and the Raja of

of Kodagu were adament in their claims over those areas. Regarding Tippu's claim, there was a reference in the letters to the deputation of Capt. Murray in I793, by the Malabar Commissioners with full powers to reconcile the claims of the contending parties. Later, when Capt. Doveton accompanied the hostage princes on their return to their father (Tippu Sultan), he was instructed not to embark on any discussion on the subject with Tippu, as the Raja of Kodagu did not appear to welcome the Company's intervention. The negotiations thus dragged on till another serious encounter took place after a few years.

"WAS DETERMINED TO OBTAIN":-

Soon after the treaty of I792 was signed at Srirangapatna between the English and Tippu Sultan, Lord Cornwallis sent a communique, dated the 9th April I792, to Henry Dundas, Secretary of State, and to the Directors of the East India Company, England. That is a lengthy note of more than 5000 words from which the below extract is given, and that showed that Governor-General Cornwallis was determined to obtain "Coorga (Kodagu) country for the Company as being necessary to form a secure barrier for our new possessions on the coast of Malabar". This letter was published in the London Gazette, White Hall, as well. It said that:

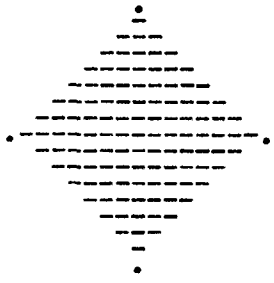
"I have the honour to enclose a copy of the definitive treaty which has been concluded with Tippu Sultan, conformably to the tenor and spirit of the preliminary articles which I transmitted to you by the last despatch-----.

"Upon the adjustment of this indispensable point (revenue affairs), further difficulties were stated by his (Tippu's) objecting with great warmth, to cede some of the districts which had been included by the allies in the selection of their respective proportions, and above all others, his repugnance to relinquish the Coorga (Kodagu) country which I was determined to obtain for the Company, as being necessary to form a secure barrier for our new possessions on the coast of Malabar, against every power above the Ghats, appeared at one time almost insurmountable.

"At this stage of the negotiations, the allies were not only in possession of his (Tippu's) two sons as hostages but also of about eleven hundred thousand pounds of the sum that he had agreed to pay in ready money which I should have considered sufficient pledge from any other man for the performance of the whole of the preliminary articles---".

But long after that, Tippu Sultan's reaction to the terms of such a treaty was outrageous. He was like an injured tiger, and, verily he was that, when he saw the British aiding the Raja of Kodagu in many ways. Tippu exclaimed stating that:

"To which of these territories (of the British) is Kodagu adjacent? Why do "they not ask at once for Srirangapatna? They know that I would sooner have died in "the breach than have consented to such a cession and durst not bring it for-"ward till they had treacherously obtained my children and my treasure."



CHAPTER IX

AFTER THE TREATY OF SRIRANGAPATNA.

CAPT. TAYLOR ON KODAGU:-

Before the British could cultivate friendship with the Raja of Kodagu, Viraraja the Elder, they received from all possible sources information about the things, places and people they were dealing with. After James Sibbald who corresponded about the Kodagu affairs from his residence at Srirangapatna, it was Capt. Robert Taylor of Tellicherry, who wrote a comprehensive account about Kodagu in the end of the year 1791. Capt. Taylor was the first English official who visited Kodagu early in 1790 together with Sir Richard Abercrombie, and his report sent to the Home Office on 'Coorgah country' (Kodagu) was the first authenticated document on Kodagu, the extracts of which is as under:-

"-----Gen. Abercrombie added to his military strength some respectable allies on the "Malabar coast, besides the Raja of Travancore, the Zamorin of Calicut, the Raja of Carti-"nad, Cotticote, Cherakal and Kumbla who together with thousands of Nambiars or independ-"ent land-lords, have armed the subjects in the common cause-----but the most distinguish-"ed in zeal and affection to the British cause, the Rajah of Coorgah, his particular his-"tory and an account of his country deserves to be recorded, and his name to be respected "by every Englishman.

"-----The Podacherum Pass is situated in the country of the Coorgah Raja----forty miles "from Canannore, the road from thence and particularly the ascent to the pass has made the "troops with immense labour and fatigue. By this avenue, Gen. Abercrombie has conveyed "to Podachcherrum Pass his guns, a large quantity of provisions and a complete train of "battering cannon and stores for the seige of the capital (of Tippu).

"-----Many things are to be considered in the discussion of this important question "and to me there appears but the following modes accomplishing the task. i) Establishing "peace with honour to ourselves, safety to our interests and satisfaction to the native "powers of India ii) Subjecting Tippu to pay the expenses of the war, declaring the in-"dependence of the Malabar powers and the Raja of Coorg (Kodagu), and satisfying the Nizam "and the Mahrattas for the encroachments on their respective countries and due compensat-"ion to the king of Travancore----."

THE KODAGU TERRITORY:-

Capt. Robert Taylor continued to say in his report, that:

"The march of Gen. Abercrombie has made considerable merit in exploring the country "from the sea coast, almost in a direct line with Srirangapatna. Previous to this, the "inhabitants of Tellichery, though not more than 90 miles direct distance, were unacquaint-"ed with the State either the country or the roads, so little communication had they with

"with the interior parts. The intercourse with the Kodagu Raja with the Government of "Tellicherry, first awakened our attention to the route by the Baliapatna river. This "river falls into the sea I8 miles northward of Tellicherry and is navigable for tolerably "large boats.

"-----From Tellichery to the village of Kaure 20 miles; Kaure to Illiacour (Irkur) eight "miles; Illiacore to Viatore (Watepare) I2 miles, Viatore to the Podacherrum Pass six miles; "to the top of general encampment (Virarajpet ?) four miles; to Peryapatna 22 miles- Total "I02 miles.

"-----Hyder Ali, about 22 years ago, found means to get possession of the present Raja "who is of the Hindu religion, at that time a young man of I0 to I2 years of age. He was "strictly guarded in the fort of Peryapatna, though with a nominal Jaghir, and he was allow-"ed horse attendants when he chose to ride out and treated with a distinction due to his rank---.

"Finding him a promising boy, he wished particularly to gain him over to his interest, and "it is reported, not without some degree of credit being given, that the Raja though now a "Hindu, has undergone the visible marks of persuasion. A brave spirit is never to be over-"come-----He meditated his escape, and it was not till two years ago that with a few chosen "adherents, he ventured to emancipate his people. When he returned to his country, out of "30,000 inhabitants, he found the wretched remains consist of 4000 (?) who had been kept to-"gether-----where the troops of Tippu had not been able to penetrate-----.

"The efforts of the Coorgs (people of Kodagu) inspired by the courage of their prince, put "the forces of the Nawab (Tippu) at defiance, he dared scarcely to enter their country with-"out a large force-----In one of these attempts, some very fine carriage bullocks fell into "the hands of the Raja-----."

CULTIVATION OF FRIENDSHIP:-

Robert Taylor further gave the details on how the Raja tried to woo them and also the circumstance of their getting together. He said that:

"The Raja had considered Tippu and the English as natural enemies; from the decided steps "that usurper had, on every occasion, taken against them, in conjunction with the French. To "cultivate our friendship, he preferred his alliance as to accompany it with a present of "part of the bullocks taken from Tippu, to the amount of 500, an offering during the commence-"ment of the war, highly acceptable, and for which he would receive no award. To pay respect "to his kind and unasked favour, a British officer was despatched to pay him a compliment, "and to receive the cattle-----He (the British Officer) has favoured me with a short descrip-"tion of his country.

"It has been the unsuccessful aim of the Nawab to drive us from the vicinity of his count-"ry, by dispossessing us of Karnatic when Travancore and Tellichery would become an easy "prey and his dominions extend from sea to sea.

"I shall finish my observations by some account of the Coorg (Kodagu) Raja and of his "dominions, estimating that country and the friendship of its Raja as a point of material "importance in the present war; and still more so, should the ambition of Tippu Saheb not "be entirely humbled.

"We were joined by a messenger who had been despatched to meet us from the Coorga (Ko-
"dagu) Raja-----This country, I observed, to have a wilder appearence-----Its valleys being
"fewer, and of less extent; and the jungle continually thickening as I drew nearer to the
"Ghats-----After a most fatiguing march of ten hours-----at quarter before 6 p.m., I halted
"in the Coorga (Kodagu) country at the village of Beppernautt (Beppunad) or Coroot (?)---".

"The rain was heavy and incessant, the wind boisterous and the air every moment growing
"colder, till it became more so----and the roads so slippery that it was ~~mmk~~ with much
"difficulty they could keep their feet-----At this place we experienced a most pleasing
"reverse of the treatment-----the inhabitants behaving with utmost cordiality and hospita-
"lity, readily and cheerfully supplying us with comfortable and commodious lodgings and
"offering~~s~~ ~~is~~ excellent provisions-----.

"After receiving the necessary order and papers from the Raja, I marched to Nalknad----
"had an interview-----upon my arrival. He assumed a good deal of state upon the occasion,
"and had the letter which I brought read aloud to him. He then asked me if I knew the
"contents, and upon my requesting the bullocks to be immediately put into my charge and
"offering an invitation to him to repair to Tellicherry, assuring him it was part of my
"errand to have the honour of guiding his person, he ordered them to read a second time,
"and told me he thought I must be mistaken as the latter was in neither of the letters. I
"pressed him in vain to accompany me. He said that he could not then move without the
"greatest inconveniences but in the fair weather he assuredly would visit Tellichery. As
"for the bullocks they were ready, but that I could not possibly take them with me for the
"badness of the roads-----The next day he received me with less pomp and more familiarity
"and we soon agreed that I should leave some Sepoys with him to assist in bringing the
"cattle at the time appointed and return myself the next day. He told me that he had two
"Europeans in his country, who by the description of their dress, took to be deserters, one
"from the artillery, the other from the Regiment and that he would send them also.

TAYLOR -THE FIRST DIPLOMAT:-

One could say that Robert Taylor as the first English diplomat who had come on an errand of a great significance, exactly 180 years back, although a couple of Englishmen were in Kodagu before Taylor's going there, and all of them went there on political missions. Captain Taylor's account of Kodagu was the first informative document about Kodagu, and that was included in the files "ON THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN INDIA" during the time of the general operations of the Mysore War in 1791-92. About the Raja, Capt. Taylor wrote that:

"The Raja is slender, but well-made, a fine eye and great vavacity; he is passionately
"fond of horses, and the General (Abercrombie) presented him with two of the best he could
"procure. He spoke with great respect for English, with horror and disgust of Tippu, and
"it was pleasing and satisfactory to hear his expressions of gratitude----of his subjects
"who in the time of his distress neither forgot their love and respect for him nor swerved
"from the natural independency of their minds-----.

"I am apprehensive that the climate of the Coorga country (Kodagu) is unfavourable to "strangers during rains; the height of the mountains, no doubt, attract the clouds----Should "the army(of Abercrombie) remain----in that country during rains-----sickness is the only "enemy-----which I am confident will be counter-acted-----.

"The village where the Raja resides is that situated near which, on a separate and higher "eminence, is his DURBAR, very little superior to other houses, which are mud walls with good "timber work thatched with rice straw; around the DURBAR is a slight stockade inter-woven "with a prickly hedge about fifty sq. yards, and at the four corners are four separate houses "which are probably guard houses."

Robert Taylor wrote on many things in his report, and in conclusion, he said that:

"Bees produce if not the first, at least as good honey as any in India, and in great quan- "tity, if we may judge from the fine flavour-----Sandalwood is in great plenty. The mount- "ains produce abundance of teak and poon.....

"From the above account-----I am led to imagine that this would be an excellent country "to restore relaxed constitutions-----On the 4th, after the ceremony of taking leave, I left "Nalknaar (Nalknad), highly pleased with the treatment we met from the Raja and his people, "and by the same route-----returned to Illiacoor (Irkur). The whole of my party being so "much jaded, I was under the necessity of procuring from the Raja the men to carry our baggage."

This report sent in 1791, is considerably long and informative. On Tippu's architectural skill, Capt. Taylor was blasting in his comments. He said that:

"Tippu is defective as an engineer, neither will he be advised by those who are qualified "in the line. In several instances, I have known him reject the opinion of able officers "to follow his own miserable plans. His new forts of which he himself the constructor, be- "tray the most shameful ignorance of the very principles of fortification----".

THE BOUNDARY DISPUTE:-

One of the important reasons for dispute between Mysore and Kodagu was in regard to the boundary between the two States. When Kodagu was taken as a tributary of the Company in 1790, and even earlier than that when Capt. Taylor visited Nalknad, Viraraja the Elder had renewed his complaints about the boundary. As a result of that, Mr. Logan observed in his "Malabar", that the Company deputed Capt. Murray in July 1790 to see to that. After the treaty was signed in October 1790, Capt. Murray was appointed Resident at the court of the Raja of Kodagu.

After complaining to Jonathan Duncan about his money being taken as an investment in his name in the Company account, Viraraja now renewed his complaint with Capt. Murray when the latter was in Nalknad in 1790. Macleod's report said that:

"The captain observed in his letter of the 19th September (1790) to Mr. Duncan that it was "his opinion that the Raja was not satisfied that any revenue should be taken from him. He

"He did not however express himself in such plain term as those he made use of in conver-
"sation with Mr. Duncan. He considered the tribute to be laid too high because the count-
"ry produced but little. He admitted that the inhabitants and cultivation were increas-
"ing, but at the same time complained of the great expense he incurred in making advances
"to the new settlers (to whom he gave land for five years) and of the inability of the old
"ryots, at the time, to pay their full rents.

"The Sixth Article of the certificate asserts that the Company never intended to inter-
"fere in the interior management of the Raja's country, trusting that a prince possessing
"the most liberal sentiments would make the happiness of his people his constant study.

"It may now be proper to take further notice of the conduct of the war on the part of
2the Raja, as stated by the Raja himself briefly, and incidentally on several occasions."

TIPPU TRIED TO BREAK TREATY:-

The treaty of I793 between the English and the Viraraja the Elder, was a revision of the previous one made in I790. Some of the statements affirmed in that were:

"Article 4: At the conclusion of the peace of Srirangapatna in March I792, Tippu was
"prevailed upon to make peace with the Kodagu Raja and said that he owed a tribute of 4000
"Pagodas annually, which he made over to the Company.

"Fifth: The Kodagu Raja denies that he ever paid a tribute of 8000 Pagodas annually
"to Tippu but he is willing to pay 8000 Pagodas a year for the friendship of the Company.

"Sixth: The Kodagu Raja shall live peacefully in his dominions under the friendship
"and protection of the Company who shall not harrass him; and the amount payable annually
"by the Raja at Tellicherry is 8000 Pagodas or Rs. 24,000.

"the 3Ist March I793, Sd) Robert Abercrombie, and Sd) Viraraja Wodeyar.

This was what was given in the "United Service Journal" of I838 describing the terms of treaty. The manipulation of the British was complete even in I790 when Robert Taylor of Tellichery and Capt. Murray, the Resident at Nalknad, treated Kodagu as their newly won territory. Mongomery Martin in his note wrote that:-

"By the stipulation of the treaty, made between the two independent States, the
"Bombay army under Gen. Abercrombie advanced by the Heggala Pass to the attack of Tippu,
"and joined the army of Cornwallis, who, thus reinforced, was enabled to dictate terms of
"peace under the walls of Srirangapatna, whereby the Sultan ceded half his dominions to
"the Company. During the progress of the war, Tippu sent confidential agents to the Raja
"of Kodagu to try and detach him from alliance with the English; the Raja rejected all
"these overtures, showed the letters to Gen. Abercrombie; headed a body of Kodagu troops,
"marched side by side with the English, repeatedly risked his life, and supplied them with
"cattle, rice and provisions and for which he "declined to take any pecuniary compensation",

"The draft treaty of peace, drawn up by Lord Cornwallis contained a clause providing

"providing that Tippu should resign all pretensions to Kodagu, on his part was required to "give back the districts he had wrested from the Sultan, and the Raja pay 8000 Hans annually "to the Company for their friendship and protection-----"

THE RAJA GOT ENRAGED:-

As already said, when Capt. Murray went to Nalknad on the I5th July I792 to inform him of the terms of the treaty of March I792, the Raja "with tears of rage, declared his his determination (whatever conduct the Company might be pleased to adopt) to defend the territories (districts), and in the even of being wrested by the enemy, to burn and destory everything and die in the last Dyke". This was what Capt. Murray wrote in a private letter, dated the I8th July I793. Capt. Macleod continued to state in his report as below:

"Having stated the cirnumstances under which the treaty was concluded, and the dissatisfact-"ion expressed by the Raja on being made acquainted therewith, it may be proper in the next "place, to state the particulars which these documents afford respecting the three districts "of Amara, Sulya and Yelusavirasime-----.

"The Malabar commissioners in their letter of the I2th June I792 to Lord Cornwallis, writ-"ing on the subject of Amara observed that in the map taken by Capt. Reynolds there was marked "as included in the limits of the Kodagu country, the district of Amara, formerly given to the "Raja's family by the Rani of Bedanore; for this reason they were of opinion that this district "ought rather to be considered as annexed to Kodagu than originally forming part of the 'Taluq "Kodagu', and that Tippu might claim it as part of Bedanore country.

"SULIA: This small district of Sulia which lay contiguous to Amara was likewise a grant to "the Kodagu Raja made sometime afterwards by a Raja of Bedanore, part of the revenues of which "were to be appropriated to the maintenance of the Talekaveri Pagoda, an ancient sanctified "place of Hindu worship and resort situated in Kodagu, at the source of the Kaveri river", wrote "Capt. Murray on the I9th September I793."

Mr. Robert Taylor, Chief of Tellichery, in his letter of the I8th September I793, to J. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, stated as observed by Macleod, that:

"Sulia, had at various times, been attached to the "Taluka Kodagu" having been originally "granted as a maintenance to a Pagoda in that taluq but wrested from and retaken at different "times by the Kodagu Raja. Sulia, like Amara, was unproductive, and derived importance from "its proximity to a pass called 'Tolneu (?) Pass."

THE CEDED & UNCEDED AREAS:-

As had known so far, these areas of Amara, Sulia and Yelusavirasime have been passing on from the hands of one another during those one-hundred years. Capt. Murray wrote to Mr.Farmer, Supervisor of Calicut, on the I8th July I793, that:

"Amara and Sulya: Their Importance: The possession of either the Mensea or Tolnea (?)

"Tulnea (?) passes would enable Tippu to invade Kodagu at pleasure whereas it would not "be in the power of the Raja, though master of these two places, to annoy Tippu in Manga-"lore country------".

Quoting the above letter, Mr. Macleod goes on to state that:

"The importance of Amara and Sulya in a military point of view, and their insignificance "as to the revenue which the produced is further set forth in Capt. Murray's letter of "the I9th April I793 to Mr. Duncan. These two districts below the Ghats, said he, are "bounded by a thick jungle, and the countries otherwise, naturally strong and not above "Rs. 5000 value per annum. For these reasons he did think that Tippu would renew his "pretensions or disturb the Raja in the possession of them.

"Further particulars respecting the disposal of these places will be introduced here-"after, for the present it will be proper to give a short description of the other dist-"rict claimed by Tippu, and, that is Yelusavirasime.

"Yelusavirasime- which is also called by the same ASARA ELSARY and SAAT HAZRAA MOOTH, "it described thus by Capt. Murray in his letter of the I8th July I793, to Mr. Farmer. "'ASARA SEEME' is a long strip of land in the North of Kodagu which runs into Tippu's "district, but is at present waste, excepting a small part of the south end of it which "is under the Raja, as for the rest, he seems to make no account of it."

BELONGED TO KODAGU:-

Capt. ~~Kodagu~~ Macleod's report reveald a good number of letters that were passed on between Kodagu and the Raja of Kodagu on the subject of these disputed areas. Those letters mention about ehe past history of those districts as well. The report said that:

"Ceded by a Raja of Belur to a Raja of Kodagu: The account given by the Raja of "Kodagu as per Capt. Murray's letter of the I9th September I793 to Mr. J. Duncan, states "that Yelusavirasime anciently belonged to the Raja of Belur but that the Kodagu Rajas had "wars with them, and that it was ceded to Kodagu as a peace which took place between them many ages ago, and remained as a Kodagu district until the whole of the Kodagu country "passed into the hands ~~of hands~~ of Hyder about twenty years back.

"Tippu disallows the Cession:- Tippu Sultan in his letter of August I793 to Mr. Farmer "insisted that Yelusavirasime stood as usual included in Belur taluq, and had for hundreds "of years past, 'been and made' part of the country of Srirangapatna.

"Lieut. Emmat, who was employed in surveying the districts asserted that Yelusavira-"sime had been proved by the testimony ~~stood as usual included in Belur taluq, and had for "hundreds of years past~~ of the inhabitants, to have belonged to the Rajas for 200 years "or more, as per Capt. Murray's letter of IIth September I793.

"When Capt. Murray visited Tellichery for the purpose of consulting the natives of "Malabar, Bedanore and Mysore who resided there, he was unable to obtain further informat-"ion respecting this place being situated above the Ghats. (To Mr. Duncan, I9-9-I793.)

"The Raja of Kodagu, in his letter of the 7th June I792, to the Commissioners observed

"observed that the districts of Amara, Sulya and Panje lay between the Ghats on the Mangalore "side and were considered part of Kodagu for four or five hundred years, and that during all "this period, they neither belonged to Igoor or Mangalore countries.

"The account which the Raja gave to the Chief of Tellichery in his letter of the I7th July "I792, differs a little from the above-mentioned statement. He informed that gentleman that "he had retained those two districts because they had been in his possession ever since the "time of the king of Ikkeri, a period of more than 200 years, and that Hyder took Bedanore, he "examined the districts ascertaining thereto, and found that these two places formerly belonged "to the Raja of Ikkeri and were given to the Kodagu Raja, and that in the same manner ceded "those two places in Kodagu on which account Tippu ought not to have invaded them. He appeal-"ed to the old inhabitants of Tellichery for the truth of this assertion."

TIPPU'S INVASION:-

Capt. Macleod continued to state that:

"About May I792, at some period subsequent thereto, Tippu Sultan complained of outrages "committed by the people of Kodagu. Tippu himself invaded the disputed districts in June "I792. The matter was represented to Lord Cornwallis, and his Lordship, as it may be inferr-"ed from Mr. Cherry's letter of 2nd January I793, to Tippu's Vakeels, then at Madras with the "hostages, asserted the Raja's right to maintain possession of which had belonged to his fami-"ly for more than 200 years.

"At the conference at Nalknad on the I4th July I793, the Raja appealed to the people of "Bedanore, Mysore and Malabar for the truth of this assertion that Amara and Sulya had for "centuries, been appendages of the Kodagu country, and declared his willingness, on any fur-"ther investigation, to submit to whatever limits, they might give to it, insisted that Lord "Cornwallis meant the whole of Kodagu, and none but Tippu would pretend to say that any partial "division which either Hyder or himself might have made of the country, would be the true in-"tention of the article of the treaty. (Capt. Murray, dated the I8th July I793).

"Mr. Farmer, Supervisor of Malabar, does not seem to have made acquainted with the purport of Mr. Cherry's letter of the 2nd January I793 in which the Raja's title to Amara and Sulya "is insisted upon, and if he was, he did not conceive that Lord Cornwallis had decidedly pro-"nounced in the Raja's favour, for in his letter of the 30th July I793 to Capt. Murray, he "expressed his wish that the matter might be settled previous to the departure of Lord Corn-"wallis for Europe, as he would tell what he understood by taluq of Kodagu (and Mr. Farmer "doubted not that his Lordship meant to summarise the whole of the 'real Kodagu country'). Mr. "Farmer directed Mr. Murray to tell the Raja that so far from admitting Tippu's right to Amara "and Sulya in the letter of the 29th June intended to be sent to the Sultan at a conveneint opportu-"nity, he had complained that-----Chief, of the encroachment of his officers on those districts.

"That Mr. Farmer did not at all doubt that Amara and Sulya and the countries of Tippu, that "Tippu should deny the right of Kodagu to Amara and Sulya, the point of right would go in ref-"erence to Lord Cornwallis, backed with all the strong arguments urged by him, the Raja, but

"but that the possession of these districts would not be yielded up without such discussion "which in fairness, there was no doubt would and favourably to the Raja of Kodagu."

TIPPU'S ARGUMENTS:-

Those adjoining areas of Kodagu, viz- Amara, Sulya, Bellare and Yelusavirasime, gave room to such a long discussion and correspondence between various people and powers for well over ten years from the year I785 or so. The arguments of Tippu on one hand and of the Raja of Kodagu on the other, were of great importance on account of the situation and strategy of Kodagu. Capt. Macleod proceeds to say that:

"Mr. Farmer's proposals for a negotiation seemed to have reached Tippu in August I793. "In reply, the Sultan informed him that the taluq of Amara and Sulya had for more than five "or six hundred years been included in the country of BUNDER or the port of 'Cooryal',(Kod-"yal(or Mangalore), and that Bunder made part of the Ahmady Sirkar, in the taluq of Belur, "and had for hundreds of years past made part of the country of Srirangapatna. The Sultan "took no notice of the occasions subsequently made.

"The Raja having appealed to the natives of Bedanore, Mangalore, and, Capt. Murray, in "his letter of the 6th September I793, advised Mr. Farmer to apply to Mr. Taylor because "many of these people resided at Tellichery.

"At the Raja's request, Capt. Murray repaired at Tellichery for the purpose of present-"ing (prosecuting ?) his enquiries. He arrived at that settlement on the I4th September, "and on the I5th, addressed a letter to Mr. Farmer, in which he assured him that he had no 2doubt of the Raja's having been in possession of the districts before the commencement of "the hostilities. The Raja had repeated his request that Capt. Murray would enquire at "different (indifferent ?) persons respecting these places and their report to Marquiss "Cornwallis and repeated his promise to abide (by) it.

"Capt. Murray having made necessary enquiries at Tellichery was happy to find that the "testimony of persons who had resided near the districts of Amara and Sulya confirmed the "Raja's own statement at the district of Yelusavirasime lay above the Ghats, (and) they were "not acquainted with the particulars respecting it.

"It had been already observed that the limits of Kodagu were not defined in the treaty "of Srirangapatna. The Malabar Commissioners in their letter of the I2th June I792 to Lord "Cornwallis, and Mr. Farmer, in his letter of the 27th June I793 to Capt. Murray, gave an "opinion in favour of Tippu's claim. On the contrary, Mr. Farmer's letter of the 30th "july favoured the Raja. He soon after returned to his former opinion and in his second "letter to Capt. Murray expressed a wish that the Company would give up the Raja's tribute "and leave him to settle his dispute with Tippu since he affected to despise both them and "him. He observed, however, that the chief point to be ascertained was whether the Raja "was in actual possession of these places (in) about May I790."

GOVERNOR DUNCAN'S SUPPORT:-

This dispute revolved round half-a-dozen people, the British statemen, the Raja of of Kodagu and Tippu Sultan. Among the English, the Governor-General Cornwallis, Governor Duncan of Bombay, Capt. Taylor, the Commissioner of Tellichery, Mr. Farmer, Supervisor of Calicut, Capt. Murray, Resident in Kodagu, and one or two others. Capt. Macleod's report on this makes an interesting reading. He wrote that:

"Mr. Taylor, Chief of Tellichery, in his letter of the I8th September I793, to Mr. Duncan, "asserted ~~that~~ and explained the Raja's right to the districts of Amara and Sulya. As to "Yelusavirasime, he was not sufficiently informed to give a decided opinion. He admitted "that Hyder Ali had dismembered the 'Taluq Kodagu' of these districts, but was, at the same "time, of opinion that circumstances ought to have no weight and advised that, in considerat-"ion of the important services rendered by the Raja, he should be effectively supported by the "Company in the maintenance of these districts.

"The alienation of three districts by the Government of Mysore, is a fact admitted by all "parties, the Raja himself not excepted.

"Mr. Farmer, Supervisor of Malabar, in his letter of instruction to Capt. Murray who was "about to proceed on his deputation to Nalknad, 27th June I793, stated that Tippu, after having "subjected Kodagu, divided it, and placed a part under the Government of Kushalnagar, and a "part under Srirangapatna. He stated that his belief that the three districts were placed "under the former, as they seemed to have been accessions, though of a long standing to the "country of Kodagu, whilst the original Kodagu country was placed under Srirangapatna, and "that only delivered under the name "Taluq Kodagu".

"At the conference of the I4th July I793, at Nalknad, the Raja admitted that Hyder and "Tippu had divided the country, wrote Capt. Murray to Mr. Farmer on the I8th July I793. Mr. "Farmer in his letter of the IIth August I793 to Bengal, says that if Amara, Sulya and Yelu-"savirasime were previous to the war, placed under the collection of Kushalnagar, Tippu would "be of opinion that they ought to escape the claim of the Company, in the same manner as the "countries of Nileshwaram, Kumbla and Eteel Agraa (Vittal-?) situated in the south-ward of the "Deela (?) and thought to be included in the acquisition of the Malabar country, had escaped "the claim of the Company."

THE RAJA ADMITTED:-

The fact that Hyder Ali had occupied Kodagu and had caused so many changes in those days and so on, were admitted by the Raja in his note to the English. Capt. Macleod wrote that:-

"Tippu Sultan, in his letter which must have been written about the same time, told Mr. "Farmer that Amara and Sulya had been included in the country of the Bander or the port of "Cooryal (Kodyal), and that Yelusavirasime stood, as usual, included in the taluqa of Belur, "and had for hundreds of years past- of the country of Srirangapatna.

"Mr. Taylor in his letter of the I8th September I793 to Mr. Duncan, admitted that Hyder

"Hyder Ali did possess himself of these districts and that they were dismembered and part "attached to other taluqs, as conveniency of situation, on other motives might determine.

"At a conference which took place between Capt. Murray and the Kodagu Raja at Nalknad "in September 1793, the Raja informed the Captain that Amara and Sulya remained in possess-"ion of the Rajas till about twelve years after Hyder conquered Bedanore country (i.e. "from 1763 to 1785), about which time he became the master of Kodagu above the Ghats as "well as other districts below. He admitted about this time (that) Hyder attached Amara "and Sulya to Kodial Bander. He proceeded to mention ~~that~~ the invasion of Kodagu by "Tippu, the captivity of more than 10,000 of the inhabitants and the division of Kodagu "into Jaghirs which were bestowed on the Sultan's dependants.

"Adverting to the period when Hyder took Bedanore (1763), the Raja in his letter of the "17th July 1792, informed the Chief of Tellichery that at that period the conqueror examin-"ed the districts appertaining thereto, and found that Amara and Sulya formerly belonged "to Ikkeri, and were given to Kodagu, and that in the same manner Hyder ceded these two "places to the Raja of Kodagu.

"Great stress has been laid upon the state of affairs when hostilities commenced. The "period of commencement of hostilities refers to three parties, viz- the Raja, Tippu Sul-"tan and the (East India) Company.".

THE RAJA INVITED:-

Here are some basic facts about the case. Even after the Raja retook Kodagu after his return from the prison (sometime before 1788), just in order to keep Tippu at bay he invited the Company, and with this, some other facts also come to light. Macleod wrote:

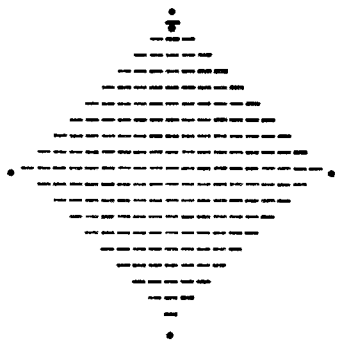
"Mr. Farmer in his letter of the 11th August 1793 to the Bengal Government, confesses "himself to be ignorant of the fact whether the districts were placed under the collection "of Kushalnagar previous to the war; and, in the event of the question being solved in the "affirmative, admits that these districts must, like the countries of Nileshwaram, Coombla "and Ettul Aggra (Vittal ?) have escaped the claim of the Company.

"Capt. Murray in his letter of the 15th September 1793 to Mr. Farmer, declared his "firm belief that the Raja was in possession of the districts before the commencement of "hostilities. Mr. Farmer wrote on the 17th September 1793 answering that the chief point "to be ascertained was whether the Raja was in actual possession of these places about May "1790, for there was no exact definition of what the Company were to restore him to, noth-"ing more ought to be expected.

"Mr. Tailor, Chief of Tellichery, in his letter of the 18th September 1793 to Mr. Duncan "observed that the Raja retook his own country before the war began, and invited the Com-"pany's troops into it.

"In consequence of instructions received from Mr. Duncan, Capt. Murray put the question "to the Raja whether at the commencement of the hostilities, Amara and Sulya were annexed

"annexed to Bandar Kodyal, and when Yelusavirasime was obtained by Hyder Ali and Tippu,
"and annexed, as he said, to Belur. The Raja in reply informed Capt. Murray that he
"escaped from Peryapatna two or three years before (he ought perhaps to have said, months)
"the war commenced, that heathen (?) returned to his country where he was acknowledged as
"their Raja by every man in it and that the inhabitants of these districts were
"among the first who showed their attachment to him; so that it would be seen that these
"places were possessed and maintained by him long before the war, according to Murray to
"Mr. Duncan, the 19th September 1793."



CHAPTER X.

UNREST CONTINUED FOR SOME TIME.

FIGHTING IN MALABAR:-

The Raja was able to take possession of his country, Kodagu, in I788-89, because Tippu was busy in Malabar and Travancore, and also against the troops of the Company Government. Capt. Macleod's comprehensive report about the situation, is as under:-

"Either the Raja or Mr. Taylor, must have made a great mistake as to the period of "his escape from Peryapatna; for, the latter states it to have taken place SOON AFTER the "breaking out of the war, when he and his brother returned to their own country where the "Raja immediately found followers and adherents with whom he made head against Tippu's "troops and recovered his country, the post of Mercara (Madikeri) being the last from "whence he dislodged them, said Taylor, the Chief of Tellichery to the Malabar Commission-"ers on the 2nd April I793.

"It may be supposed by the commencement of war, Mr. Taylor intended the Sultan's "attack on the Raja of Travancore's Lines on the 29th December I789, and not April or May "I790, when according to Mr. Farmer's letter of the I7th September I793, the war must have "commenced on the part of the Company. On referring to the letter of the 2Ist June I792, "from Mr. Taylor to the Bombay Government on the subject of Corringotta (?) which Tippu "took upon him to cede to the Company, and were claimed by the French as an appendage of "Mahei (Mahe), it appears that in April or May I790, the ~~neighbourhood of Tellichery~~ Comp-"any's troops attacked Tippu's troops posted in Corringotta which was also in the neigh-"bourhood of Tellichery, and drove them out. The commencement of hostilities on the part "of the Raja would appear to me when peace between the two periods of ~~hostile measures~~ "December I789 and April I790; In the same letter, Mr. Taylor observed that the first "hostile measure on the part of the Company was the expulsion of Tippu's troops from every "part of the Malabar country.

"The question put by Mr. Farmer seems to this: Did the Sultan intend to cede the "territory which the Raja possessed at the period when the Company first invaded his domi-"nions? It appears that the Raja obtained both Kodagu and its dependancies by a revolut-"ion of the inhabitants in his favour, and by the process of his arms. Thus the dist-"ricts were reannexed by revolution and conquest and not by any act sanctioned by Tippu. "It seems however to be argued on the side of the Raja that if Tippu did not intend to "cede the whole of the dominions which had belonged to the Kodagu family, he ought to "have signified it. On the other hand, it was argued that Tippu intended, by Taluqa "Kodagu, Kodagu despoiled of its appendages and annexed to Srirangapatna."

THE RAJA WAS LET DOWN:-

The treaty of I792 and I793, which was talked over at Srirangapatna, was not advantag-eous to the Raja of Kodagu. He was furious at the outcome of the treaty and felt that the English had let him down. Capt. Macleod proceeds to say that:-

"Having given some account of the Raja's process of the termination of war, the over-"sight of the negotiations at Srirangapatna as respects the interests of the Kodagu Raja, "and other Malabar princes, the resentment expressed by the Raja on the occasion, and his "determination not to give up the districts which ought to have been specifically mention-"ed in the treaty, the description of those districts, disposal of them at different per-"iods of time and the Raja's title to them, also the engagement entered into between the "Company and the Raja and the tributes imposed upon him, it will be proper to give a connect-"ed account of the events which followed the signature of the treaty of Srirangapatna, parti-"cularly the depredations committed by the Kodagu people upon Tippu's subjects, the repeated invasion of the disputed districts by Tippu's people, the Company transactions with the Raja, "their communications with Tippu, survey of the districts and enquiries made for the purpose "of ascertaining the Raja's titles to them, cautious conduct adopted by the Bengal Government.

"It has been observed that soon after the conclusion of the definitive Treaty of Peace, "the Company Government received complaints, both on the part of Tippu and the Kodagu Raja, "of outrages committed. The acts of violence imputed to the Kodagu people seems to have been "unauthorised by the Raja, neither is it asserted that the invasion of Amara and Sulya was "sanctioned by Tippu. In consequence of the latter circumstance, various means were adopted "for the purpose of ascertaining the Raja's title to the disputed districts and of affecting "an amiable adjustment. The success which attended the investigation has been already set-"forth, some further particulars will now be introduced as amicable adjustment of differences, "was found to be impracticable. The districts were of trifling value, though two of them "are naturally strong, as has been already noticed. Tippu does not appear to have been very "anxious to obtain possession of them. He endeavoured to gain the Raja by false means, but "failing in the experiment, and knowing what a determined character he had to deal with, he "seems for a considerable time to have sat down quietly with the loss of the districts.

"During the march from Srirangapatna to Madras, the Amils (Ameens) of Peryapatna complain-"ed of the conduct of the Kodagu Raja. Lord Cornwallis wrote to the Raja in consequence, "and the Raja wrote an explanatory letter to the Chief of Tellichery. This letter was for-"warded to Lord Cornwallis, and his Lordship in consequence expressed his hope that Tippu "would be satisfied with the explanation given and refrain from acts of violence. These par-"ticulars were communicated by Mr. Cherry to Tippu's Vakeels, the 21st April 1792."

RAJA ASKED FOR HELP AGAIN:-

The circumstances now led the Raja of Kodagu to ask for the British help again to fight against Tippu's men. From this it was clear that the British in India, as in Kodagu, were invited by the local chiefs who were in thousands rather than their volunteering to interfere in the affairs of the country. From 1783 to 1790, a number of letters have gone to the Company from Kodagu asking them for help. Capt.Macleod proceeds to say that:

"The Kodagu Raja, in his letter of the 7th June 1792, informed the Malabar Commissioners "that Tippu was preparing to take Amara, Panje and Sulya by force and declared his deter-"mination to defend them, but at the same time, acknowledged the need of the Company's "assistance. In his letter written apparently the same day to the Chief of Tellichery, "he declared his determination not to give up the districts although he should receive an "order from the Company to surrender them. If Tippu should fire, he was resolved "to return the fire.

"In answer to their letters, the Chief of Tellichery and the Commissioners proposed an "amicable negotiation agreeable to the 7th Article of the treaty of Srirangapatna. The "Raja was requested to invite Tippu to send deputies to Tellichery. He was told that he "ought to have explained the matter to Gen. Abercrombie who would have left troops in the "districts in which case an officer belonging to the Company would have engaged in the dis-"cussion; that no troops could now be sent from Cannanore. They promised to represent "the matter to Gen. Abercrombie.

"The Chief of Tellichery having transmitted copies of the Raja's letter of the 7th June and of their answer, the Commissioners addressed the Chief of Tellicherry in a letter dated "the 13th June. They informed him that as the limits of Kodagu were not ascertained in "the treaty, no troops would with proprity be sent even admitting the reasons to be favou-"rable. They advised the Chief to write to Tippu's officer, and propose deputation of "proper persons to the boundaries.

"A few days after the date of the Raja's letter of the 7th June 1792, Tippu's people did "actually invade the districts of Amara and Sulya. The Raja's letter to the Chief of "Tellicherry announcing this event was dated the 17th July 1792. The primary object of "this letter was the vindication of his character from the charges brought against him by "the Ammens of Peryapatna, apparently previous to the invasion of Amara and Sulya by Tippu's "people. It has been already observed that a copy of this letter was transmitted to Lord "Cornwallis, and the Raja's account of his conduct communicated to Tippu."

GEN. ABERCROMBIE'S STAND:-

On this return journey from Srirangapatna to Tellicherry through Kodagu after the Mysore war, Gen. Abercrombie met the Raja again at Virarajpet and had a long talk with him about the Treaty of Srirangapatna and other allied topics. Capt, Macleod wrote that:

"The Raja began with relating an instance of his fidelity towards the British during "the war, and the passage of Gen. Abercrombie through Kodagu to Srirangapatna where he "arrived on the 15th June 1792. The Raja concluded that Tippu was enraged at his dis-"appointment in not being able to reduce him and the progress of the Company's troops; and "in revenge had written that he had committed outrages in his territories. The Raja ack-"nowledged to have received warning from Lord Cornwallis against the Commission of any act which might give offence to Tippu, as peace was then secretly (?) concluded. He observed

"observed further that after the conclusion of peace, Gen. Abercrombie was in Kodagu and "told him that he ought not to molest the territories of Tippu, promising him at the same "time, that he should retain quietly his ancient possessions for which reason he had re-"linquished certain places that he had acquired during the war and retained the districts "of Amara and Sulya which he had possessed ever since the time of the King of Ikkeri, be "upwards of 200 years; that Tippu's people came to take these places by force, that he told "them that these places had belonged to him for a long time past, and that, in the name of "the Company he put a stop to their proceedings; that Tippu's people however fired upon his "people, and took possession of these places, that people of Kodagu retired without return-"the fire; and, that, since Tippu's people had entered these places, they killed many of "these inhabitants, and mutilated others by cutting off their ears and noses.

(These circumstances are more particularly adverted to in the Raja's letter of the 8th July 1793 to Mr. Farmer, and in other places to which reference will be made. This invasion was followed by other invasions a few months afterards.)

"The Raja proceeded to inform Mr. Taylor respecting the disposal of Amara and Sulya by "Hyder Ali when he took Bedanore (in 1763).

"Apparently about the end of October or the beginning of November 1792, the people of "Kodagu, to the number of two or three thousand, invaded the territory under the charge of "Ameen of Arkaulgoor (Arkalgode) and Kootoor (?), whose name was Muhammad Fakiruddin. This "man charges them with having plundered and beat the inhabitants of a country yielding near "10,000 Rahetier (Ryots ?) with having destroyed the houses and actually killed, wounded "and carried off several of the inhabitants and plundered and laid waste the country."

CORNWALLIS AND KODAGU:-

Lord Charles Cornwallis was the first chief Indian executive to come in close contact with the Kodagu affairs between 1789 and 1793. In fact, it was his statesmanshi that directed the Bombay Government to secure the friendship of the Kodava Raja and thus bind him as an ally of their Government, and it was his orders that brought the Bombay Army under Abercrombie to the Malabar coast and thence to Kodagu on its way to Srirangapatna. As a Commander of the Grand Army in 1791-92, Cornwallis studied the relationship between the Kodagu Raja and Tippu Sultan, and it was under his directive, Kodagu became a feudatory state of the Company from 1790. Capt. Macleod continued to say that:

"The letter of complaint was received at Madras about the 28th November, and forwarded "Bengal. An enquiry was instituted by the Bengal Government and in the meanwhile (the 2nd "January 1793), a communication was made by Mr. Cherry to Tippu's Vakils, with the hostages "exculpating the Raja as to any personal share in the blame.

"Mr. Cherry informed the Vakils that Lord Cornwallis regarded this affair as a repitition

"repetition of the former complaints from which it would appear that the people of the "Ahmady Sirkar (Tippu's) were the aggressors in attacking Amara and Sulya. Mr. Cherry "says no more in vindication of what was past but promised that in future the Kodagu Raja "will not be suffered to give offence to Tippu, but at the same time assures the Vakils "that the Raja will not be expected to relinquish his just claims to districts which have "been in his family more than 200 years. (If the latter part of this message was dictat-"ed by Lord Cornwallis as it may be presumed it was, His Lordship must have understood by "taluka Kodagu, the possessions of the Kodagu (royal) family. Probably he did not know "that in Tippu's Jamabandy, taluka Kodagu meant Kodagu, dismembered of its ancient append-"ages-----under the Government of Srirangapatna, whereas the districts of Amara and Sulya "were placed under the Government of Mangalore. That this was the true state of the case, "seems to have been the belief of the Malabar Commissioners, and Mr. Farmer, the Supervisor, "although these gentlemen were fully disposed to admit the ancient rights of the Kodagu "family to the disputed districts.

"Two ideas seem to have been confounded: viz, a territorial cession, and the restoration "of a prince to his dominions. One party seems to have contemplated the one idea and the "other party the other idea. Affixed to the term, Taluqa Kodagu, in the Treaty of Sri-"rangapatna, is the sum of 8000 Hans or Pagodas. A question would arise as to the country "from which the revenue was derived. The Governor-General who succeeded Lord Cornwallis "wished the Raja to settle the matter with Tippu without the interference of the Company."

TREATY MEANS OCCUPATION?:-

The treaties of I790, I792 and I793 were all, when read between the lines, the terms calculated at occupation of territories, gradually and not immediately. The Raja of Kodagu thought that he cultivated friendship of the British by those treaties, and so also, Tippu Sultan, but, in fact, the truth was different. The terms of the treaty were all meant to rope in those native chiefs to the Company. Capt. Macleod said that:

"At the close of his letter to the Vakils, Mr. Cherry seems to have admitted that the "common people might have committed depradations upon Tippu's subjects without the authority "of the Raja. He promised that the lower class of people would not be countenanced in the "commission of any outrages, and that the representation of Muhammad Fakiruddin would be "taken into consideration of the Bombay Government.

"To put a STOP to such proceedings, Mr. Cherry gave it as his opinion that Tippu ought "to caution his own people not to enter into any disputes with the borderer, but rather to "cultivate harmony and good neighbourhood.

"April I793: The next paper is that of Mr. Taylor, Chief of Tellichery, to the Malabar "Commissioners, dated the 2nd April I793, and enclosing a copy of the treaty concluded with "the Raja of Kodagu in October I790, and the certificates given by Gen. Abercrombie to the "Raja on the 3Ist March I793.

"Mr. Taylor began with commending the Raja for the fidelity which he had manifested "towards the Company on all occasions, gave an account of the Raja's escape from ~~confinement~~ "confinement SOON AFTER the breaking out of the war, his return to his own country, revolut- "ion of the inhabitants in his favour, expulsion of Tippu's troops, overtures made by him "to the Chief of Tellichery, conclusion of the treaty in October 1790 at which time he was "in the actual possession of his country, assistance afforded by the Raja to the Company's "troops, tributes imposed upon the Raja by the Company at the conclusion of the peace of "Srirangapatna.

"By virtue of the treaty of October 1790, the Raja's family was provided with a safe "assylum at Tellichery during the war, the Raja was to become ally of the Company and to "be rendered independent of Tippu. The Company to have preference as to commerce, and no "other European nation to be suffered to interfere. No mention of tribute (was made).

"The certificate given by Gem. Abercrombie, between whom and the Raja, there subsisted "a mutual esteem, was dated the 31st March 1793, a day or two previous to the General's "departure for Bombay."

CORNWALLIS WAS IMPRESSED:-

Captain Macleod's report which runs to several foolscap pages is a document of great importance, and it bring to light many unknown facts of the time. The character of the Kodagu Raja is revealed better here, and even Lord Cornwallis himself was impressed by the conduct of this native chief, and that may be due to the report furnished to him by Sir Robert Abercrombie who had known the Raja intimately. However, Capt. Macleod stated that:

"In this certificate (given by Gen. Abercrombie), the General acknowldges that prior to "the commencement of the war (of 1792), the Raja had recovered the great part of Kodagu, "and that he afterwards conquered the reminder of it without the assistance of the Company; "that he offered to assist them, that his offers were accepted and a treaty concluded as "afore-mentioned, that the Raja entered most heartily into the war and rendered the most "essential service in the Bombay army, that from the commencement to the conclusion of the "war, he continued most firmly attached to the interest of the Company notwithstanding the "repeated attempts of Tippu to seduce him, that it was the noble and disinterested conduct "of the Raja that interested Lord Cornwallis so much in his favour as to create in his Lord- "ship's mind a determination to render him entirely independent of Tippu to extend to him "and his country the Company's protection. The certificate further states that numberless "objections presented themselves but were over-ruled and that the tribute amounting to "8000 Hans (One Han is equal to Rs.3) said to have been annually paid to Tippu from Kodagu, "was transferred to the Company, that the Raja readily agreed to pay the sum of 8000 Hans "per annum as a consideration for the friendship and protection of the Company although he "declared that Tippu never received that sum from his country, and he afterwards subjected

"objected to the payment of any tribute, and finally that it was never intended on the "part of the Company to interfere in the interior management of the Raja's country, trust-"ing that a prince possessing the most liberal sentiments, would make the happiness of his "people his constant study.

"In consequence of the representation made by the Bengal Government, Gen. Abercrombie "called upon the Kodagu Raja to answer to the charges brought against his subjects by "Tippu's officers. In justification of his conduct, the Raja addressed to Gen. Abercrom-"bie on the 2nd April 1793."

THE RAJA WAS ADMONISHED:-

The above statement continues as under:

"He (the Raja) began with assuring the General that since the peace, his people had "never gone into Tippu's country to plunder it, and that, in confirmity to his advice, "he had given up the village of Ergoor (Irkoor or Eigur) although it belonged to him "(the Raja). He admitted, however, that the Sultan had just cause to complain though "he had the blame on those who did not deserve it; and entered into a partial explanation "of the circumstances which had recently occurred. This explanation appears to relate "solely to the affair complained of by the Ameen of Arkalgode and Kootoor (?), and not to "the outrages said to have been committed between the months of March and June within the "limits subject to the jurisdiction of the Ameens of Peryapatna. To the Charges preferred "by these people acts of violence complained of were perpetrated by the army previous to "the conclusion of peace, that is, grievances are felt in February 1792, when General Aber-"crombie marched for Srirangapatna whereas the complaint was preferred during the march "of Lord Cornwallis' army from Srirangapatna to Madras which his Lordship seems to have "reached about the middle of June 1792.

"Lord Cornwallis was so far from entertaining the opinion that the outrages were commi-"tted as early as the period when the army marched into Srirangapatna, that he expressed "his belief that the acts of violence complained of were committed in consequence of the "invasion of Amara and Sulya by Tippu's men which took place in June. This again appears "to be an error of a few days on the other side. Had the Raja in his letter of the 8th "July 1792, imputed to the army acts of violence committed ON ITS RETURN from Srirangapatna "after the conclusion of Peace, the case would seem more probable, and the dates of offence "and complaint would more nearly accord. Similar excesses appear to have been committed "by the Mahratta army under Parasurama Bhau on its march homewards and------even charged with "having plundered the allied armies. In the aforesaid letter of the 17th July, the Raja "acknowledged that after the conclusion of peace he was admonished by Lord Cornwallis by "letter and by Gen. Abercrombie by word not to molest the territories of Tippu or commit "any act which might give offence to Tippu whether this administration was given in conse-"quence of any complaint made by Tippu's officers or not- is not mentioned."

THE RAJA EXPLAINED:-

The Raja's explanation for Tippu's complaint against him was stated by Capt. Macleod in his report as below:

"To proceed to the Raja's explanation of the outrage more recently complained of, he "observed that Tippu complained that Kodagu Raja's people were plundering below the Ghats. "He assured Gen. Abercrombie that it was not his people but those belonging to the Burigah "(?) Raja and Rumant Arsoo (Ramavarma Arasu), the Coombla Raja. He observed that the latter "had a house at Tellichery and received a pension of Rs. 200 a month, but as he considered "this sum to be insufficient for his maintenance, he went upon a plundering expedition "against Tippu's subjects. At first setting out, he requested that the Raja would permit "him to pass through his country, but on being refused, he made his way through Nileshwaram, "being attended by five or six hundred free-booters. He took up his abode in the jungle, "and from thence made in-roads into Tippu's country which belong close to Kodagu. Tipuu "imputed the blame to him and his subjects. The Raja had heard that some of Tippu's people "had seized the Buriagha (?) Raja. As to Coombla Raja, the Raja of Kodagu was of opinion "that it would be advisable for Gen. Abrecrombie to make enquiry after him.

"Having entered into a justification of his own conduct, the Raja renewed his complaints "against Tippu's people who were at this time plundering the districts of Amara, Sulya and "Yelusavirasime for which he said, had belonged to his family for 200 years, and of whose "he took no notice. (Lieut. Ematt's letter to Capt. Murray of the IIth September I793, "notices acts of violence committed subsequent to the invasion of the districts in June I792, "and prior to the incursion now complained of.)

"By the 3rd of April, Gen. Abercrombie addressed the Malabar Commissioners on the subject "of Tippu's complaints and transmitted several papers for their information. He hoped that "they would use their endeavour to investigate the past and guard against any future disturb-"ances on the frontiers. He informed that orders sent to the Commanding Officer on the "coast to employ surveyors, and use every means in his power to obtain an insight into the "real state of the frontiers and communicate to the Commissioners the information acquired "and that the Raja was called upon to deliver an answer in writing to the Sultan's complaints."

THE RAJA IN MALABAR:-

It was wonderful to see that a chief of a jungle tract of those days such as Kodagu, talking on state affairs with such dignitaries like the Commissioner of Malabar, Governor of Bombay, the Commander of the English Army and many others. That showed the importance of Kodagu and of the people in whose steadfast gallantry the Raja had acquired prominence. Capt. Macleod proceeds to say that:

"It is remarkable that Gen. Abercrombie, in a letter dated 26th March I793, forwarding "an extract of a letter from Lieut. Emmatt, made it appear to the Commissioners that no such "outrage as were alleged to Tippu's memorial against the Raja, had taken place since the "peace. This information was communicated by the Commissioners to Mr. Farmer, the Supervi-"sor of Malabar, in their letter of the 2Ist June following.

"The Raja of Kodagu was present at Cannanore on the 3Ist March I793 when Gen. Abercrombie "signed the certificate and mentioned there some days during which period he conversed with

"with Mr. Duncan. The conference took place on the 3rd April when the Raja returned to "Tellichery, from where he was about to proceed to his own country.

"Mr. Duncan began his minutes with observing that the Raja was displeased at the change "which had recently taken place in the circumstances, and objected to the payment of any "tribute as the price of the Company's protection. He had conquered his country without "assistance from the Company, therefore, was of opinion that the obligations existed on "their side; and, as far the future, he preferred to entertain no apprehensions. This "country had been desolated, but was now recovering, and increasing in population, but "not sufficiently recovered to admit of the payment of tribute. For these reasons, Mr. "Duncan agreed to excuse him a year's tribute, that is the tribute of 1792-93. He gave it "as his opinion that it would be prudent to conciliate this Raja lest he should become "an enemy. This subject has been already introduced by way of comment on the certificate".

THE ARGUMENT CONTINUED:-

There was a hectic discussion and correspondence in 1792 and 1793 on those two or three small taluqs adjoining Kodagu, and the British took a leading part in that since they had declared themselves as protectors of the interests of the Raja of Kodagu. They also wanted to maintain a good relationship with Tippu. Capt. Macleod continued to say that:

"Mr. Duncan having admonished the Raja on the subject of Tippu's complaints, the Raja "promised to avoid future disputes with that chief (Tippu),(and) at the same time, he "declared his resolution not to allow Tippu's people to encroach upon him in any great "degree without assistance. He recommended the appointment of Harikarahs-----to act as "spies-----From this and other circumstances, Mr. Duncan apprehended that the Raja would "not at this time, readily recognise in the establishment of other modes of control over "him or any permanent nation in his country. As to the Kumbla Raja, the principal cause "of the disturbances complained of by Tippu, he offered to seize on this man and deliver "him up to Tippu or even to kill him. Mr. Duncan warned him against any such rash pro-"ceddings , and required the Raja to send him to the British if he should enter Kodagu "in a hostile manner, and fall into Raja's hands.

"(At the close of this Minutes, Mr. Duncan gives the list of the names of all the "months as said in Kodava language and in Kannada, and, as given by the Raja.)

"The next article which presents itself is a letter from the Commissioners to Mr. Far-"mer, the Supervisor, dated the 21st June 1793. This letter begins with noticing the "communication made by the Gen. Abercrombie on the 26th March 1793, the substance of "which has already been introduced.

"In the course of this month (June), the Commissioners had received two complaints "from the Kodagu Raja representing the encroachments made by Tippu into Amara, Sulya and "Yelusavirasime. In September 1792, the Raja addressed the Commissioners and informed "them that for the sake of peace, he had relinquished the districts of Amara and Sulya.

"Now, indeed he complained that Tippu had invaded the districts of his. The Commission-
"ers did not see how the Raja would acclaim them after having relinquished them.

"(perhaps, this affair, may be explained thus: For the sake of peace, the Raja suffer-
"ed; Tippu's people, to take the possession, for the time being without assistance but not
"intend to yield them in perpetuity.")

KODAGU FRONTIER -MOST IMPORTANT:-

Kodagu was considered as the most important gate-way to Srirangapatna from the Malabar and the Kanara coasts, and "in respect of all the line of frontiers", and that was the Commissioners of Malabar wrote to Mr. Farmer. Capt. Macleod's narrative proceed as below:

"To the Commissioners- a copy of the Kodagu Raja's first complaint; as entered in their
"proceedings of the 2nd June 1793; Mr. Duncan's last letter to the Raja, and the Commission-
"ers' letter written in consequence from Lieut. Emmatt, which was not so clear as to afford
"satisfaction as to the grounds of dispute. For this reason, the Commissioners wished that
"Mr. Farmer would write to the Kodagu Raja or direct Mr. Galley, the Northern Superintendant,
"to advice him that a gentleman (Capt. Murray) would be deputed, and that he would be accom-
"panied by Lieut. Emmatt who was an officer in the corps of Engineers, into that part of the
"country to adjust the dispute in question, as well as any other that might exist relative to
"boundaries. Capt. Murray was considered to be the first person to settle the business. He
"was well acquainted with the Raja's character and use his utmost endeavour to bring about a
"good understanding between all parties. It would be Capt. Murray's first business of he
"having conversed with the Raja on the subject to invite Tippu's officer to a conference, and
"if he should refuse to attend to mark out the boundary agreeably to the Raja's directions.
"It was understood that Madras Government would write to Tippu inviting him to depute proper
"persons to Capt. Murray.

"The Commissioner's letter of the 25th June to Mr. Farmer is worthy of attention. Kodagu
"was considered to be the most important of all the line of frontiers on the Western side of
"India; and it was desirable to bring the Raja under the control of the Company; the present
"predicament in which the Raja stood seemed to afford a protest for stationing a Military
"force in the disputed districts, and it was intended to make a proposition to that effect,
"but should the Raja refuse to accede to the proposal, the propriety of appointing a Resident
"was to be insisted on, whether a native of Britain or India."

CONTEMPLATED ON ANNEXATION:-

Capt. Taylor of Tellicherry, and Mr. Farmer, Supervisor of Malabar in Calicut, were the two men who took a major part in deciding about the future of Kodagu. They contemplated on treating Kodagu as an annexed territory with the Raja reinstated under a Resident, either a British officer or a native chief. Capt. Macleod wrote that:-

"Mr. Farmer lost no time in forwarding the views of the Commissioners, his letter of instru-

"instruction to Capt. Murray of the 27th June, and was accompanied by a letter of the "same date to the Kodagu Raja, and copies of the Commissioner's letters of the 2Ist and "25th of the same month, also extracts from the proceedings on the 28th March and the 2nd "June.

"In his letter of instruction, Mr. Farmer noticed the alienation of the three disput-"ed districts, and the annexation of the original Kodagu to the territory, more immediate-"ly subject to the Government of Srirangapatna. He was well-persuaded under the name of "Taluq Kodagu; on the other hand, he was severe that under the denomination of Taluq Kod-"agu, the Raja contemplated the ancient dominions of the Rajas of the Kodagu. He was also "of the opinion that Lord Cornwallis entertained the same idea, but not being aware of the "dismemberament, omitted to stipulate for the inclusion of three districts. Mr. Farmer "directed Capt. Murray to tell the Raja that it was an unfortunate circumstance that no "well-informed person was present on his part when the minutes of peace were settled, that "by a similar mistake and negligence on their part the Raja of Coombla, Eteel Aggra (?), "Bengur (?) and Nileshwaram, had been entirely precluded from the protection of the Comp-"any which was fully intended to have been given them by obtaining as the negotiators "thought, the whole of the Malabar country from Dilla (?) southward; but when all matters "were settled, if we found these countries were excluded, as having been separated from "the Calicut Katchery and placed under Kushalnagar as Amara and Sulia were, that this was "wholly immediable after the signature of the treaty for which reason the Raja ought also "to reconcile himself to his disappointment, that no opportunity however would be lost "completely to reinstate him in his former possessions, anterior to the requisition of "the districts, but that in the interim, the Company could not demand from Tippu what he "did not grant by the treaty; and, therefore, would not defend such parts from the efforts "of Tippu's officers to resume them. The Raja and his people knowing how Tippu had di-"vided the country would be able to point his people knowing how Tippu had divided the "country would be able to point out exactly the limits of Taluq Kodagu subordinate imme-"diately to Srirangapatna.

"Capt. Murray was directed to hold forth a different language to Tippu's officer tell-"ing him that by the term Taluq Kodagu, ought to be understood the usual possession of the "Kodagu Raja and his family. Lieut. Emmatt of the Engineers (Corps) would accompany "Capt. Murray."

TALK ON BOUNDARIES:-

Mr. Farmer and Capt. Murray are now busy about fixing up of the boundaries around Kodagu. Macleod's report stated about that as below:

"Mr. Farmer informed the Raja that by the appointment of Gen. Abercrombie, Government "of Bombay, the full power and arrangement of the countries ceded by Tippu in this quarter "would ~~dissolve~~ devolve to him after the departure of the Bengal Commissioners, (Duncan "and Bodden) which would even take place, as they had completed their business. These "gentlemen had transmitted the letter which they had received from the Raja, bearing date

"date, 13th Wyshaak, (about May), Wednesday. Mr. Farmer expressed his surprise to find "the Raja claiming the districts of Amara and Sulya which according to the tenor of his for- "mer letter to Mr. Farmer, he appeared to have relinquished. Mr. Farmer reminded the Kodagu "Raja that when it was prepared that Tippu should be invited to send a deputy, he (the Raja) "objected to the measure, and that in consequence of this refusal, the boundaries were fixed "according to the description given by the Kodagu people only. Finally Mr. Farmer expressed "his hope that matters would be settled amicably between the Raja and Tippu's officers through "the means of Capt. Murray who was the Raja's friend.

"In addition to the foregoing letter, Capt. Murray was charged with a letter from Mr. "Farmer to Tippu, dated the 29th June. This letter was kept back a long time (if it was sent "at all).

"Mr. Farmer informed the Sultan that Gen. Abercrombie had appointed him ~~Superintendante~~ "Supervisor of the whole of the Company's possessions in the Province of Malabar. He then "recited the Raja's complaint of the invasion of the countries of Amara and Sulya and Yelu- "savirasime which for many hundred years had formed part of Kodagu, and, therefore, ceded to "the Company; and the acts of violence committed by Tippu's officer, these acts are specifi- "cally mentioned such as plundering the inhabitants, driving off the cattle and carrying away "the ryots with their families. Mr. Farmer imputed these evils to the ignorance of the offi- "cers; he, therefore, deputed Capt. Murray, a prudent man, to adjust this matter with the "Sultan's officers in that quarter, and expressed his hope that Tippu would depute a proper "person to meet him and that the matter might be settled amicably."

CHAPTER XI

CAPT. MURRAY'S MEDIATION WORKED OUT.

MEDIATION TALKS CONTINUE:-

The British diplomacy was at its zenith in Kodagu after all that had happened during those two or three years after the Treaty of Tellicherry in October 1790 between Robert Taylor and the Raja who had taken the position at Nalknad after escaping from Peryapatna prison in December 1788. Capt. Murray who conducted a good deal of negotiations between the contending parties was now seen following the Raja by just requesting him "for permission to erect a temporary shed at Virarajendrapet, and to this the Raja agreed". There they are! After making the Raja their stooge after a couple of strongly worded treaties, first at Tellicherry and then at Srirangapatna, they humoured him by asking "permission to erect a temporary shed". Indeed that was the hall-mark of the British diplomacy. Capt. Macleod said in continuation as below:

"The Supervisor (Mr. Farmer) observed that the Raja seemed to assert in his letter "to Mr. Duncan, that in a letter to Major Dow and himself (Mr. Farmer), he was expressly "warranted to keep Amara and Sulya. Of this, said the Supervisor, nothing appeared in "the records. In his letter, however, to Mr. Farmer, the Raja seemed to ground his warr-"anty to defend these districts on the general instructions from the Commissioners to "make the 'Bandobust' of his own countries. Deciding, therefore, that Amara and Sulya "to be his, said Mr. Farmer, the Raja professed to have asked within the line of their "warranty.

"After expressing his regret on account of the imperfection of the treaty, Mr.Farmer "proceeded to Capt. Murray that in the enclosed letter of this date to the Raja he forbade "all communication with the Sultan, except through him (Capt. Murray), and had given him "to understand that if a Vakeel should fruitlessly arrive from Tippu's country, he (the "Raja) must abide by the consequences. Finally Mr. Farmer expressed his fear that the "Raja would not suffer his letter of the 29th June sent to Tippu.

"Capt. Murray's reply to this letter is dated 26th July. He informed Mr. Farmer that "no suitable occasion had presented itself for opening the negotiation with Tippu, and "expressed his wish that the letter to the Raja might be modified.

"That letter was written in answer to the Raja's letter of the 8th July 1793, and dat-"ed on the 19th of the same month."

ABOUT BORDER SKIRMISHES:-

This is a very detailed account on some border adjustments and skirmishes. After he got the British support, the Raja forgot that he was their subordinate native chief, and then indulged in creating border incidents along the frontiers adjoining Tippu's

Tippu's territories. As was already seen, the Raja had to be warned by the Governor-General himself on that account. Capt. Macleod's record on these things are lucid. He wrote that:-

"Mr. Farmer proceeded to inform the Sultan that the Complaints made by the Vakils had "been investigated, and the result of the enquiries communicated to the Government of "Madras, and gave it as his opinion that the best way to prevent such disputes in future "would be TO FIX THE BOUNDARIES, and this was the object of Capt. Murray's deputation.

"Mr. Farmer's letter of the 27th June 1793 seems to have been sent to the Raja previous "to the departure of Capt. Murray. The Raja's answer is dated the 30th JYESHTA or the "18th July.

"He began with noticing the ~~surprise~~ surprise expressed by Mr. Farmer at the repetition "of his claim to Amara and Sulya after having professed to give them up; and proceeded to "inform the Supervisor that when Gen. Abercrombie descended the Ghats, he told them that "if Tippu should enter his country it would be proper for him to write to Mr. Farmer at "Calicut who would in consequence of the Raja's complaint remonstrate with Tippu, and that "if he did not write to Tippu, he would write to the Raja advising him to take care of his "country and make the 'Bandobust' of it.

"The Raja proceeded to inform Mr. Farmer that Tippu's fellows came to make disturbance "in Amara and Sulya, and he ordered his people to make resistance but retire to the other "side, and promised to write to Calicut from whom he hoped to receive an answer in eight "days, and that he had by way of encouraging his people, told them that the invaders, what-"ever they might carry away, would not be able to carry away the ground.

"He observed further that the banditii, after staying for two or three days, went off in "as great a hurry as they came, and that at the time of their departure, Mr. Farmer's letter "arrived, of which circumstance he had appraised his people, and invited them to return to "the districts. That in his letter to Calicut, he had requested Mr. Farmer to write to "Tippu warning him not to create disturbance or else that he would send him a plain answer "telling him that it would be proper for him to take care of; and make the 'Bandobust' of "his own country; that Mr. Farmer had accordingly written to him advising him to take care "of what belonged to him and not give up any part and make 'Bandobust' of it, as there was "no occasion to give up what belonged to him. That in the first letter which the Raja wrote "in which he was said to have relinquished Amara and Sulya, there were fifty hundred things "before and fifty hundred things- the paragraph which has been so construed, but that Mr. "Farmer paid no attention to them."

BOUNDARY INSPECTION:-

There was a quarrel between the men of Tippu Sultan and of the Raja of Kodagu in the presence of Mr. Emmatt, the Engineer, who had been to settle the boundary of the two States. Capt. Macleod's report states about that as below:

"The Raja observed further that Mr. Farmer had informed him in his letter that the Engi-

"Engineer (Lieut. Emmatta) had told the Raja that Tippu's people and his should both be "present at the setting of the boundaries in order that matter might be done by mutual "consent "but that to this be made objections he would find people on his own part, but "Tippu was no friend of his nor of his family, nor living under his authority.

"The Raja continued to observe that for the sake of putting an end to disputes, the "Engineer came to examine the boundaries and settle differences, that Tippu's fellows came "to surround him, that the Engineer told them that he was an English Sardar, came to ins- "pect the boundaries, and to do justice to both sides, but that they refused to listen to "him and abused him and fired at him. The Raja appealed to Mr. Farmer whether his people, "if they should invite these fellows to a conference, were likely to experience better treat- "ment. He thought it very unfair that Mr. Farmer who had on all occasions blamed when "he preferred complaints against Tippu's people, should suffer this outrageous behaviour "to pass without censure. The Raja then proceeded to notice the deputation of Capt. "Murray which had been determined upon in consequence of his (the Raja) request to be "assisted in settling the business. He thought it remarkable that he should so express "himself as to this, that he looked upon this business as the Raja's concern exclusively "and not the concern of the Company. Having as he said, the favour of his God, he had "no cause of apprehension. Formerly, he asked for no assistance from any quarter, and had hitherto achieved great actions by himself without assistance, neither did he now, nor "in his letters, crave assistance, for, "he knew all the world and was much in favour "with his Hod". The letters which he had written were letters of information which was "communicated in the way of friendship, but the advice of Gen. Abercrombie, and this in- "formation was not attended to; the former and latter parts of what was written in his "answer were not attended to; but two words in between were observed and blame rested on "him. Mr. Farmer was determined to find fault with everything he wrote or said, there- "fore, it was difficult for him to know what to write or say. The Raja wrote this letter "for the purpose of letting Mr. Farmer know what might happen on the morrow."

TALKS IN NALNAD:-

Nalknad was for sometime a centre where many diplomats from Mysore, Malabar and those of the East India Company met. The talks about the above subject proceeded, and Capt. Macleod collected minutely the proceedings, and says that:

"Amara and Sulya were not the new acquisitions; the stones that were placed on the "boundaries one or two hundred years past in the days of'Eikarean' (Ikkeri), remained "still in their places. He never quitted his bounds to enter Tippu's dominions; not a "length of cow's woof, nor would he suffer his districts to be taken from him, as long as "he and his people should continue to exist. The slow estimation in which the Raja held "Mr. Farmer appears by the terms in which the latter concluded, viz- "this you are under- "stood properly."

"On the 6th July 1793, Capt. Murray arrived at Virarajendrapet on his way to Nalknad

"Nalknad, the Kodagu Raja's capital, from thence he addressed Mr. Farmer on the 9th of "the month informing that immediately on his arrival, he despatched his and Mr. Duncan's "letters with one from himself proposing an interview; that no answer had been received, "but the foregoing letters was sent to be forwarded to Mr. Farmer. Virarajendrapet is "seven miles from the top of the Ghat, and is said to have been a new village, and it is "sixteen miles from Nalknad. This circumstance leads to a supposition that it may have "borrowed its name from the Raja (Haleri Virarajendra).

"Capt. Murray wrote to Mr. Farmer (Supervisor of Malabar) again on the IIth July inform-"ing him that he had again addressed the Raja requesting an interview. He was of opinion "that the Raja was jealous as to the admission of the strangers into his capital. The Raja "wrote to him a word that he should be glad to see him after the rain should be little abated. "The road to Nalknad was impossible, the intermediate country consisting of marshes and jung-"les which according to Lieut. Emmatt's acoount were very difficult to pass even in dry weather."

THE RAJA IN ANGER:

Capt. Murray's account about the Raja's reaction to the outcome of the Srirangapatna treaty is given as below by Capt. Macleod:

"On the I3th July, Capt. Murray left Virarajendrapet and arrived in Nalknad, and on the "succeeding day he had an interview with the Raja; the indignation was greatly existed by "the insinuation of his having promised to give up Amara and Sulya, and of his having neglect-"ed to send a Vakeel to assist at the negotiations at Srirangapatna. He was so transported "with anger that tears came into his eyes. As to district, he declared that he had never "promised to give them up, and, as to the omission of the ancient appendages of Kodagu in "the treaty of peace with Tippu Sultan, he regarded it as a breach of faith on the part of "the Company. He boasted of the strength of his country and the courage of his people, and "declared that rather than submit to the violation of his rights he was determined to defend "them to the last, and in the event of being worsted by a powerful adversary to burn and dest-"roy everything and die in the last dyke. He exalted the superiority of Sepoys over Europ-"ean soldiers; the former, he observed were capable of making long marches while the latter "spent with fatigue, fell down in numbers on the road. He declared that he had never failed "in his engagements whereas the British has not fulfilled one promise out of ten.

"The next day when the Raja discussed with Capt. Murray in private, he was more cool. He "spoke of his feats, his imprisonment, and hair-breadth escape etc. This information is cont-"ained in a public and private letter of Capt. Murray, both dated the I8th July I793. The "fore-going is the substance of the private letter. The purport of the public letter will "now be given whether is related to the conference of the I4th and I5th July or of the I4th "May only.

"The Raja declared to Capt. Murray that he was greatly disappointed as to the support "which he hoped to have experienced from the Britain, but was willing to forget the past and "fulfil with fidelity the engagements which he had entered into. He professed to entertain

"entertain a personal regard for General Abercrombie and acknowledged to have received "many marks of friendship from him. He observed that the General had felt it necessary "to apologize for the indefinite manner in which Kodagu had been described in the Treaty "of Srirangapatna. He exultingly exhibited to Capt. Murray the certificates which Gen. "Abercrombie had given him on the 31st March 1793 and which was most honourable testimony "of the Raja's faithful service to the Bombay army during the late war."

MURRAY RETURNS FROM NALKNAD:-

Capt. Murray, the first Resident-diplomat in Kodagu, had a long conference with the Raja and returned, and, Capt. Macleod stated that:-

"Capt. Murray asked the Raja if he approved of sending Mr. Farmer's letter to Tippu, "dated the 29th June. The Raja advised the Captain to wait a little longer as Tippu's "people had been quiet- lately. He declared that he did not tresspass upon Tippu's "(territory) but that the latter's people had plundered him several times. He did not "lay the blame on the Sultan and was willing to believe that HE HAD NOT AUTHORIZED THOSE "ACTS OF VIOLENCE.

"With respect to Amara and Sulya, he declared that they formed as much a part of Kodagu "as any district contained in it for ages past, that he never intended to relinquish them, "and his letter of the 6th May to Mr. Duncan from which such an intention had been inferr-"ed was misunderstood. (It must be observed that the document is not to be found in this "collection.)

"The Raja proceeded to give an account of the districts and of his title to them, the "particulars have been given already in the proper place, and drew a comparison between "the situation in which he stood and the situation of the Raja of Coombla, Wallett Aggra, "(Vittal ?) etc. Capt. Murray subjoined a description of Yelusavirasime and took note "of the infertility and military importance of Amara and Sulya.

"He professed his readiness to believe the Raja's ~~readiness~~ assertions; he described "him as man, plain and direct in his language and conduct, and without deception, of an "ardent, flighty and rather watchful than jealous temper, sometimes carried away by pass-"ion, mild, liberal and humane in his government, and apparently possessing the entire "affection of his people.

"After such a display of the Raja's character, Capt. Murray dared not touch upon the "subject of a military post or the establishment of a Residency in the Raja's dominions. "Previous to taking leave, he requested permission to erect a temporary shed at Virarajen-"drapet. To this the Raja agreed, and nothing else was said upon the subject of English-"man residing in his country.

"Capt. Murray left Nalknad on the 17th July and returned to Virarajendrapet. On re-"ceiving the Raja's letter of the 8th July 1793, Mr. Farmer replied to the contents in a "letter to Capt. Murray, dated the 19th July."

MR. FARMER NEGOTIATED:-

"Mr. Farmer's efforts to reconcile the Raja and Tippu Sultan about their border territories went on for some time, and Capt. Macleod wrote about that:

"He (Capt. Murray) represented to the Raja that the invasion of Amara and Sulya indicat-"ed a belief on the part of Tippu that those districts were not ceded to the Company whereas "the Raja expressed his right, and write to them (?), that agreeably to the stipulation of "the treaty, a negotiation ought to take place. That according to the Raja's desire, Capt. "Murray had been deputed for the purpose of conducting the negotiation and that he (Mr. Far-"mer) had requested that Tippu would send a deputy, that if Tippu should fail to comply with "his proposal the matter would be laid before Lord Cornwallis, but, if on the other hand, "Tippu should send a deputy and the Raja should hold communication with him without the assi-"stance of Capt. Murray; Tippu would construe that circumstance as a dereliction of the "Raja's cause on the part of the Company. Mr. Farmer reminded the Raja of the difficulty "with which Tippu was prevailed upon to cede the Kodagu country, and requested that he would "at all times conduct himself so as to merit and ensure the good wishes of all the English "gentlemen for which purpose it was essential that he should refrain from all acts of hosti-"lity towards Tippu unless he should obtain the consent of the Company's Government. Fina-"lly Mr. Farmer expressed the hope that through the mediation of Capt. Murray the affair in "dispute would be brought to an amicable adjustment. (Capt. Murray wished that this letter "might be modified).

"On the 30th July 1795, Mr. Farmer replied to Capt. Murray's letters of the IIth, I8th "and 21st of the month. The Supervisor gave the Captain a great credit for the temper, "skill and ability with which he had managed the Raja and promised to recommend him to the "Bombay Government. He observed that the Raja appeared to mistake the purport of the letter "addressed to Tippu, and to think that it tended to bring him right to Amara and Sulya into "discussion which he might wish to avoid. He was of opinion that this matter ought to be "settled previous to the departure of Lord Cornwallis from India, because he would tell what "he understood by the 'Taluq Kodagu' (and he did not doubt that his Lordship meant to compro-"mise the whole of real Kodagu country.")

CAUTIONED ABOUT TIPPU:-

The British negotiations were all dealt with scrupulous care so as to see that Tippu was not given any more privilege over the Kodagu Raja. They also saw that the Sultan trying to befriend the French, and the Raja was duly cautioned about that too. Macleod observed that:-

"Mr. Farmer directed Capt. Murray to tell the Raja that so far from admitting Tippu's "right to Amara and Sulya, he had in the letter afore-mentioned, complained to the Sultan "of the ~~xxxx~~ encroachment of his officers on those districts, and, Capt. Murray was to tell "the Raja that he had been deputed for the purpose of ascertaining the extremities of the "districts, and not the Raja's title to the districts; and, if Tippu should assume a pre-

"preemptory tone, the matter would be referred to Lord Cornwallis, backed with all the "strong arguments urged by Kodagu, but that the possession of those districts would not "be yielded up without such discussion, which in fairness, he doubted not, would end "favourably to the Raja.

"(It will be observed that Mr. Farmer in his instruction to Capt, Murray, dated the "27th June, gave it as his opinion that Tippu added the original Kodagu united to Sri-"rangapatna and despoiled of Amara, Sulya and Yelusavirasime, and that the Raja would be "obliged to sit down with the loss of those districts.)

"Mr. Farmer's letter concludes in these terms: You may remind him (the Raja) that "the sons of Tippu are still with us, that he sees the power of the king of France destroy-"ed and its last visible remains in this country falling under our superior power; that "impressed with this, he has even offered us his and against the French; that, if Tippu "therefore, questions the right of Kodagu to Amara and Sulya, the present seems the fit "hour to stamp for ever by discussion the seal and impression of right as to Amara and "Sulya, after which, he saw if he wants it even demand our aid, should they in future "be molested.

"Since writing the above letter as it would appear, Mr. Farmer received Capt. Murray's "letter of the 28th July. It was Mr. Farmer's wish that Capt. Murray would endeavour "to prevail on the Raja to give consent that the letter should be sent to Tippu. The "letter was accordingly sent.

"Capt. Murray replied to this letter on the 5th August 1793, and signified his intent-"ion to write immediately to the Raja to propose another meeting at Nalknad and to inform "him that a negotiation would be opened with Tippu.

"This letter seems to have reached Mr. Farmer on the 10th of this month, and on the "following day he addressed the Governor-General-in-Council by desire of the Commissioners "and transmitted sundry papers for his Lordship's information."

BORDER INCURSIONS AGAIN:-

Tippu's people indulged in the repeated border incursions along the Kodagu frontiers, and Mr. Farmer went deep into the situation and reported his findings to the Home Office. Capt. Macleod's report said about that as under:-

"This Supervisor (Mr. Farmer) began with representing the Raja's ancient title to "the three districts, his unwillingness to suffer any discussion relative thereto, and "his determination to resist by force of arms any attempt on the part of Tippu and even "the Company, if they were so disposed, to deprive him of them. Mr. Farmer proceeded to "give an account of the invasion of the districts and of the acts of violence committed "by Tippu's officers. He would not believe that these people would have dared to act in "such an outrageous manner without orders received from their master; nor could be persuad-"ed that Tippu would have authorized such a proceeding had he not been convinced that "these places had escaped the claim of the Company in the same manner as the countries

"countries of the Rajas of Nileshwar, Kumbla and Ettel Aggra (Vittal ?) situated in the "southward of Deala (?), and, therefore, thought to be included in the acquisition of the "Malabar country; for these reasons he was inclined to credit the assertion that the dist-"ricts had been placed under the collection of Kushalnagar previous to the war. He then "noticed the concialatory measure adopted by the Commissioners in deputing Capt. Murray, "and the difficulty with which that gentleman prevailed on the Raja to suffer his (Farmer's) "letter to be forwarded to Tippu.

"Under these circumstances, Mr. Farmer found it necessary to ask for instructions as to "the conduct he should adopt, and in particular, in the event of Tippu's returning an un-"satisfactory answer, whether in such a case he should be authorized publicly to warrant "Kodagu to maintain these countries, should they be again invaded, and to offer him the aid "of the Company's troops, should his own be insufficient. In the latter case, it seemed "to be indispensably necessary in the opinion of the Supervisor that some person should be "present on the part of the Company to ascertain the invasions had really been made or pre-"viously to warn every person advancing for that purpose that his invasion should be resisted.

"About the 2nd September 1793, Mr. Farmer received an answer from Tippu to the letter "above-mentioned."

TIPPU REPEATED ARGUMENTS:

Tippu Sultan repeatedly said that he was telling for a long time, and, what he wanted was, like the British, a passage to Bandar or to the coastal region along Kodagu and Amara and Sulya. Macleod commented on this stating that:

"It is remarkable that in this reply, the Sultan instead of pleading a recent alienation "of the three districts, sought to justify his claim by withholding an acknowledgement of "their ever having been granted or ceded to the Kodagu (ruling) family and by affixing to "his title a very early date. He insisted that Amara and Sulya had for five or six centur-"ies or even more, been and remained, included in the country of the 'Bander' port of Kodyal, "and that Yelusavirasime stood, as usual, included in the taluqs of Belur, and had for hund-"reds of years past, been and made, part of Srirangapatna, and that the said taluqs had "accordingly, from ancient times, been held by the Ahmady Sirkar (Tippu's). For these rea-"sons, he was astonished that Mr. Farmer should, at the instance of the wicked and interest-"ed people, have written without ascertainment of the fact.

"The Sultan's answer to the charges of depredations and other acts of violence and cruel-"ty committed by his officers, is very curious. He did not attempt to deny the charge of "having invaded the districts, nor did he promise forbearence in time to come, but confined "his observations to Kodagu enclosed in Company's Sarkar, and the sentence is so word-"ed as to show that he did not consider the districts as forming part of Kodagu. As to "what he was pleased to call Kodagu, he promised that his people should never infringe upon "it. He observed that as the truest and the firmest friendship was established between him "and the Company, and as Kodagu was enclosed in English Company's Sarkar, the Supervisor

"Supervisor might rest satisfied that the servants of the Ahmady Sarkar would never enter "therein; placing full reliance on which, it would be proper for him to treat with cont- "empt the false operations of the people of Kodagu, and paying attention to the treaty of "peace, act in such a manner as that the friendship existing between the two Governments "might daily increase.

"Of this letter, Mr. Farmer sent a copy to Bengal, also a copy of further instructions "sent to Capt. Murray. This letter does not appear among the documents which have been "selected, but the purport of it was to call upon the Raja for further explanation, as may "be inferred from Capt. Murray's letter of the 6th September to Mr. Farmer from Virarajen- "drapet in answer to the same. Mr. Farmer's letter was dated the 2nd September and en- "closed a translation of Tippu's letter. It was the intention of Capt. Murray to appoint "a meeting with the Raja and call upon him and his people to further explanation. He "considered the Raja to be with little exception, the only intelligent man in the country; "he gave it as his opinion that it would be proper at the recommendation of the Raja dur- "ing the conference of July, to request Mr. Taylor, Chief of Tellichery, to question some "of the Bedanore and Mangalore people, several of whom resided at that settlement."

LT. EMMATT SURVEYED BORDERS:

The real masters to assess this much disputed lands were the people who reported things that were not favourable to Tippu. Macleod continued to state that:

"Capt. Murray fore-sees very great difficulties in the accomplishment of any settle- "ment between the Raja and the Sultan, and he was of opinion that it would not be one of "the least TO KEEP THE RAJA FROM BREAKING OUT AGAIN.

"Lieut. Emmatt was employed in surveying the Raja's dominions and in making necessary "enquiries respecting the acts of violence committed both by the Kodagu people and Tippu's "officers at different periods subsequent to the peace of Srirangapatna. Mention is made "of a letter written by him to Gen. Abercrombie about March 1793 and of another letter "addressed to the Commissioners on the 4th April following; but these documents are not "to be found in the selection.

"About the beginning of July, when Capt. Murray was sent on his deputation, Lieut. "Emmatt accompanied him in the capacity of a surveyor, having prosecuted his enquiries, "he addressed to Capt. Murray on the 11th September from Virarajendrapet, the object of "this letter was to communicate to his colleague some further circumstance of information "that occurred to him during the survey of the Kodagu Raja's boundaries, in addition to "what he communicated to the Commissioners under date, 4th April 1793. During his survey "of the borders of the small districts of Amara and Sulya, some of the oldest people of "Kodagu, by desire of the Raja, pointed out to him the exact limits of those districts as "formerly possessed by the Kodagu Raja. These people showed Lieut. Emmatt the remains "of the houses that had long given them shelter, and with tears in their eyes, particular-

"particularly described all the little places that had formerly nourished their domestic "happiness. Others led him to the places where their near relatives had been lately mur-"dered by bandits of Tippu's people living on the borders of Sulya and Amara. Lieut. "Emmatt found four of these who had been hanged in November 1792 for having refused to quit "their villages and go over to Tippu's. There were 13 others, a little without the Raja's "boundaries who had also lately been hanged for the same reason."

ENQUIRIES ABOUT THE RAJA:-

The East India Company Government were dead serious in finding out the antecedents of the family of the Kodagu Raja and about their territories. Macleod wrote that:

"During the whole of his journey round and across the afore-said districts, Lieut. Emmatt "made many enquiries of the people respecting the length of time they had been under the "Kodagu Raja, all of whom answered that the king and their ancestors had inhabited them under "the Kodagu Raja longer than they had any recollection of, and what then children, they had "been told that Sulya and Amara had been under the Kodagu Raja, for at least 200 years. With "respect to Yelusavirasime, the same proofs occurred of its being under, and the property of, "the Kodagu Raja.

"On the 4th September, the day before Mr. Duncan left Calicut on his return to the North, "that gentleman addressed letter to Capt. Murray-----who was at Virarajendrapet. The object "of that letter was to obtain a knowledge of the Raja's history so far as to point out how "long the present race (?) of the Raja had been in the Government and how they acquired the "districts and whether Amara and Sulya were annexed to Bunder Kodyal (Mangalore) at the com-"mencement of hostilities, and when Yelusavirasime was obtained by Hyder and Tippu, and annex-"ed, as he said to Belur. The result of Capt. Murray's ~~letter~~ enquiries was to be forwarded "to Madras, whether Mr. Duncan was about to proceed on his way home- to Madras.

"Capt. Murray repaired to Nalknad, the Raja's capital, soon after the receipt of this "letter; left on the 11th, and reached Tellichery on the 14th of the month. This letter "of the 19th September to Mr. Duncan and of the 15th and 19th to Mr. Farmer, contain the "results of his conferences with the Raja and with the people of Tellichery.

"It will be necessary in the first instance to take notice of Capt. Murray's letter to "Mr. Farmer written on the 15th September, being the day after he arrived at Tellichery from "Nalknad where he had held several conferences with the Raja, and of Mr. Farmer's answer "dated the 17th of the month.

"Capt. Murray began with informing the Supervisor that soon after the date of his letter "of the 2nd September, he proceeded to Nalknad where he had several meetings with the Raja, "and that the Raja was enraged though not surprised to find Tippu persisting to claim the "three districts in dispute."

FURTHER PROOFS SOUGHT:-

Capt. Macleod's comprehensive report proceeds to say that:

"The Captain (Murray) declared his firm belief that the Raja was in possession of the dist-

"districts before the commencement of the hostilities. He observed that the Raja repeat-
"ed the request he made at the conference of the I4th July that enquiry might be made of
"different persons, and result be sent to Marquiss Cornwallis, and renewed his promise
"of ability by their decision that he recommended a visit to Kodagu where the Captain
"would meet with many inhabitants of the adjacent country as well as merchants at Telli-
"chery who could give the information required and that in compliance with the Raja's re-
"quest he left Nalknad and proceeded to Tellicherry where he reached on the I4th September
"I793. His stay was limited by the Raja for fifteen days during which period it was his
"intention to convene the eprsons from whom the direct information might be expected, and
"examine them in the presence of Mr. Taylor. On descending the Ghat, Capt. Murray re-
"ceived a letter from Mr. Farmer dated the 7th of the month. This letter is not to be
"found in the selection of papers from which this information is derived, but the content
"of it was given in subsequent letters.

"Capt. Murray observed further that the Sultan was at this time tampering with the Raja
"through the means of the Hukum of 'Munshirabad' (Manjrabad), that he received a letter
"from Tippu while he (Murray) was at Nalknad with the Sarkar's seal upon it, which he read
"and explained to him (Murray). In this letter, Tippu flattered and held out great pro-
"mises and advantages to the Raja but the proposals were not to be communicated except in
"a conference with the Huckum (the Sultan). The Raja expressed his anxiety to learn the
"nature of the proposals. The Hukum (Tippu) sent an old 'Sinnosy' (Sanyasi), his Guru,
"to pave the way with the Raja.

"In answer to this letter, Mr. Farmer addressed to Capt. Murray on the I7th September
"(I793).

"The Supervisor (Mr. Farmer) expressed his approbation of the measure taken by Capt.
"Murray to satisfy the Kodagu Raja, as to a fair mode of enquiry into the period of actual
"possession of the districts claimed by him. That the Raja or his ancestors might have
"possessed these districts at home previous to the commencement of hostilities, Mr.Farmer
"had not much doubt, but the true point was, in his opinion, to ascertain what was the
"Raja's condition and actual possession at the very period of commencement of hostilities,
"~~Mr.Farmer had not much doubt, but the true point was, in his opinion~~ that is about the
"month of May I790, for, as there was no exact definition of what the Company were to
"restore him, nothing more, on the ground of -----(?) faith and justice would be expected,
"than that the Company should leave him at head, as well as they found him, a rule by
"which the Commissioners had principally governed in partitioning Malabar which would not
"at this time have been settled, if recurrence were to be had to all the possessions de-
"rivable from the rights founded on sound possession."

RAJA -NOT TO BE ABANDONED:-

During these boundary negotiations, the Raja tried to defy his 'friends', and that caused some unpleasantness, but, nevertheless, they thought that not "to put him out of the Company protection". Macleod said that:

"He (Mr. Farmer) observed that other instances had arisen of the Malabar Raja fall-
"ing short of their right by the total ignorance of the negotiations as to those rights,
"at the time of treating, and that the ceded territory was delivered by the Company ser-
"vants (not exactly so in all the instances, and in particular the Zamorin and the Raja
"of Korremnad (?) and Cochin) as it were received from Tippu's officers. Finally Mr.
"Farmer was inclined to think that as the Raja affected to defy both the British and Tippu,
"it would be best to renounce the tribute and put him out of the Company's protection, for
"the present he wished that the Raja should be informed that the whole affair was in refer-
"ence to Marquiss Cornwallis.

"To this letter, Capt. Murray replied on the 19th September 1793, and enclosed a letter
"to Mr. Duncan, containing all the information which he had been able to collect respecting
"the disputed districts accompanied by Mr. Emmatt's letter afore-mentioned, and a letter from
"Taylor dated the 15th September, and also copies for information of Mr. Farmer. From these
"documents, Capt. Murray trusted that the Supervisor would see the Raja's claims in a most
"favourable light than ever and not think of abandoning him.

"On his return to Nalknad, Capt. Murray intended to inform the Raja of the reference made
"by the Supervisor to Marquess Cornwallis and what had been done to support in the present
"occasion. The idea of fixing of boundaries seemed to be at an end, the Captain was of opi-
"nion that Tippu would never enter upon it. Besides, the boundaries were everywhere welknown
"by both parties, and he did not apprehend that there was much fear of infringement on either
"side, were the disputed districts out of the question.

"Mr. Emmatt, the surveyor, accompanied Capt. Murray to Tellichery, and was not at Canna-
nore.

"Capt. Murray's letter of the same date (19th September) to Mr. Duncan will now come into
"consideration.

"After recapitulating the questions propounded by Mr. Duncan and which have already been
"stated, Capt. Murray proceeded to inform that gentleman that he had waited upon the Raja at
"Nalknad, and after having communicated to him, the purpose of Tippu's letter to Mr. Farmer,
"demanded the information enquired."

THE RAJA'S EVIDENCE:-

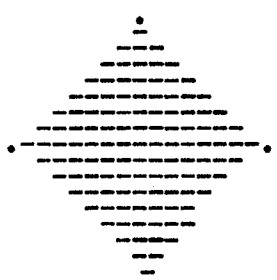
In order to support his claim to the disputed areas, the Raja gave a background story of his family and of the country that he had possessed. Macleod summed up the whole thing in his report as under:-

"With great candour, the Raja informed him (Mr. Farmer) that he was, as all his predecess-
"ors of the same race of Hindus as the ancient Bedanore Rajas, that this country had deseend-
"ants to him through a line of ancestors of whose first establishment as the supervisor of
"it, there was no certain period fixed, but which period was universally acknowledged to be
"most remote.

"He then proceeded to give an account of the manner in which his ancestors became "possessed of the districts of Amara, Sulya and Yelusavirasime as before-mentioned; the "disposal of them by the Mysorean Government; invasion of Kodagu-----deportation of the "inhabitants and revolution of the country, might be added, and division of Kodagu into "Jaghirs. The escape from Peryapatna two or three years after (oght he not have made "months?) before the commencement of the late war with Tippu, his return to the country, "the revolt of the inhabitants in his favour, and in particular those of the three dist-"ricts. The latter circumstance was adduced to prove that he was in possession of the "districts before the commencement of the war. This matter has been enlarged upon be-"fore.

"The Raja proceeded to give an account of his conquests made by him ~~di~~ during the "war, and the assistance afforded to the British army whereas the prince of Malabar "rendered little if any service to the Company, and finally he requested that Capt, "Murray would repair to the coast for the purpose of consulting the native inhabitants "who were well-acquainted with Kodagu.

"Having given the substance of his conversation with the Raja, Capt. Murray informed "Mr. Duncan that he accordingly set out for Tellichery and arrived there on the I4th "September, and convened several men of character who had formerly resided in the Manga-"lore country. Some of them near the district in question had caused them to be examin-"ed by Mr. Taylor, Chief of Tellichery, on the different points to be ascertained, and "that they, without hesitation, gave the very same account of the grant of Amara that "the Raja had given and confirmed his statement. With respect to Sulya, some, with "some variation of the circumstance of its becoming subject to the Kodagu Rajas which "were of such a nature as not to lessen the reality of the fact; and that with respect "to Yelusavirasime, as that country lay above the Ghats, they were not acquainted with "what had taken place respecting it."



CHAPTER XII

A TENSE SITUATION CONTINUED FOR SOMETIME.

EMMATT SURVEYED KODAGU:-

Before concluding the procedure of negotiations, Capt. Murray made sure that he relied more on Mr. Emmatta's observations on the boundary issue. Capt. Macleod quoted at length the reasons for Murray's decision, and said that:

"Capt. Murray then adverted to Lieut. Emmatt's letters which in his opinion, tended "greatly to establish the Raja's title to the districts. This gentleman, he observed, "had been long employed as a surveyor, and was a man of intelligence and excellent charac- "ter, and as it would be observed by a perusal of his letter, had taken great pains when "he recently surveyed Kodagu and its boundaries, in enquiring of the people on the spot "in all the three disputed districts concerning the Raja's claim to them, and found thr- "oughout, the result to be in his favour.

"Capt. Murray was fully convinced of the Raja's title in these places and of his "determination to maintain the possession of them. Therefore, feared to provoke his "resentment lest he should break with the Company and they should lose a valuable ally "possessed of a strong country, when inhabitants were courageous and increasing in numbers. "He observed that Mr. Duncan well knew that the Raja was a man of high spirit and express- "ed his regret to find him alienated from the British nation since the conclusion of peace. "He proceeds to notice the Raja's unwillingness to pay tribute, and the cause assigned "by the Raja, viz- the low state of cultivation and the encouragement given to new sett- "lers as already noticed by way of comment to the certificate. The Captain then related "the circumstances connected to the offers made by Tippu to the Raja through the Hukum of "munshirabad (Manjrabad ?).

"Finally Capt. Murray observed that Tippu had not insisted upon the delivery of the "three districts, and gave it as his opinion that Tippu would not be induced to revive "his pretensions or disturb the Raja in his possession of the two districts below the "Ghats as they were bounded by a thick jungle, and the countries were otherwise, natu- "rally very strong and not worth above Rs. 5000 per annum."

THE RAJA'S SERVICE PRAISED:-

All the circumstances coincided in such a way that the Company was forced to recall the help rendered by the Raja during the war with Tippu in 1792, and as a result the Raja was a beneficiary. Capt. Macleod stated that:

"Mr. R. Taylor's letter to Mr. Duncan of the 18th September 1793 will now come for con- "sideration. Having noticed the arrival of Capt. Murray and the examination of the wit- "ness, the Chief of Tellicherry gave it as his opinion that in consideration of the good "conduct invariably maintained towards the English by the Raja during the war, it was in-

"incumbent on the Company to support him in the preservation of Taluq Kodagu as it stood "previous to its dismemberament.

"Mr. Taylor proceeded to give an account of the Raja's prowess, the service rendered "by him to the Company, the engagements entered into with him, and strict adherence to "them. He drew a contrast between the heroic conduct of the Raja and the 'pussilanimity'(?) "of the Malabar Rajas who all fled; and when the country with Tippu's troops until they were "dislodged by the Company's troops, and the Rajas reinstated. These Rajas, He observed, "seemed for the most part anxious to secure possession of their own territories than to "assist in bringing the war to a conclusion. On the contrary, Kodagu at all times, most "zealously assisted the British, and when the Bombay army descended the Ghats at the end of "May 1791, he kept possession of his country in defiance of Tippu, and again at the "commencement of the fair season, opened the way to the capital. Had he been inclined to "temporise with Tippu at this juncture, said Mr. Taylor, would most probably have ceded "the disputed districts to him. But what prospect would the Raja have under existing cir-"cumstances if he had betrayed the Company?

"After introducing some further arguments in support of the Raja's cause, Mr. Taylor took "notice of the commercial advantage which the Company derived from their connection with "this prince, and the opening which the occupation of Kodagu would give, in case of a future "war, into the Mysore territory, also the protection which it would afford against an invas-"ion of the Malabar province.

"Finally Mr. Taylor reported the testimony adduced by the natives in favour of the Raja's "claim to Amara and Sulya, and confessed their ignorance with respect to Yelusavirasime. "He admitted that the fact of these districts having been dismembered.

LORD CORNWALLIS RETIRED:-

In those years of 1789 to 1793, Lord Cornwallis was in direct touch with the affairs of Kodagu, and that was mostly because of the concern he had on dealing with Tippu. He succeeded in creating Kodagu as a feudatory State before he retired and thus affirmed the Company's friendship with the Kodagu Raja. Capt. Macleod summarises things as below:

"On the 29th September 1793, Mr. Farmer addressed Lord Cornwallis on the subject of dis-"puted districts and transmitted sundry documents for his information.

"It is a circumstance welknown that at the conclusion of peace between Tippu and the "allied powers in March 1792, two of the sons of the Sultan were delivered up as hostages "and conducted to Madras, where their continuance was unnecessarily protracted by an un-"accommodating disposition of the Nizam's ministers manifested on this occasion. At the "time when Lord Cornwallis left India, nothing of any great importance remained unadjusted "between Tippu and the confederates, and it was his Lordship's earnest desire that the "hostages should be liberated but that desire was not complied with till some months after.

"after. In December I793, Tippu's Vakeels residing at Madras engaged to become responsi-
"ble for the fulfilment of the treaty in the surrender of certain portions of territory
"to the Nizam. In February I794, the hostages were liberated and in the succeeding month
"set out for Srirangapatna accompanied by Capt. Doveton.

"It was naturally unexpected by Sir John Shore (who had recently succeeded to the Sup-
"reme Government) that in the arrival of Capt. Doveton at the Sultan's court, all unadjust-
"ed points would be brought into discussion, as far as Tippu might feel it his interest
"to agitate them.

"Under this expectation, the Governor-General drew up certain instructions by which
"Captain Doveton was to be ~~gi~~ guided in the event of the unadjusted points becoming the
"subject of conversation between the Sultan and him. The letter is dated the 27th March
"(I794 ?). With respect to Kodagu, Sir John Shore desired that the Raja seemed disposed
"to settle his disputes with Tippu, and declared his unwillingness to be implicated there-
"in."

TIPPU PRAISED THE ENGLISH:-

Tippu's vast kingdom had gathered multifarious problems. There were troubles from many sides, and, as to Kodagu, the age-old disputes concerning to the adjoining districts and boundary continued, and all this did not help to improve situation both in Kodagu and Mysore. Moreover, after the treaty of Srirangapatna, Tippu felt very much offended and humiliated, and, therefore, he followed some aggressive policies towards his opponents including Kodagu. Capt. ~~Mackeod~~ Macleod's long report ends making mention of all this, but mildly. He wrote that:

"On the 7th February (I794), the princes (Tippu's hostage sons) accompanied by Capt.
"Doveton, commenced their journey from Madras. On the I7th March I794, they ascended
"the Ghats, and encamped on the Paddanaik Durgam Pass where they were met by Mir Muhammad
"Ali Khan, an officer in Tippu's service. Tippu who had been on circuit in his country
"for two or three months lay encamped with a small army near Devanahalli to which place he
"desired that the princes might proceed. On the 28th they marched to the place of his
"encampment and the meeting took place on the 29th. The Sultan received Capt. Doveton
"very graciously and spoke highly of Lord Cornwallis who had manifested so much kindness
"towards the hostages and had lately interceded on their behalf. He reprobated (?) the
"conduct of the French in murdering their king, gave it as his opinion that they deserved
"to suffer every misfortune that had befallen them, and professed to admire the excellency
"of the British constitution. Capt. Doveton obtained his absence of leave on the 6th
"April I794 and quitted the Sultan's camp on the I8th on his way to Calcutta. (Captain
"Doveton reported to Sir John Shore on the 3Ist March and I5th April about this interview)"

"The letter of the 27th October I784 from Bengal to Bombay (entered in the Madras

"Madras volume) contains some further particulars respecting the deputation of Capt. Dove-
"ton. The Bombay Government were informed that as Capt. Doveton has not proceeded to
"Srirangapatna, no negotation has taken place relative to the boundaries between the Sultan,
"the Kodagu Raja and the Company. It would not indeed be expected that under existing cir-
"cumsta ces when Tippu had experienced so much kindness from the Company Government in the
"liberation of the princes, and when he himself had ceded sundry places to the Company which
"did not belong to him (and of which unfair proceeding complaint had been made) the Sultan
"should be very forward to open a disagreeable negotiation."

THE RAJA -UNWILLING:-

Capt. Macleod's report dated the 8th December 1795, closes with a note that "every measure of conciliation had been tried", but "the Raja was unwilling that the Company should interpose". Macleod said that till 1795, nothing happened although in December of that year a fresh complaint was made against Kodagu. The last few sentences of that length report goes as below:

"Capt. Doveton, on his departure, was charged with the conveyance of a friendly letter
"to Sir John Shore, to which the Governor-General replied on the 9th July following, and
"informed the Sultan that he was glad to hear that the Ameens, who had been appointed by
"him, and the Nizam were exerting themselves to adjust the boundary disputes. He express-
"ed his hope that His Highness would have cause to be satisfied in which case the stipulat-
"ion of the Treaty of Srirangapatna would be completed to the satisfaction of all parties.

"To return to the letter of the 27th October 1794 from Bengal to Bombay Government, the
"Supreme Board informed the Government of Bombay that no other opportunity had presented it-
"self for bringing forward a discussion of the boundaries of Kodagu but that this circumsta-
"nce was the less to be regretted as every measure of conciliation had been tried and the
"Company's engagements with the Sultan had been strictly adhered to. They observed that
"the Raja was unwilling that the Company should interpose but that the Sultan was inclined
"to an amicable accommodation, therefore, the Governor-General hoped that the dispute had
"by this time been terminated.

"Nothing further occurred on the subject of Kodagu until the month of December 1795 when
"complaint was made of frequent depredation committed by the people of Kodagu in the dist-
"ricts of Peryapatna."

"A MOST USEFUL ALLY:-

In the "Narrative Sketches of the Conquest of Mysore", published in London, it is said about the Raja of Kodagu, Viraraja the Elder, that:

"This friendly chief, when a boy, was by the course of family feuds, a prisoner of Hyder
"Ali, who compelled to become a Mussalman-----made his escape in 1785 into his own dominions
"where he instantly offered his service to the English and he proved a most useful ally-----
"In a short conversation with an English soldier at his Nalknad residence, the Raja said,

"said, 'The English had cut off the monster's (Tippu's) right hand and feet, and he hoped "to see them cut off his left ones too.' This prophetic chief has been his hopes more "than realised."

That was the reaction of the Raja after his initial success he got with the help of the Company, and with the fall of Tippu Sultan when he (the Raja) had to pay heavily to the British. From that episode on, a good many English writers and chroniclers of history began to speak in glowing terms about him, and he, as well as Kodagu, were known all over India. Pennant, in his book, "Views of Hindustan", said that:

"The Raja of Kodagu, a gallant chief, was of a great help to the British in their wars "with Tippu. He had a romantic career and was of chivalrous nature. When a boy he was "made a prisoner by Hyder Ali who compelled the Raja to become a Mussalman. But he es- "caped into his dominion successfully. At the treaty of Srirangapatna in 1792, Lord "Cornwallis stipulated for the security of the gallant Raja."

The credit for recognising Kodagu and her people, goes to Lord Cornwallis and for the strategy the British used in order to defeat Tippu in 1792. The fact was stated still more forcefully, as seen in "The Mail", the Madras daily of the 18th March 1951 which said, that:

"There is not a more conspicuous example of heroism in India's history than the re- "sistance of the people of Kodagu to Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan of Mysore. When these intrepid, daring, powerful potentates who had over-run most of the States of Southern "India, were at the gates of Kodagu, Virarajendra defended his native hills, with the "valour of Leonidas of ancient Sparta in attempting to hold the Pass of Thermapylae "against the Persian Army. Kodagu was finally saved with the help of the Governor- "General Lord Cornwallis who had assumed command over the operations against Tippu Sul- "tan in Southern India."

THE RAJA AND TIPPU SULTAN:-

"After so much talk for years, nothing happened about the boundary dispute till 1797, and the feud between the Raja of Kodagu and the Sultan of Mysore continued. Viraraja stayed at his Nalknad palace as the Madikeri fort was not yet free from Tippu's guards. Not satisfied with being quiet, Tippu arranged for a surprise attack on Nalknad in about the year 1796. A night scuffle took place and the Raja had a narrow escape, and that 'providential escape' brought him many congratulations from many of his British friends and officers including the Governor-General of India.

It was in 1796, Viraraja the Elder married Mahadevamma at Nalknad and the wedding was

was well-attended by many distinguished guests from outside Kodagu and even a couple of Englishmen. The Raja's trusted Commander Hombale Nayak was then in Puttur, and Kodagu was guarded by many gallant Kodavas like Kulletira Ponnana, Appaneravanda Achayya and others who were almost a terror to Tippu's men who were committing the border incidents repeatedly. The Raja was in constant communication with the English, and Capt. Murray continued to be the official Resident after having obtained "permission to erect a temporary shed in Virarajendrapet."

The Raja was communicating to the English all the news pertaining to the movements and activities of Tippu Sultan. In 1795-96, he informed the British the intelligence he had obtained through spies that Tippu was concerting plans with the Mahrattas against the English. Reports also came about Tippu's close relationship with the French and about his efforts to contact Napoleon Bonaparte and the Persian and the Turkish rulers. He was also in close contact with Zaman Shah of Kabul, the Governor of Mauritius, the Mughal chief of Delhi and others. All this strengthened the cause of the Raja of Kodagu who became intimate with the Company Government as the situation was becoming tense day after day and year after year, and the British emissaries and spies were going about between Srirangapatna, Kodagu and Malabar from 1797 and on.

TIPPU SULTAN WATCHED:-

The Company Government were hesitating to commit aggression over the chiefs of the Indian States while Napoleon was planning to put down the influence of the English in the East. He got his proclamation printed and distributed it to different Indian princes, including of course, Tippu Sultan. In 1796, a French ship arrived in Mangalore. Viewing this situation as grave, the Governor-General of India complained to Tippu that he was "harbouring hostile Frenchmen at his court". But Tippu said in reply in 1797 that Ripend, the French officer, had to suddenly got into Mangalore due to the storm. "I am having no discussions with him at all", he said. Ripend, anyway, had a talk with Tippu, and then he took with him in the beginning of 1797 two of Tippu's men, Abdul Rahim and Muhammad Bismillah as ambassadors of Mysore to negotiate with the Governor of Mauritius, and they waited for a secret audience with the latter.

In the meantime, Tippu kept on complaining to the Company Government about the border troubles he was having from many sides including Kodagu. In a letter to the Governor-General

General Sir John Shore, Tippu wrote on the IIth November I796, that:

"-----Besides this, certain rebls of Ahmed ~~Sarkar(?)~~ Nussar (?) Taluq in consequence "of their vicinity to Kodagu district, have thrown off their allegiance to this Sirkar "and completely desolated the Taluq.

"The Paleygars of Punganore likewise and about ten or twelve others, having absconded "from this country, and taken refuge in the Arcot Province-----".

But Tippu knew that one day or the other he had to meet the English in a war-field, and, therefore, he was trying to gather the French support. He asked for the French help in a big scale to an extent of 30,000 cavalry, 40,000 soldiers etc, but the Governor of Mauritius could not comply with his request to that extent. It was then the British Government received alarming news and they felt that Tippu's relationship with a foreign power was not only dangerous but also contrary to the treaty of Srirangapatna.

TIPPU'S PREPARATIONS:-

Reports sent almost daily bu the British spies and diplomats in Srirangapatna to the Company Government, gave relealing facts about Tippu Sultan's preparations for a war with the help of the French. The news bulletin flashed almost daily said that:

"From the 2Ist May I797, Tippu, Mir Sadiq, Ali Khan and the French ambassador Mon. "Suffrein held daily conference with each other-----Tippu considers himself the greatest "and the bravest among all the kings and the rulers on the face of the earth and he fre- "quently boasts------.

"25th June I797: All the elephants and camels arrived and thousands of rockets and "carriages of powder and shots and other military stores are daily arriving and passing "over the camp.------

"On June 26, two pairs of Harikarahas were sent with 200 Pagodas for service money and "on the 27th June two pairs of them came from Poona. Azim Khan Bakshi was sent with 2000 "men and I000 horses to Jamalabad and Krishnagiri-----.

"At Corial Bunder (Kodeyal or Mangalore), the forces of the Cochin Raja together with "the Nairs and people of'Coork' or Coorg (Kodagu) assembled and plundered the Bundar where "were 5000 men of Tippu-----The French ships returned to Mauritius from Korial Bundar (Man- "galore)-----.

"July I0, I797: Came the messengers from Hyderabad-----.

"July I3, I797: I0,000 Foot with 40 guns, rackets etc were despatched to Korial Bundar "to punish the enemy-----".

Thus Tippu Sultan was closely watched throughout the years of I796 and I797 when he was also busy mobilising support of the Mahrattas, the Nizam, the Mughal chief in Delhi and a couple of foreign powers like the Prince Khuro of Persia. All his daily activities

were observed, recorded and reported to the Home Government. A letter written by Sir John Shore to Lord Hobart, Governor of Madras, dated the 5th July 1797, gave some more information about the nature of Tippu's preparations for war. He said that:

"We learn from Admiral Raineer that the French frigates sailed from the Islands (Mauri-
"tius) on the 2nd May 1797----Tippu has ~~entered~~ entered into negotiations with the French-
"----We are further informed that he has lately been recruiting his troops. From Kabul we
"learn the deputation of a Vakeel by Tippu to Zaman Shah and his arrival at Kandahar----On
"the Malabar coast the situation of the Pyche Raja has been adverted to----Embassy of Tippu
"to Zaman Shah-----.

"I do not conceive that Tippu can offer any motives of sufficient weight to induce Zaman
"Shah to make such an attempt-----Zaman Shah's troops consisting of eleven bodies of horse
"including Tartars, Arabs or Abyssinians----On the pretended claim of Tippu to Wynad, the
"Board (of Directors) thinks the lettercontaining it liable to great suspicion of forgery
"and that the subject has been treated by the Bombay Government in the manner merited----".

TIPPU SULTAN'S DIARY:-

A perusal of the secret diary of the English officers who were in Srirangapatna on some errands or the other, gives an idea of the hectic activity of Tippu Sultan and the way he was trying to gather support from many quarters. A true account of his daily activity during the years 1797 and 1798 serves as an index to know his mind although a large part of what was written in repetition concerning to his Durbars, survey of the forts, hunting expeditions etc, and a report of all that was secretly dispatched to the Central Government. The note written on the 5th December 1797 said as below:

"Tippu Sultan, Mir Sadiq, Poornayya and others went to the house with twelve doors in
"Lalbaugh, and having deliberated for the space of six and half hours, they formed the
"following arrangement for the opposition of the confederated powers- the English, the
"Mahrattas and the Nizam who meditetate some enterprises i.e. Mir Sadiq, Syed Ghafur and
"Mir Meeran (?) should protect the Fort of Srirangapatna with a body of 12,000 men, that
"Mon. Lally (the French-man) with the number should oppose the English at the place call-
"ed Rilly (?) on the frontiers of Karnatic, and that Kamruddin Khan with a body of 25,000
"infantry should repair to the Mahratta frontier and those of the Nizam encamping on the
"banks of the R. Tungabhadra (Tambhara ?), and that Tippu himself should occupy the Fort
"of Chitradoorg; he returned to his house in the Fort at 3'0 clock."

This note on the day-to-day activities of Tippu Sultan as written by the Englishmen or their spies, makes an interesting reading. What they wrote on the 16th January 1798 gave a significant account of Tippu's relationship with the Mahrattas. The note said, that:

"Poornayya and Mir Ali Khan met for two hours in a private palace in the Fort. The "result was procured from an Eunach who was fanning the Sultan; i.e. the Vakil of Daulat "Rao Scindia by the directions of his master said to the Sultan that, "Your father waged "war with the Mahrattas, the Mughals and the English, and you also once fought with them "yourself. Why then do you now remain inactive? If you prefer a life of idleness take "up your residence in the village of Mysore, and either abdicate your kingdom or prepare "yourself for war."

TIPPU SULTAN ON KODAGU:-

Cornwallis, in his letter to the Home Government, had written about his determination to take Kodagu saying that:

"I was determined to obtain for the Company, (the Coorga country), as being necessary "to form a secure barrier for their new possession on the coast of Malabar, against every "power above the Ghats".

Five years after this, the Minutes dated the I2th August I798, of the Governor-General in the Secret Department, said that:

"The correspondence bwtween Tippu and the late Governor-General (Sir John Shore),and "the letters from Bombay on the subject of the district of Wynad, furnish ample proofs of "a sincere desire to bring that question to a fair issue 'with the consent and knowledge "of both the parties-----Proposing an amicable adjustment of the same question as well as "of his recent claims upon the certain parts of the district of Corga (Kodagu)-----although " perhaps a less mild representation might have been justified by his unwarrantable preci-"pitation in stationing a military force on the frontier of Coorga (Kodagu), before he had "any trial of the prescribed and regular channels of negotiation-----".

Tippu Sultan was all the time trying to provoke his opponents by creating border incidents, especially along the Kodagu frontiers. Wellesley's despatches reveaked that:

"----In January I798, an alarm was spread about the Kodagu Raja, who appeared to "have taken it seriously just at the approach of some irregular horses, and, as a conse-"quence of that he assembled troops at Peryapatna."

In February I798, Viraraja wrote to the Malabar Commissioners warning about Tippu's preparations to invade the British territories as per the directives of Purnayya and Mir Sahab. He also said that Tippu had informed Kote Raja to prevent the Company from assisting him (the Raja of Kodagu), who wrote that:

"What I desire is the mercy of God and the Company. The Company is my mother and "her officers are my brothers. I shall assure you that I shall boldly oppose him (Tippu). "Please let me know whether I can count upon your assistance."

The Raja also wrote to take measures against the Kumbla and the Kote Rajas. In the meantime, Tippu Sultan wrote a letter to General Harris, Governor, Fort St. George, on the 22nd April 1798, stating that:

"Some people of Kodagu having descended from the mountains and woods and fixed their "residence in the villages of Kantamangala and Kolur Baji (?) committing irregularities "and molesting the ryots. I was induced to send an officer with a small party to reason "with them and remonstrate against such conduct. They will not however persuade, and "are inclined to excite some disturbance.

"Apprehending that they may misrepresent to the hon'ble Company, the circumstances of "this transaction, I have deemed it proper to make this friendly communication upon the "subject for your information.

"Your Excellency will be so good to send the most peremptory and positive orders to "the Kodagu people directing them to abandon the two villages in question to return to "their own limits above the Ghats....."

TIPPU SULTAN ACCUSED:-

The English Government in the meantime, sent a native gentleman on behalf of the Malabar Commissioners to study the charges and counter charges that were going on between Tippu and the Kodagu Raja. This man, Mir Yusouf Sher Khan, toured some parts in the borders and then wrote a letter to Tippu on the 25th April 1798, as below:

"-----As the deputed agent of the Commissioners, for all affairs of the Company Govern-"ment, in the Province of Malabar, I have had occasion to notice for sometime past a report "of the arrival of a large body of the Sultan's troops on the borders of Maara and Sulya, "dependencies of the Kodagu Raja, a triburary of the English Sarkar, ----their object host-"ile to the possessions of the said Kodagu Raja.

"The 7th Article of the Treaty of Srirangapatna determine that all the disputes aris-"ing on the boundaries of the allies and Tippu Sultan, shall be adjusted with the approbat-"ion of all parties. If, therefore, Tippu had any claims on the above two districts, they "must be adjusted by fair and amicable discussion, a measure I am authorised to say that "the Company Government are ready to enter into as soon as the 'Sultan' shall signify a "disposition to the like end----".

The above letter of Mir Yousouf Sher Khan written to Tippu was translated by Capt. Dennis Mahoney who was then the Resident of Kodagu. The British had done a good job by setting a Muslim against a Muslim by their appointment of Mir Yusouf Khan as their agent and spy whose intelligence report goes as below:

"On the 26th April 1798: Tippu's arrival to the capital.

"On the 27th April 1798: Two men reached the place in the night from Cherakkal, who were

"were on the way to Wynad from Calicut and Perian-baady or Perambady and then to Manantody. "The Pyche Raja (of Malabar) was then at Puttur and he was attended by 300 Nairs. Then "a settlement between Tippu and Pyche Raja for the taluk of Wynad was undertaken."

Mir Yusouf's intelligence report continues as below:

"Kodagu Raja is not satisfied at the idea of relinquishing these (disputed) districts. "The 7th Article of the Treaty shows them to belong to Kodumale Raja, and the Kodumale "Rajya include Amara, Sulya, Kottor (?), Baji (?) and Kantamangalam. All these were once "upon a time belonged to Hyder, my previous master', said Mir Yusouf in his letter to the "Malabar Commissioners on the 22nd April 1798. He also added that:

"-----I desire that you will without listening to what he (Kodagu Raja) says or causing "any ills, send him an order to return Amara, Sulya, Koloor Baji and Kantamangalam to the "Sirkar-----"

This Yusouf Sher Khan seemed to have been working for the English which he did very well by accusing both Tippu Sultan and Viraraja, in respect of the disputed areas.

GEN. HARRIS WROTE TO TIPPU:-

On the national and international scene, it seemed that dark clouds were gathering right above their heads, and over Srirangapatna in particular. Evidences against Tippu were heaped in the offices of the English Government, especially on his attempt to get the support of the French. The small British tributary, Kodagu too, had a small but significant role to play, and the officers of the Company in Calicut, J. Spencer, Mr. Hartley and J. Snue wrote to the Governor, Fort St. George, Gen. Harris, on the 3rd May 1798, that:

"We beg leave to refer you to our address of the 29th March, where-in the object of "Tippu's troops at Kodagu frontier was placed in a much less equivocal light than it had "been till then and having soon afterwards judged it expedient to depute a confidential "person to that quarter for the purpose of keeping us correctly informed of their move-"ments, we appointed Capt. D.Mahoney, aid-de-camp to Gen. Hartley for the trust, and have "now the honour of enclosing in N.I. a copy of a letter he had occasion to address to the "Commanding Officer of the Sultan's troops, and in the following number is transcribed "a letter from that gentleman and enclosures received this day which we have also communi-"cated to the Supreme Government."

After the receipt of this letter, and in reply to the earlier letter of the 22nd April 1798 of Tippu Sultan, Gen. Harris, Governor of Madras, wrote a letter to Tippu, dated the 16th May 1798, from Fort St. George, as follows:

"I have had the honour to receive your friendly letter of the 22nd April, and am con-"cerned at the disturbances which you mention in the villages of Kantamangalam and Koloor "Baji (?)----.

"As I have no immediate communication with the Kodagu Raja, I have made known the "contents of your letter to the Governor of Bombay, and I have no doubt that by mediating "any little difference respecting these villages will be brought to a conclusion without "military assistance but by amicable arrangements, according to the 7th Article of the "Treaty of Srirangapatna, in such cases provided-----Believe, am always anxious to preserve "the friendship so happily existing between the two Sirkars."

"KODAGU PEOPLE ENTERED":-

In the meantime, Tippu Sultan, probably after waiting for some time for a reply from the Governor of Fort St. George, wrote a letter to the Acting Governor-General of India, (Sir Alured Clarke) in reply to his communique about the latter's assuming charge. In that letter, Tippu took the opportunity of complaining against the Kodagu people and about the border incidents. Tippu's letter dated the I7th May I798, was as below:

"I was much gratified by the receipt of your friendly letter communicating the departure "of Sir John Shore, and your having taken charge of the Government until the arrival of the "Earl of Mornington. As you are a friend, I have no doubt of your constant disposition to "strengthen the bonds of sincere attachment between the two states.

"The Kodagu people have entered and taken up their abode in Kantamangala and Kolurbaji, "the two KURREAS (districts), below the Ghats and woods, where they commit violence and in-"jure ryots; and an officer with a small detachment was therefore sent to bring them to rea-"son, but they will not hear reason, and only want to excite disturbance. I have written "this for your information, lest any persons should represent the circumstances to the Com-"pany Government in a manner contrary to what is the real fact. You must write to the Kodagu "Raja enjoining and insisting on his quitting these two KURREAS, and remaining within his own "boundary above the Ghats-----".

By the time the above letter of Tippu reached Calcutta, the new Governor-General Lord Mornington had assumed charge of his office, and the latter replied to Tippu with some more information in respect to the subject. The Governor-General's letter of the I4th June, said:

"Immediately on my arrival in Bengal, Sir Alurde Clarke communicated to me your friendly "letter to him stating that some people of Kodagu having descended from the woods and mount-"ains, fixed their residence in the villages of Kantamangala, Koloorbaji, etc.

"Sir Alurde Clarke (Acting Governor-General) has also communicated to me your answer to "the letter from the Governor-General Sir John Shore, respecting the claims of the Company, "and of your Highness to the district of Wynad, bordering on Tamberchery (?)....."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EVENTS LEADING TO THE WAR.

THE DISPUTED DISTRICTS:-

In 1798, the Kodagu territory was mentioned as extending eastward to a place called 'Oodur Coorghully'(?), a little beyond Kattemalavadi, where a stone marked the boundary even today, and Peryapatna and its dependancies were subject to Najoor (Nanjarajapatna ?), constituting a part of Kodagu. The Nanjoor (?) kings had belonged to the Haleri family. Capt. Denis Mahoney, then Resident in Kodagu, prepared a summary of the entire correspondence relating to Amara-Sulya, that was passed on between the Raja, Tippu and the English, and sent to the Governor-General in June 1798.

Tippu persistently complained to the British about the disputed districts of Kantamangala and Coloor Baji (?), and again in the months of April and May 1798, he wrote concerning to them, and, as the records of the time put it, that:

"Tippu complained the seizure of the districts of Kantamangala and Coloor Baji by the "subjects of the Kodagu Raja-----To recommend the respective claims of his Sirkar and the "Kodagu Raja to the disputed villages to be settled amicably according to the spirit of "the Treaty of Srirangapatna-----.

"The British acknowledge the receipt of the President's (Governor) letter respecting "the disturbances of Kodagu on account of the disputed title to the cillages of Kantaman-"gala and Coloor Baji (?)------".

When Tippu Sultan was trying to deal with that directly with the Raja, the latter (the Raja) was obstinate on account of his strength he acquired out of the friendship of the Company Government, and wrote to Tippu once again the same thing that he had told him stating that:

"By similar fair speeches you have formerly deceived and ruined Kodagu. God has "given me only one tongue with which I have pledged to the Company. I do not possess "two tongues like you-----".

TIPPU SULTAN CLARIFIED:-

Things were also happening differently in the west coast. The Company Government gathered fresh evidences almost every day in the year 1798, about Tippu's preparing for war, and, in fact, Lord Mornington wrote to Tippu Sultan as under:

"-----The French frigate with your ambassadors and with the troops raised for your "service, arrived at Mangalore about the 26th April 1798-----You entertain in your service "a large part of the force thus raised for the purpose of making war against the hon'ble

"honourable Company. Your ambassadors levied a military force in the Isle of France-----
"You have, for sometime past, been employed in military preparations conformably for the
"hostile spirit of your engagements contracted with the Company and the allies-----.

"Even under all these circumstances of provocation, the allies entertain a most earn-
"est desire to establish a real and substantial peace with your Highness-----Had you receiv-
"ed Major Doveton, he would have explained to you, how this advantageous arrangement had to
"be obtained-----I trust that your Highness will favour me with a reply-----".

Tippu Sultan, in reply maintained that his neighbours, particularly the Raja of Kodagu, "have been committing border incursions. At the same time, the British spy, Yusouf Sher Khan's activities were recorded, and it was said, that:

"-----On the 18th June (1798), Yusouf Sher Khan returned with three cushions to the
"capital from Malabar coast where he had been to settle some differences between the Sultan
"and the Kodagu Raja, relating to the disputed territories."

In that it was also stated that there appeared to have been an amicable settlement, which, perhaps, did not work out. Writing a long letter to the Governor-General, dated the 18th July 1798, Tippu explained that:

"In happy time, I had the pleasure to receive your Lordship's letter-----of the 14th
"June 1798-----Since the time that the country Nuggur (Nagar) and Korial (Kodyal) were first
"subjugated, the taluqs of Amara and Sulya in which (latter) Kantamangala and Coloor Baji (?)
"are situated, have belonged to Korial (Kodyal- Mangalore) and this proved and confirmed by
"the records of a century. The names of the persons who paid the collections of those
"taluqs to the officers of Kodyal, of those who collected revenues of them, and the accounts
"of the advances made to the ryots for the purposes of cultivation, are contained in these
"records, and from the establishment of the authority of this Sarkar-----they have been atta-
"ched to the country of Kodyal. The Kodagu people have had no concern to them. Indeed
"between the above taluqs and Kodagu, vast hills interpose. By the Treaty of Peace, the
"taluqs of Chukloor (?) belong to my Sarkar, and Wynad is a KURREAH or village with its apper-
"taining lands among the Chukloor above the Tambachery (?) Pass. The territory of the Com-
"pany is below that pass, and the hills form a barrier between."

GOVERNOR DUNCAN REPORTED:-

The above letter was received by the Company Government on the 2nd August 1798, and that was translated into English by the Persian translator, N.B.Edmonstone. In that letter, Tippu also had stated that:

"Your Lordship has written that "subordinate officers are naturally inclined to make mis-
"representations to their respective governments in such trivial cases, and to foment jealou-
"sies and disturbances". It is certain, then, that in plain and simple cases, the repre-
"sentation of interested people will not have any weight or credit whatever with your Lord-
"ship-----By the favour of God, the bonds of friendship are firmly drawn between the two states

"States, and I am to the last degree disposed to give additional strength to the bene-
"ficial system of amity and peace."

On the same day, the 2nd of August 1798, Mr. Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, wrote to the Governor-General, Earl of Mornington, stating that:

"-----Having imparted to the Commander-in-Chief, as well as to the hon'ble Mr. North, "the particulars relative to the measures in deliberation respecting Tippu, the former "has furnished me with the state and disposition of our forces-----In Malabar, we have "the 77th Regiment, and the Company's European Regiment-----The present distribution of "our forces, the far greater part of our army is in the province of Malabar----Under these "circumstances, General Stuart thinks that without much hazard, so large a force can hardly "be detached from the garrison here-----He (Gen. Stuart) at the same time thinks whether "the Madras Government will be able to spare us a man, in which case, I might perhaps "obtain one or two battalions from the Raja of Travancore, on the terms of treaty with "him-----"

Writing to Tippu Sultan on the 7th August 1798, the Earl of Mornington acknowledged receipt of his letter sent through the Commissioner of Malabar and said that:

"After a full examination-----I am now convinced that Wynad was not ceded to the Comp-
"any by the treaty of peace, and, therefore, it belongs to your Highness. As it will
"never be my wish to contest the smallest particle of your Highness's rights, I have direct-
"ed the Commissioners to make a formal acknowledgement of the justice of your claim to
"Wynaad-----The right to the Tambachery Pass and to the taluqs of Amara and Sulya and Yelu-
"savirasime still remains for discussion. You will find me sincerely disposed to consi-
"der the several questions relating to these districts-----".

WYNAD FORESTS & STONES ONLY:-

Tippu Sultan was not convinced with what the Governor-General wrote about the disputed territories. On the 28th September 1798, he wrote another letter to the Company Government stressing his claim on the areas adjoining Kodagu. He said that:

"-----Tambachery, which is below the Ghats, by the treaty of Peace, came into Company's
"possession above the Ghats in Wynad, which consisted of a few habitations, and has for a
"long time desolate. The Ghats are situated between, and also belong to me. Wynad con-
"sists of nothing but forests and heaps of stones. Accordingly long ago this fact came
"repeatedly under occular inspection at the time when measures were taken for the settle-
"ment of the Malabar districts-----respecting Amara, Sulya and Yelusavirasime, records
"shall be sent for reference. Mischief makers, by stating empty disputes and altercations,
"hope to accomplish their own purpose----".

This is a long letter and Tippu Sultan took trouble to explain the 'mischief' of those 'self-interested persons' who create enmity between the local chiefs. Writing at length

length in another letter dated the 24th October 1798 (the date of receipt), Tippu again pressed his point of view on the disputed territories, and said that:

"The taluqs of Amara and Sulya in which Kantamangala and Coloor Baji (?) are situated, "belonged to Kodyal for the last 156 years. Thirty-six years ago (in 1763-64), a body "of 2000 Kodagu peons (Sepoys) were employed in the service of the State and some villages "in the above taluqs, yielding 3423 Pagodas, continued for a short time to be assigned for "their pay, but since six and thirty years, that even has ceased. The trivial affair can "only be ascribed to the turbulent disposition of interested men, who, by nature, are ever "seeking opportunities of sowing the seeds of dissenssion; Of this, I am confident that your "Lordship must be well-convinced.

"The person who is now in Kodagu (as a Raja) is not of the posterity of the Kodagu "Rajas, but of a different stock----".

The last sentence in the above letter is important. Tippu must have been under the impression that Devappa Raja of the Horamale branch, who was killed by Hyder Ali, was the lawful heir to the throne, and not his cousin Lingaraja I, the father of Viraraja the Elder; or, he must have meant that the disputed territories had rightfully belonged to the Ikkeri and the Belur chiefs and not to the Kodagu Rajas.

TWO PASSES-KODAGU & COCHIN:-

When correspondences of this nature were going on between Tippu and the English, hectic preparations were also carried out by both sides for a war between the parties who professed 'firm friendship', perhaps, just on paper only. While Tippu was contacting several local and foreign powers including the French, for support, the English were mobilising their own regiments stationed in several parts of the country. Lord Clive, then Governor of Madras, wrote to J. Duncan, Governor of Bombay, on the 12th December 1798, relating to the arrangements concerning to the projected war. He wrote that:

"-----You will inform us whether a quantity of rice equal to the consumption of 40,000 men "for 40 days, can be collected at Cannanore, and if practicable, in what time the whole quan- "tity may be expected to be completed.

"We further think that it is our duty to suggest that the Kodagu Raja should be requested "to prepare materials for making fascines at places as far advanced on his frontier towards "Peryapatna, as may be done without the chance of interruption from the enemy-----".

The two officers who were deputed by the Company Government to go into the claims made by Tippu, studied the case after conducting a tour of some places and then reported to the Commissioner of Malabar, John Spencer, on the 13th December 1798. They (J.Uthoff and Capt.Mahoney) wrote in their long letter as below:-

"-----From the Governor-General's letter to Tippu on the subject, of the 7th inst. "which specifically mentioned that the investigation of the right to Tambachery Pass was "one of the principal objects of the Deputies, and Tippu's reply thereto, then not only to "the Tambachery Pass but to all the mountains and passes between Malabar and Upper country, "as belonged to him. In addition to this, if boundary investigation is prosecuted, that "will unavoidably bring the Tambachery Pass into discussion. We beg leave to refer to "the instruction of the Bombay Government of the 2nd February last, and yours of the 5th "ultimo, founded thereon, in preclusion of all differences or misunderstandings on the "subject in future between the two Governments to ascertain the whole of the boundary----- "and as the Tambachery Pass forms a part of the boundary, it must necessarily become an "object of discussion-----.

"-----With every deference to that highly respectable character, Lord Cornwallis's "duty requires us to call your attention at the period when his Lordship addressed the "Court of Directors on the 5th April 1792, respecting our new acquisitions from Tippu on "the West of India, the Peace of Srirangapatna, was but just concluded-----but had very "defective information about Malabar, particularly the interior part of it, as is abundant- "ly evident from the paper now under consideration, far as far from being, as therein men- "tioned, but two Passes from the Upper country into our possessions in Malabar, there are "more than a dozen as to the Tambachery Pass, being in the possession of one of our tribu- "taries, which is also therein mentioned, neither of the only two tributaries we have on "West India, the Rajas of Kodagu and of Cochin, have any possessions within at least thirty "miles of it-----".

ON FURTHER INVESTIGATIONS:-

Writing the above letter from Sonnaghery (Swarnagiri ?), J. Uthoff and D. Mahoney, also added that:-

"-----Influenced by the considerations of the above tendency and having principally in "view of the Governor-General's letter to Tippu, above quoted, under which we feel ourselves "as more immediately and officially acting, we are necessitated to view the investigation "of the right to Tambachery Pass, as constituting one essential object of our deputation, "and to deem it consequently incumbent on us to give effect to the usual process of enquiry, "or such as may be deemed more eligible, or proposed by Tippu's deputies, as soon as all "the discussions concerning Amara, Sulya and Yelusavirasime be at an end, should we not in "the interim receive positive orders either from your Government to the contrary while off- "ering these our candid sentiments to your notice----".

Furthermore in another letter to John Spencer, Commissioner of Malabar, on the very the 14th December 1798, J. Uthoff and D. Mahoney wrote some valuable informative note concerning Tippu Sultan, and said, that:

"----Tippu's deputies observed that Mir Muhammad Ali had received positive instruct-
"ions from his court to proceed without delay to Mangalore on the general affairs of his
"office, in that quarter, but particularly for the purchase of 1500 horses, lately arrived
"there by sea, in consequence of which, the present must necessarily be our last meeting,
"as the ensuing day would be occupied in preparing their despatches from their own court,
"and that on the 15th they should each proceed to their usual respective places of residen-
"ces, Mangalore and Dabul-----.

"As to the districts of Amara and Sulya, urging also forcibly the instructions, which
"we had received from our Government to investigate not only the districts of Amara and Sulya
"but also that of Yelusavirasime and the boundary likewise of all our possessions adjoining
"to those of Tippu throughout the whole of West of India-----.

"-----On taking leave, Tippu's deputies insisted on our receiving complimentry presents
"in which we reluctantly acquised on finding that not withstanding our objections, we could
"not decline them without giving the deputies serious offence. The present consisted of a
"pair of shawls, a piece of 'kunkhaul' (?) and 125 Venetian (coins) to each of which shall
"be appropriated agreeably to your instructions, a shawl, a piece of silk----were at
"the same time presented to our principal native agent and the same to Karnik Subbarasayya,
"the confidential servant of the Koorg (Kodagu) Raja-----.

"We shall proceed to Nauknoor (Nalknad) which will be the most eligible situation for
"for awaiting your instructions for our future conduct and at the same time for prosecuting
"the investigation as to Yelusavirasime and the rest of the boundary above the Ghats, should
"any disposition thereto evinced on the part of Tippu."

GEN. HARRIS IN COMMAND:

On the 14th December, Governor-General Lord Mornington wrote from Fort William to Lord Clive, Governor of Madras, his "resolve to embark for that Residency". The letters also gave some more information about the Army movements stating that:

"-----Under the provisions of the Act of Parliament-----the Governor-General at Fort
"St. George will be invested with the same ample powers and authorities as are exercised by
"the Governor-General in Fort William, and the Governments of Bengal, Bombay and Ceylon, the
"Residents at the foreign courts and all public affairs----will be instructed to address
"themselves to the Governor-General at Fort St. George.

"-----Since the date of our despatch of the 7th inst. acquainting you that the Commander-
"in-Chief in India had resolved to proceed to the coast of Coromandal, we have received
"accounts directly from the camp of Zaman Shah which leave no room to doubts that the Shah
"has actually crossed the attack and we have every reason to believe that it is his intent-
"ion to prosecute his long meditated invasion of Hindustan. Whether the views of the Shah
"for this reason will be limited to the establishment of his power in the Punjab or whether
"he will attempt to advance directly to Delhi is at present doubtful-----.

"We have judged it expedient to appoint Lt.-Gen. Harris to the general command of the "British forces on the coasts of Coromandal and Malabar, destined to act eventually against "Tippu Sultan-----The Governor of Bombay has been instructed to request Lt.-Gen. Stuart "to take the command of the army in Malabar-----and he is to conform to all orders which "he may receive from Lt.-Gen. Harris----.

"We have requested the Government of Bombay to lose no time in requesting the Kodagu "Raja to collect such supplies of grain and to make such other preparations as may be "necessary to facilitate the eventual march of the Army in Malabar towards Mysore-----We "have instructed the Resident at Hyderabad to ascertain without delay the nature and ex-"tent of the assistance which we may rely on receiving from the Nizam, and, in the mean-"time to urge his Highness to advance as large a force as possible to that position on "his frontier-----.

"The Resident of Poona has been directed to urge the Peshwa to advance without delay "as large a force as he may be able to collect towards Tippu's frontier-----If notwith-"standing such disposition Tippu Sultan shall refuse to accede to our demand no alternat-"ive will remain either for our present defence or future security but that of marching "the Allied forces against the capital-----".

THE ARMY MOVEMENTS:-

In the above letter, the Governor-General of India gave a lucid account of his plan to move down to the South, and also alerted all the area commanders to prepare for the eventual war with Tippu. In reply to that of the I4th December I798, Lord Clive, Governor of Madras, wrote a long letter, and with reference to the Podacherrum Pass and Kodagu, he had to say that:

"-----I understand-----the foot of the Podacherrum Pass, from whence it might be con-"veyed to Peryapatna (perhaps to the assistance of the people of the Kodagu Raja) but in "all events by our spare cattle being sent for the purpose, and to convey it from there "could be little difficult, especially of our attack is to be made on the south-west part "of the fortifications, as the distance does not exceed 45 miles-----".

The Governor also wrote from Fort William to the Governor of Madras on reinforcing of the troops and about the supplies required to the troops. In his letter of the 2Ist December I798, he said that:

"SUB: From Bengal approving strongly the measures adopted to prepare for hostilities: "Part of the troops destined for the coast have already sailed and others are embarking "with their full complement of camp equipping agreeably to the enclosed letter from the "Secretary to the Military Board at Fort William to the Secretary to the Government. No "further reinforcing of the troops can be at present spared from Bengal-----32,000 bags (of "rice) have been sent on the ships engaged to convey the volunteers to the coast; further

"further extensive supplies promised-----The ships (Lord Duncan and Ship Walpole) have on "board about 32,000 bags of rice and measures have been taken to furnish extensive supplies "of this and of gunny bags. The Nizam has agreed to allow the whole of the British detach- "ment to accompany the minister to the field-----We have already been told of receiving every "cooperation from the Peshwa-----"

"A VIOLENT ANIMOSITY":-

Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, under whose territorial jurisdiction was the Raja of Kodagu, wrote on the 26th December 1798, to the Madras Governor, stating about the assistance that they hoped to get in the way of men and supplies, by the Kodagu Raja. He said:

"----In respect to the intimation which your Lordship has requested, may be made to the "Kodagu Raja. We are under some ambarrassment in determining how far we can with safety ~~step~~ "adopt it, considering his hostile disposition to Tippu, and the peculiar situation of our "deputies who are at present in pursuance of the Supreme Government-----The violent animosity "which the Kodagu Raja is known to entertain against Tippu has induced the Government to lay "as under particular limitation as to our communication with that Raja-----and, he might be "led to act that would enhance the difficulties-----.

"Independent of these considerations which are founded on an apprehension that the Kodagu "Raja would not distinguish between the preparations for war and its actual existence; the "considerable distance of the frontier from Srirangapatna will much diminish, we conceive, the "value of these supplies-----.

"However, as we are allowed to advice the Kodagu Raja of the intentions to proceed to actual "hostilities with the Sultan, we shall not fail to avail ourselves of as far as may appear "practicable-----".

Thus very intensive efforts were made to gather everything concerning to the eventual war. 5200 bags of rice, 50,000 gallons of rum, 700 casks of 160 pounds each, salt and many other provisions were brought from Calcutta. Another 6000 bags of rice were brought separately in another ship. What is to be noted here is that all this was done long before a formal declaration of war against Tippu.

WHAT WAS TIPPU DOING?:-

When the British were preparing for war on all sides, Tippu Sultan was also busy contacting various parties. Napoleon's aim of invading India was frustrated since he could not get help from any external powers. He set sail for Egypt in 1799 from where he wrote a letter to Tippu Sultan stating that:

"You will have been already informed of my arrival on the shores of Red Sea with an army--- "----With a fervent desire to free you from the iron yoke of England, I hasten to acquaint "you about my desire to receive by way of Muscat or Mocha, intelligence from yourself respect-

"respecting the political situation in which you stand. Please send to Cairo some amba-
"ssadors in whom you have implicit faith-----".

But long before this kind of correspondence took place, Lord Mornington received alarming news in 1798 from the British secret service in Mauritius. The spies sent to him every news on what the envoys of Tippu did, and, therefore, the Governor-General addressed a long letter to Tippu which said:

"-----The French frigate with your ambassadors and with the troops raised for your
"service arrived in Mangalore about the 26th April 1798-----You entertain in your service
"a large part of the force thus raised for the purpose of making war against the hon'ble
"Company. Your ambassadpr levied a military force in the Isle of France-----You have
"for sometime past been employed in military preparations-----Under all these circumstances
"of provocation, the allies entertain a most earnest desire to establish a real and sub-
"stantial peace with your Highness-----".

From this sort of tension that was created on both sides, the days for the actual battle were not very far. The role of the Kodagu Raja in this was just passive, and his prominence, one must conclude, was mainly due to the feud he had with Tippu Sultan who was of course an enemy of the English. If Tippu had been in good terms with the Company Government, the latter would have cared a hoot to this small jungle chief of the Western Ghats. That was the way how things worked in those days.

SECRET PROCEEDINGS:-

From these two letters given below, one could come to a definite conclusion that all arrangements were made for the war, and the English Government were bent on putting down Tippu's power. The Board of Directors in England sanctioned Rs. Five crores for prosecuting the war, and by the end of the year 1798, things were got ready. General George Harris, Commander-in-Chief, wrote on the 30th December 1798, as below:

"The season being now so far advanced as to render it necessary to enter without delay
"upon the consideration of the most effectual means of combining the projected operations
against the capital of Mysore with best chance of success-----.

"By the latest advices from Hyderabad-----the detachment of Col. Roberts and the
"Nizam's contingent encamped at a position about fourteen miles on the side of the capi-
"tal, and there appears to be no certainty of the time fixed for pursuing their march
"even to Cuddapah-----".

In another letter of the 31st December 1798, General Harris explained the position of the various army units stationed in different parts of the country. He wrote that:

"-----We observed that if the six battalions joined in time it would allow of our "executing the plan of operations in time but it was meant to be understood that he cal- "culated also upon the arrival of I800 or I000 Europeans-----for unless this force arriv- "ed in time either from Madras or on the coast of Malabar it will occur that we must leave "in garrison not only the whole of the 33rd regiment but also the 22 men of the Regiment, "now in garrison at Vellore-----.

"-----Whether the contingent from Hyderabad joins us or not, it seems expedient that "as large a force as can be conveniently drawn together in the southern provinces should be "encamped at Trichinopoly without delay-----.

"It appears that the Company of Bengal Artillery is to be sent to Trichy town from Cey- "lon. A troop of natives also is to be formed at the Presidency to be mounted on horses, "many of which were purchased at Cochin.

"Nine Field officers at Rs. 60 amounts to Rs. 720. 53 officers at Rs. 42 amounts to "Rs. 2226. I69 private at Rs. I8-I8-40 comes to Rs. 3II6-I8-40. Twenty Necessaries at "Rs. 8-34-I6 amounts to Rs. I72-I2-0, and 77 Bells at Rs. 7-7-73 and that amounts to Rs. "553-2I-2I. The total amount is Rs. 6792-9-6I."

PREPARATIONS FOR THE WAR:-

From the Ist January I799, to the first week of May of that year, hectic preparations had been going on with the troop movements taking place both on the sides of the English and of Tippu Sultan. With only Tippu as their adversary, the English had become a strong power in the whole of India. Not only they succeeded in roping in the Mahrattas, the Nizam and various other petty chiefs of the South including the Raja of Kodagu, they also saw that Tippu's efforts to get the support of the French was frustrated. The Kodagu Raja's rôle in the political drama of South India was very significant. The letters that passed on between various diplomatic quarters had carried a reference to the Kodagu Raja, and, here are a few such letters. Gen. James Hartley, Commanding Malabar, wrote from Calicut to the Commander-in-Chief General Harris, on the 6th January I799, as follows:

"-----The number of pack and draft cattle in the province including I500 on hire amount "to about 3200 heads, and, I am exerting all my influence to draw forth the resources "of Malabar at this crisis. I have written to Travancore Raja, the Cochin Raja, the "Kodagu Raja and to every person of consequence on the province for such assistance in "grain, men and cattle-----and I hope the supplies which Kodagu will be able to furnish in "the article of rice will prevent a great deal of laborious trouble which attends the trans- "portation of provisions up the Podacherum Ghat-----".

The prominence and importance of Kodagu was more because of its capacity to supply more cattle and grain than anyone in the vicinity. The English troops that came from Madras

Madras had collected rice and other material from various sources, and they got about 10,000 bags of rice from Bengal for the consumption of 8000 men for thirty days. Anyway, the lavish supply from Kodagu made the Englishmen to realise that this small district was a vast granary, and, from that day, it could be assumed, they had set their hearts on it to acquire and develop as an agricultural land, and it took about forty years for them to introduce coffee throughout Kodagu, and later at Wynad also.

THE RAJA ADVISED:-

While preparing for the war, the British were very cautious towards not offending Tippu Sultan in any way and thus be a cause for the latter's provocation. They also advised the Raja of Kodagu not to commit any aggression on Tippu's territory, and, the Governor-General himself wrote to the Raja not to take any provocative step. Gen. Hartley wrote from Malabar to Earl Richard Mornington, on the 8th January 1799, as below:

"Your Lordship's letter of the 1st September last, was forwarded to the Kodagu Raja, "impressing on his mind, as war was not determined with Tippu, the necessity of his cautious-"ly avoiding to give the smallest offence by the Commission of any aggression against the "possessions or subjects of that Prince and I trust that he will adhere to the advice-----I "have again written to the Raja on the subject in the strongest terms to commit no act of "hostility whatever till formally apprized from authority that the Company Government are "at war with Tippu."

The Raja of Kodagu in reply wrote to the Governor-General Lord Mornington, on the 19th January 1799, as under:

"I had the honour to receive your Lordship's commands through Gen. Hartley, which gave "me infinite satisfaction, and which are formed for the benefit of every person like myself "who are deeply interested in the welfare of the East India Company.

"Your Lordship will have heard of my former endeavours to serve Sir R. Abercrombie. It "is my utmost wish to act in the same manner not only whenever I am honoured by your Lord-"ship's orders, but in the present instance, it is my determined resolution to employ whole "of my own exertions as well as to enforce those of every individual in the small tract of "the country I have the pleasure to command.

"It is known to the whole of India that Tippu Saheb was in power of the Marquess Corn-"wallis who so far favoured him as to allow of his retaining in a great measure his power "which ought to have impressed the Sultan with a real sense of gratitude towards the English, "but not attending to that, and only looking down to the gratification of his own revenge, "he anxiously formed an alliance with the French who are the avowed enemies to every social "prosperity which makes it appear evident to me that Tippu of his own accord seeking inevi-"table ruin, which I hope, is the will of the Almighty."

"MOST IMPLICITLY OBEYED":-

In continuation of the above letter of the I5th January I799, written from Nalknad, Viraraja the Elder wrote to the Governor-General of India stating that "Your Lordship's command----will be implicitly obeyed", and in a way he had to obey and he had no other go. He had already become their subordinate native chief, and the English Resident was constantly posted at his court. But now, the English needed him more and that was only till they could put down Tippu Sultan. The Raja wrote that:

"As the hon'ble Company have only the good of all mankind at heart, whatever is their "wish,-----will prosper, considering myself as one of their off-spring, any prosperity of "theirs must be felt in a tenfold manner by me whose repeated daily prayers are that what-"ever be the interest of the hon'ble Company, the omnipotent duty may make them successful.

"------Any little information I could obtain of the enemy was communicated to the gentle-"men of the Commission in Malabar of which I have no doubt; You, My Lord, are apprized----- "It was with great pleasure that I had observed the English troops assembling from an idea "that I might gain be so happy as to be employed to their good; it is not proper for me to "mention what it is my wish to perform at the termination of hostilities which appear at "present to be unavoidable-----.

"Your Lordship's commands of not commencing hostilities shall be most implicitly obeyed---- "and whatever information I may obtain-----shall be laid before General Hartley-----Sir R. "Abercrombie was so kind as to allow me now and then the honour of his receiving his "orders and advice, but he has returned to Europe. Allow me respectfully to beg your Lord-"ship to continue showing your favour towards me. Your most obedient and most devoted humb-"le servant, Sd) Viraraja Wodeyar."

The English army, in the meantime, was advancing on all fronts, and Kodagu was the chief supplier of provisions to the entire body of men that marched to Srirangapatna from the west coast. On the I9th January I799, General Harris to General Hartley of the Malabar Command, stating that:

"-----You will continue to urge the Kodagu Raja to collect large supplies of rice in "places beyond the pass contiguous to your line of advance-----".

THE RAJA'S 'EXERTIONS':-

The Raja of Kodagu, in his letter of the I2th February I799, to General James Stuart who was in Cannanore, explained the trouble that he was taking to collect grain and other provisions to the British army. He said that:

"Capt. Baird has delivered me your letter which I have read, and received great pleas-"ure. I have accordingly given to Capt. Baird two guides who accompanied Capt. Reynold "(in the last war) under Gen. Abercrombie. I have great confidence in the conduct and abi-

"abilities of these two men, and I shall make it my business to enquire and procure, four "or five others and I put equal trust in.

"In regard to your former letter, requiring me to assist you with means of transport-"ing stores and provisions into my country from the bottom of the Ghat, (I should say "that) as all the men and cattle that I can procure from all parts of my country have been "and are now employed in transporting rice to Virarajpet. I can't at present afford you "the assistance in this way. I could wish the women of my country are employed in beat-"ing the rice from the husk, and the men and cattle in transporting it, thus all my means "are employed.

"In my letter to General Hartley, I have promised to deliver I5,000 ~~cattle~~ butties of "rice, each Butty containing 60 Pakka seers of Rs. 80 weight each of which there are al-"ready between I0 and I2,000 butties, and I shall be able, I hope to procure from 7000 to "I0,000 Butties more, within 24 days, in all to the quantity of 20,000 Butties, after I "have completed the delivery of this quantity, I will then supply you with 500 bullocks, "for which I shall require nothing (but) only that you will provide them with packs, "gunnies and other furniture which there is a great scarcity here. This I beg you will "consider and confer on me your favour and friendship in a great degree than I ever was "flattered with from Gen. Abercrombie when he was in my country. As to the efforts that "I have made and the exertions I am willing to make towards forwarding the present service, "I will leave you to judge-----".

The Raja's 'exertions' in this regard were second to that of none else, and he made it possible for the whole army of nearly 9000 men pass through the Kodagu Ghats without much ado. With all this, it was too late for Tippu Sultan to woo the Raja to his side. The English forces numbering 60,000 advanced in three detachments towards Mysore. The main army was headed by General Harris in February I799 while Tippu moved towards the Kodagu frontiers to resist the Bombay army, and, for the purpose, took a strong army towards Peryapatna.

A ZEALOUS & SPIRITED CONDUCT:-

General J. Stuart wrote a long letter to the Governor-General Mornington, dated the I6th February I799, explaining the course of action taken by him along the Kodagu Pass, and also stating the active support given by the Raja of Kodagu. General Stuart's letter was as below:

"-----The Commissariat branches have been under movement towards the Podacherum Pass "since the 9th (February) inst., and I expect the whole will have ascended the Ghat by the "20th. Several of the corps have reached Kodagu-----and I hope to reach there by the "2nd March----.

"It may be necessary to apprize your Lordship that the Kodagu Raja maintains no troops

"troops, and although thepeople of his country are in possession of arms, they are only "in the habit of using them in their own defence or in repelling the attacks of their "neighbours. The country also has been so much depopulated by former wars that few men, "if any, can be spared for a distant expedition.

"It behoves me to mention to your Lordship the zealous and spirited conduct of the "Kodagu Raja in support ofthe present preparations. Without his aid, it would have been "impossible in so short a time, by all the efforts of this Government to have collected a "store of rice, above the Ghats, but the Raja by his own exertions alone has secured of this "important article nearly equal to the consumption of 30,000 men for one month and which "will remain in depot in his country, to answer the emergencies of the siege of Srirangapatna----

"I have the honour to enclose for your Lordship's satisfaction the transcript of the "last letter which I have received from the Raja on this subject and besides the confidence "which I repose in the sincerity of his declaration, the accuracy of his statements is con- "firmed to me by the officers on the spot----I recommended on my arrival here that a Resident "should be appointed to the Kodagu Raja, and Mr. Spencers having pointed out Lieut. Mahoney "as a fit person for this employment, the gentleman has accordingly entered on his mission---".

Lieut. Mahoney was already in Kodagu when he had already finished his report on Kodagu history by this time or about six months prior to that. Preparations were made for a great war from all sides and the whole of South India was involved in one way or the other in that programme which had to decide the fate of Tippu, the Company Government, and many of the chiefs of South India. The letters written by Maj. Dalrach and Maj. Lagrani of the Pondichery command, for instance, to the Commandant and the Chief of Police there, dated the 27th February 1799, said that:

"-----We flatter ourselves, Sir, that you will have the goodness to represent our situat- "ion to the Government of Madras, which, should a war actually take place with Tippu Sultan "-----that------would be dreadful in the extreme-----".

CHAPTER XIV.

THE BATTLE OF KODAGU-MYSORE BORDER.

ON THE PLAINS OF MALAVALLI:-

When the two detachments of the English army, were marching towards the walls of Srirangapatna, Tippu's army, as already said, moved to Peryapatna and then to the Kodagu frontiers. In the meantime, the battalions of the Bombay army reached Virarajendrapet, and then to Siddapur (Kodagu) under the command of Col. Montressor and Major Disney who proceeded to meet Tippu's army to the Siddeshwara Gaddige hill. The rest of the English officers watched the meeting of the two armies down at the Malavalli plains, from the summits of the Gaddige hill.

It was on the 22nd ~~January~~ February I799, the Marquiss of Wellesley (Lord Mornington) proclaimed war against Tippu Sultan. Capt. Mahonney, the Resident in Kodagu, communicated this to the Raja and cautioned him mildly that he would necessarily share the fate of the English if Tippu were victorious. Tippu, of course, had determined to strike a deadly blow by attacking the English army and for the purpose took with him a strong army and reached Peryapatna on the 5th March I799. The Kodagu Raja and many English officers reconnoitred the troop movements of Tippu Sultan and of the English with a telescope. For quite a long time they saw nothing after which a large white tent was observed near Peryapatna, and immediately after, several other tents appeared to rise. The red, green and other kinds of tents were all pitched and they were numbered to an extent of five to six hundred. The Raja and the English officers were sure that they were the tents of Tippu's troops and later they returned to Siddapur to their Kardigode camp. Col. Montressor and Major Disney got their own men ready at the Siddeshwara hill, and on the 6th March I799, skirmishes between the rival troops began. From the Siddeshwara camp, a bulletin was issued saying that:

"At the battle of Siddeshwara hill, Capt. Thompson was killed and three lieutenants "and three Subedars were wounded. In all 58 men killed, I94 wounded and 32 missing- "dated the 6th March I799.

"On Tippu's side, Mir Saheb commanded the column which took the centre of the plain "attended by Benki Saheb (Bakshi- also called Ghulam Ali Bakshi Nawab). Mir Kamruddin "was present and also the three sons of Tippu. Bakshi occupied the centre of the force "of 5500 men."

THE BATTLE CONTINUED:-

The Raja had made precautions by posting an army at the Balele route presuming that Tippu might enter into Kodagu by that way. General Stuart went on issuing bulletins about the progress of the war from his Siddapur camp, and one such report, released on the 8th March I799, said that:

"On the 2nd inst. (March), the Right Brigade consisting of three native battalions under "the command of Lieut.-Col. Montressor took up their ground at Siddeshwar, the boundary of "Kodagu, about seven miles from Peryapatna-----It was here that they saw Tippu's army with "three to four-thousand tents----".

The first four or five days' battle brought the whole thing to a climax, and it was said that the Raja had "never seen such a bloody fight". On the 6th March I799, all the forces and battalions were on the field when Tippu was finally defeated. It was said that the three native battalions held their ground against the whole army of Tippu. General Stuart's report said that:

"From the news brought by the Kodagu Raja's people, I am informed that the loss of the "enemy was very great, and many men of distinction fell. They mention that Syed or Mir Gha-"ffur and Bakshy Nawab who led the centre attack are amongst the killed. It is added how-"ever that the Sultan is collecting more forces and is determined to make a second attack."

A full report of the battle sent to the Governor-General, by General Stuart, dated the 8th March I799, was as below:

"On the 2nd instant, the Right Brigade consisting of three Native Battalions under the "command of Col. Montressor, took up their ground at Siddeshwar, the boundary of the Kodagu "country, and about seven miles distant from Peryapatna, the main body of the army remain-"ing at Siddapur (Sedapore) and Ammathi (Amhootinaar), the first eight miles and the latter "twelve miles from the advanced position.

"It may be necessary to inform your Lordship that I was in some measure compelled from "the nature of the country which is everywhere covered by the thick jungles, to place the "army in several divisions, but I had a further view in occupying the post at Siddeshwar "(Gaddige) in order to preserve a more ready communication with General Harris."

GEN. STUART'S REPORT:-

As the battle of Malavalli was on, General Stuart wrote to the Governor-General, from his headquarters at Siddapur, on the IIth March I799, stating that:

"-----In order to assure myself of the circumstance if possible as well as to secure the "best evidence of the state of things, I have directed the Captain of the Guides to reconnoitre "from the Siddeshwar hill-----That he could plainly perceive the enemy had broken up their "encampment but was unable to trace their route as they had marched, long before he arrived "at the place of observation----".

General Stuart's letter to the Government of India gave an authentic version about the battle they fought with Tippu near the Siddeshwar hill, and this report is reproduced from the Calcutta and Madras Couriers and Gazette of India (27th March 1799). It said that:-

"----In the course of the 5th, an extensive encampment was unexpectedly observed to "be forming on this side of the Fort of Peryapatna. This circumstance was discovered at "10'0 clock in the forenoon, as the enemy were taking up their ground, by a party of obser- "vation on the summit of the hill of Siddeshwar (Sedasere) which commands the view of the "Mysore almost to the environs of Srirangapatna. Before the evening this encampment assum- "ed a very formidable appearence, and covered a great extent of ground; We were able to "count from three to three-hundred tents, amongst the number some of large dimensions were "distinguished, and particularly one of green colour that seemed to denote the presence of "the Sultan. However much the probability of this circumstance might be strengthened by "the respectable appearence of the encampment, it was contradicted by the evidence of the "two Karicarahs (messengers) who had recently arrived from Srirangapatna. These men gene- "rally reported that Tippu had marched with all his forces on the 20th ultimo, to oppose "the progress of the Madras army, and that the Benky Nabob (~~Bakshi~~ 'Fise' Nawab) commanded the "only force in the field that remained in the neighbourhood of Srirangapatna. This force "was represented to be encamped at Carniambady (Kannambady) and to consist of 5000 Peadahs "(peons) or irregular Infantry who were said to be intended as a covering party to 7000 "Banjaris (Banjaras of Western India) and directed to bring as much provisions as they "could collect about Peryapatna to the capital.

"In this state of uncertainty I thought it prudent to inform Lieut.-Col. Montressor's "brigade with an additional battalion of Sepoys, and waited far more correct intelligence "which expected hourly, to act with the whole of my forces as affairs might tender necessa- "ry. On the morning of the 6th (March) Major-General Hartley went forward to reconnoitre "and at the break of day, from the hill of observation, the whole of the enemy's army was "discovered to be in motion, but their movements were so well concealed by the woodiness of "the country and the haziness of the atmosphere that it was impossible to ascertain their "object nor in fact was this discovered until they had penetrated a considerable way into "the jungle and commenced an attack upon our line which happened between the hours of nine "and ten (in the morning)."

"THE ENEMY WERE ROUTED":-

General Stuart's report on the battle that ensued makes an interesting reading. He proceeded to state at length that:

"The enemy pierced through the jungles with such secrecy and expedition that they attack- "ed the rear and front of our line almost at the same instant. The dispatch prevented "more than three of our corps being engaged, as the fourth, which was posted two miles and "a half in the rear was unable to form a junction from the enemy having cut in between them

"them and Siddapur. The communication was effectually obstructed by a column which "according to the reports of our prisoners, consisted of upwards of 5000 men under the "command of Babur Jang.

"Fortunately before the enemy had accomplished their purpose, Major-Gen. Hartley had "time to apprize me of their attack, and remained himself to give any assistance that might "be necessary. The best position was assumed for repulsing the enemy and the corps defend-"ed themselves with so much resolution that the Sultan's troops were unable to make any imp-"ression. The brigade was on every side completely surrounded and had to contend against "a vast disparity of numbers.

"As soon as I received intelligence of the situation of the Right Brigade, I marched to "their assistance with the two flank companies of His Majesty's 75th Regiment and the whole "of the 77th. I arrived about half past two in sight of the Division of the enemy who had "penetrated into the rear and possessed themselves of the great road leading to Siddeshwar. "The engagement lasted nearly half an hour when after a smart fire of 'Murquerry' (Muskets ?) "on both sides, the enemy was completely routed and fled with precipitation through the jung-"les to regain their column which still continued the attack in front. At twenty minutes "past three the enemy retreated in all directions.

"For this decisive and, I hope, your Lordship will allow, brilliant success (considering "the small number of troops who engaged under very great disadvantage) I feel myself peculiar-"ly indebted to the judicious dispositions for defence made by General Hartley. He embraced "the opportunity of observing the motions of the enemy from the hill; I have before mentioned 2and was enabled to advice Lieut.-Col. Montressor of the best method for defeating them. I "beg leave also to inform your Lordship that my best thanks are due to Col. Montressor for "his very active exertions and to the officers and men, including the Artillery and Brigade, "for their gallant and steady behaviour throughout the whole of this arduous affair. Lieut.-"Col. Dunlop and the European Division under his command are likewise entitled to my particu-"lar approbation for their spirited conduct, which finally routed the enemy."

"OUR LOSS IS FAR LESS:-

General Stuart continued to state that:

"Our loss on this occasion, is far less than could reasonably have been expected; and I "have the honour to enclose for your Lordship's information, a return of this circumstance.

"It was impossible to ascertain the exact loss sustained by the enemy, but it must have "been heavy, as in the course of so long an action, they were often exposed in crowds to the "fire of grape shot and vollies of Musquettry. Several men of distinction were killed, and "some wounded officers were made prisoners.

"Since the action of the 6th (March), the enemy have continued in their camp at Peryapatna, "nor have, any intelligence either of the Sultan's designs or of the motives which induced "him to undertake his present enterprise. It is not likely that he will remain longer in his neighbourhood than after he receives intelligence of Gen. Harris's having eneterd Mysore.

"Mysore.

"By some prisoners, who have been just now brought in by the Kodagu Raja's people, I "am informed that the loss of the enemy was very great, and that many men of the first dis-"tinction fell. They mention Syed or Mir Ghaffur, and the Nawab,(also called Binki or "Bakshi Nawab) who led the centre attack- among the killed."

In a letter to the Governor-General, Viraraja the Elder of Kodagu, wrote describing the operations of the English army against Tippu's forces, thus:

"General Stuart and I marched with two regiments of the Europeans keeping the remainder "of the army in the plain of Kardigode (Siddapur); on approaching, he ordered the two "regiments to attack the enemy----The discipline, valour, strength and magnanimity of the "troops and the courageous attack upon the army of Tippu surpasses all examples in the "world."

After some days, the Raja was informed by the English to send his men to take care of the roads, baggage and other stocks. In response to this, the Raja advanced to Nalknad to hasten the collection of all his materials.

A GREAT TURNING POINT:-

The decisive battle of Siddeshwara Gaddige on the Kodagu-Mysore borders, and at the plains of Malavalli, was a great blow to Tippu Sultan, and a turning point in the career of the East India Company Government in India. After this, the British found their road to Srirangapatna easy and they made a very serious attempt to see that Tippu was put down once and for all. In the meantime, many more accounts of appreciation on the battle of the 6th March 1799, were given out from various sources. J. Webb, Secretary to the Government of Madras, wrote to General Stuart on the 22nd March 1799, that:

"----The account that you have given of the gallant and successful resistance made by "a part of the army under your command against the forces of Tippu on the morning of the "6th instant (March 1799), is extremely satisfactory to his Lordship; the firmness with "which the advanced Brigade under the command of Col. Montressor received and sustained "the enemy's attack under such a disparity of numbers reflects the highest honour on their spirit and discipline, and the judicious conduct of General Hartley.

"The Governor-General trusting that the action of Siddeshwar hill will have given a "turn and character to the just and necessary war which has been imposed upon us, directs "me to convey to yourself to Major-Gen. Hartley and Lieut.-Col. Montressor and the troops "engaged upon the occasion, his Lordship thanks with a warmth proportioned to the import-"ance which he annexes to your success."

At the other end, the Governor-General Marquess of Wellesley wrote to Jonathan Duncan Governor of Bombay, dated the 30th March 1799, stating that:

" "We have received with great satisfaction from Lieut.-Gen. Stuart an account of the "action in which the part of the army under his command obtained a brilliant and important "vistory over the army of Tippu on the 6th instant, at Siddeshwar hill. We offer you our "cordial congratulations on an occasion which reflects the highest honour on the bravery "and discipline of the Bombay army and on the skill and gallantry of your officers, and we "enclose for your instruction a copy of our Secretary's letter to General Stuart conveying "to that office and to the army under his command, our sense of the brilliant achievement "and our thanks for the important services which they have rendered to the Company and to "the interests of the British nation in India."

AFTER THE 6th MARCH 1799:-

Tippu Sultan's three strong columns at the battle of Siddeshwar hill on the 6th March 1799, were commanded by Fateh Adam Khan, Sudoor Ghulam Ali and Sudoor Bakshi. Babar Jang commanded the whole column of about 5000 men. Khan Jahan and Raza Saheb commanded and led the attack in front with about 4000 men. The force had about 5000 men and 800 cavalry. The nine guns attached to them were at Peryapatna. After the final assault of the 6th instant, the army began to retreat.

On the third day after the battle of Malavalli near Siddeshwar hill, Tippu's men were at Arkalgode, and in the west, at Baliapatna and Cannanore, and they advanced into Kodagu and plundered the villages of Torenur, Hebbale and Sirangala and even beyond the areas of Konanur. Viraraja who had offered help to the English, was politely requested to stay behind due to this confusion in his own territory. In order to see that the English did not get direct support from the Raja, Tippu cleverly instigated the Kote Raja to invade Kodagu with his army. Therefore, the people of Kodagu could not take a direct part in the last Mysore war.

There were troubles in Tulunad also. The Raja sent an army headed by Biddanda Bopayya (also known as Bopu) and Karnik Subbarasayya towards the West. A force was sent to Kodeyal and it met with opposition from the Mapillas of Kumbla. The Kodagu army overcame the opposition and occupied the territory of Barkur, Bagevaadi and some other areas and garrisoned them. At Udayavar, the Muslims and the Mapillas under Sadri, with the help of local men, fell upon the Kodagu army. The people of Kodagu set fire to the mosque, killed about 800 men and drove away Sadri. Thus the Kodagu army, evidently under the command of Biddanda Bopu, garrisoned all the territory with Mangalore, Kodeyal, Barkur, Bagevadi and Hosangadi at bounadries and protected the territories against the damages from the men of Tippu.

When the Kodagu people were thus ravaging the numerous villages of Tulunad (South Kanara district) in what was called, "the Coorg style", here at home, the Raja received reports about Tippu's departure from the battlefield of Siddeshwar hill. They made out that no tents were perceived from the hill which they believed that Tippu had left Peryapatna. Tippu's departure was also reported after having gazed from the hills of Chennayya fort (Chennankote- at the eastern borders). He had reached Srirangapatna on the I4th March I799, to oppose a more formidable army of General Harris.

THE RAJA WAS THANKED:-

When the English army first entered Kodagu ascending the Heggala Ghat where Viraraja received Gen. Hartley and Gen. Stuart, it was an unique moment in the history of Kodagu. After receiving the English officers and firing a salute in their honour, the Raja gave audience to all of them and then they moved to Virarajpet. From there the army marched to Siddapur. The Raja supplied a huge quantity of rice, elephants, sheep, cattle and even gallant men to the English. He sent 40,000 butties of rice, 3000 bullocks and a number of men to convey ammunition free of cost to Srirangapatna. A depot was opened at Virarajpet and measures were taken to collect whatever his state could afford, and this programme of collection was carried on till May I799, till the day of the fall of Tippu's capital.

The Raja's services were gratefully remembered by the English even from the days of the Srirangapatna war of I792, but after the Malavalli war of the 6th March I799, the Governor-General himself addressed a long letter, dated the I0th April I799, to the Commissioner of Malabar, referring to the services of the Raja and thanking him immensely. He wrote from Madras stating that:

"The details comtained in your letters-----of the measures which had then been adopted "under my orders, for the purpose of establishing large quantities of grain in the district "of Coorg (Kodagu), afforded me the highest satisfaction, and the distinguished success of "those measures-----has surpassed my most sangune expectation. The zeal and ability with "which this important service has been executed reflect the highest credit on all the civil "and military officers concerned in conducting it. My particular approbation and acknow-"ledgements are due on this occasion to Major-Gen. Hartley, to Mr. Uthoff and to Captain "Mahonney.

"The Raja of Coorg (Kodagu) has seconded my views, and the exertions of the Company's "servants on this occasion, with a degree of spirit, energy and fidelity, which confirm the "high character he had justly obtained in the late war. I have expressed my sense of his

"his zealous attachment and honourable services in a letter to him, which will be forward-
"ed to you by the Persian translator-----.

"I think it proper to apprize you that I have determined (as a testimony of the satis-
"faction which his conduct has afforded me and with a view of encouraging the imitation of
"his example among the other tributaries of the Company), to relinquish the tribute at pre-
"sent payable by the Raja, and to substitute some annual acknowledgement of the Company's
"claim to his allegiance. The Government of Bombay will receive the necessary directions
"from me for giving effect to this arrangement."

REACHED SRIRANGAPATNA:-

The Governor-General, Earl of Mornington, continued saying in the above letter of the 10th April 1799, stating that:

"-----I approve your appointment of Capt. Mahonney to be Resident with the Raja of Coorg
"(Kodagu), and the instructions with which you furnished Capt. Mahonney on that occasion.

"-----I entirely agree with you, in your letter to the Kodagu Raja-----I desire you will
"signify to the Raja of Kodagu that I have viewed with the utmost contempt and indignation,
"this weak and insiduous attempt of Tippu Sultan to cast doubts upon the faith of an ally
"whose attachment, fortitude, wisdom and integrity have secured the affection and admiration
"of the British Government.

"I entirely approve the spirit and substance of the instructions contained in the extract
"of your President's letter to the Resident with the Raja of Kodagu-----It is my anxious
"desire that you should continue to recommend sentiments of humanity and moderation, not
"only to the Raja of Kodagu but to all the other tributaries of the Company on the coast of
"Malabar-----.

Major-Gen. Floyd who led the English army to Srirangapatna, wrote a long letter dated the 10th April 1799, to the Governor-General, explaining his day-to-day movements from his camp at Peryapatna and onwards. He said that:

"As it is possible Gen. Harris's despatches may not have reached you-----On the 27th of
"March (1799), the enemy was seen, in force, on the high ground west of Malavally. Gen.
"Harris, with the right wing, attacked the enemy in front. Two regiments of cavalry support-
"ed. Col. (Arthur) Wellesley, with the Nizam's army, took a most judicious position on the
"enemy's right flank, and attacked it, and threw it into confusion-----.

"On the 29th March, the army encamped at Socilly (Sosale) on the bank of the Kaveri.
"Here we found a great collection of inhabitants, and cattle, and rice and a good deal of
"paddy and other grain-----On the 5th April, the army took its situation before Srirangapatna
"at the west point of the Fort. That night, Col. Shawe took possession of a post between
"1700 and 1800 yards from the fort----.

"On the 6th morning, I marched off for Peryapatna with four regiments of cavalry----On the

"the 8th April, I encamped at Peryapatna. My signals were answered and I had communi-
"cation with General Stuart-----9th April, I rode over to Gen. Stuart-----We proceed to-
"morrow (IIth April) to join the army at Srirangapatna-----".

THE WAR OF 6th MARCH -RETOLD:-

The story of the war of the English and Tippu Sultan at Siddeshwara Gaddige on the Kodagu-Mysore district border, on the 6th March I799, was retold by "An Officer", in the service of the last Kodagu Raja, in a book published in London I857. In that, it is said that:

"The Raja was present at the battle of Siddeshwara Gaddige. He gave an accurate "account of the war to the Governor-General who received it on the I2th April I799.

"On Tuesday, Mahabodha Amavasya day, 4I days ago, myself (the Raja), Capt. Mahonney "and some other Englishmen went to the hills of Siddeshwar which is within my territories. "The mountain which is exceedingly lofty, the English Sardars and myself ascended and we "remained there. Having from thence reconnoitred, we observed nothing for the first "four or five hours-----(The details about this have already been told in the previous "pages.)

"Upon receiving the report that they (Tippu's men) were approaching by the Balele "road, and were nearer to Virarajpet, we all considered and determined that 5000 men sho-
"uld be stationed on that road-----Things being in that state, we again reconnoitred from "the hills of Siddeshwar Road, and advanced close to the two battalions under the command "of Col. Montressor and there was a severe action. After the battle commenced, the two "battalions killed a great many of Tippu's people. Tippu, unable to sustain the fire of "the battalions, and having no road by which to advance, divided his army into five divi-
"sions with the intention of getting into the rear of Col. Montressor's battalions by a "secret path.

"The Colonel having received intelligence of this division made a disposition of his "forces so as to sustain both attacks, and maintained the fight until the morning, unint-
"rruptedly till 2'0 clock. The enemy was beaten-----.

"When this news reached the main body, Gen. Stuart in order to assist the force at "Siddapur, marched with two regiments of Europeans, keeping the remainder of the army in "the plains of Kardigode. Upon this occasion, I accompanied Gen. Stuart. Tippu, in "order to prevent the two regiments from advancing to the relief of the troops, was posted "on the road between. Gen. Stuart, upon approaching, ordered the two regiments to attack "the enemy. A severe action then ensued in which I was present.

THE RAJA'S ADMIRATION:-

Viraraja the Elder gave a glowing account of the war of the 6th March I799, and he was full of praise and admiration for the British military strategy and skill. In the book

book written by "An Officer" in 1857, the version of Viraraja's tributes to the English is reproduced, and it is said ~~thi~~ in continuation as follows:

"To describe this battle (of Malavalli near the Gaddige hill) which General Stuart "fought with these two regiments of Europeans, the discipline, valour, strength and mag-"nanimity of the troops, the courageous attack upon the army of Tippu, surpasses all examp-"les in the world. In our Shastras and Puranas, the battles fought have been much celebrat-"ed, but they are unequal to this battle; it exceeds my ability to describe this action at "length to your Lordship. In this manner, Tippu's army was beaten. The action with the "two regiments lasted about three hours and a half. A Sardar of high rank with Tippu, fell "in the action, the first and the second Bakshis (?) of a body of 6000 men, being wounded "with musket balls, were taken prisoners. I have also heard that five or six other officers "of rank with the enemy have fallen; many of the enemy were slain, ~~other officers of rank with~~ "~~the enemy have fallen~~ and many were wounded; the remainder thrown away their muskets, swords "and turbans, and thinking it sufficient to save their lives, fled in the great confusion. "Tippu having collected the remains of his troops, returned to Peryapatna."

The Secret Proceedings of the Fort St. George Government contained letters of the first two months of the year 1799, and they included:

"Volume I- General Hartley endeavoured to impress on the Kodagu Raja the necessity of "avoiding any hostile act against Tippu Sultan until the actual declaration of war-----The "Raja of Kodagu assured the British of his zealous attachment to the interests of the Company "and of his readiness to cooperate with them-----General Stuart set out from Bombay to join "the army on the Malabar coast-----Accounts have been received of General Stuart's victory "at Siddeshwar upon which the warmest commendations are bestowed----".

FROM MALAVALLI TO MYSORE:-

The first phase of the last Mysore War took place at Malavalli when Tippu Sultan was routed. The English army that had encamped in Siddapur, Kodagu, joined Col. Montressor's unit in Malavalli and from there proceeded to Srirangapatna. Writing about this war of the 6th March 1799, "An Officer" in his book on the last Rajas of Kodagu, published in 1857, said:

"To this gallant resistance of the advance brigade at Siddeshwar, the British army stood "indebted, not only for its subsequent conquest of Mysore, but for its very existence in that "country as an offensive power. Had the advanced posts been carried, the whole of the Bombay "force must have driven back, and its junction with that under General Harris either totally "prevented or rendered ineffective; while the boast and triumph of Tippu could not have failed "to have allured to his standard the inhabitants of Malabar, then ripe for revolt."

The Cambridge History of India, Volume 5, says about the Raja's encounter with Tippu Sultan, and about the war of Malavalli, as below:

"The Raja of Kodagu, Tippu's bitter enemy, witnessed the achievements of General "Stuart with enthusiasm. On the 8th March (I799), when Stuart defeated Tippu at Sedasere "(Siddeshwar hill), and on the 27th again at Malavalli, Arthur Wellesley was in command "of Hyderabad regiment, and the Governor-General Earl of Mornington was in Madras. Gover- "nor Clive of Fort St. George, son of Robert Clive, directed operations from Madras. On "the 4th May (I799), the siege of Srirangapatna took place. General Baird, a prisoner "of Tippu, was in command-----".

Thus the battle that sparked at Malavalli was continued at Maysore, and in the island of Srirangapatna, and the Kodagu Raja's help for the English in the latter's war with Tippu won approbation from one and all.

THE WAR WAS OVER:-

The last battle of Srirangapatna took a dramatic turn in the first week of May I799. The English forces were alerted all over and the attack was made in a systematic order. This war brought the end of the regime of Tippu Sultan and also the death of the latter, and all that is a significant part of the history of India. However, the support of the Raja and the people of Kodagu was profound and consistent right from the year I790 to I799, and the Raja was amply rewarded for his help.

The last phase of the battle at Srirangapatna was quick. Gen, Harris after his success at Malavalli, marched towards Mysore and reached Srirangapatna on the 5th April I799 with his 2I,000 men. Tippu rushed to repell them but some time was taken on diplomatic manoueres. In a few years, the actual siege commenced with the joining of the army of Gen. Stuart. The final ~~tank~~ attack over the fort took place on the 4th May I799, but by then many people of the army of Tippu had died including his general, Syed Ghaffur. The fort and the citadel of the island were literally stormed on the 4th May from across the 300-yard wide Kaveri. This action was called, "One of the most remarkable feats on the whole annals of war". Tippu Sultan mounted a horse and made a desperate bid in the last moment but it was too late. In the confusion, Tippu's horse fell dead amidst the dead and wounded soldiers. Raza Khan, his personal attendant, advised him to make himself known to the enemy, but Tippu in his characteristic way, rejected the advice and preferred a hero's death to that of a prisoner in the hands of the English. The English, at the same time, were adament in destroying Tippu's power in view of Napoleon's plan to break the British power in India.

After Tippu's death, the English power in India became "a power paramount". One Englishman shouted on the eve of their success, saying that "India is ours". This success of the English was a feather on the cap of the Governor-General Wellesley, and his brother Col. Wellesley also shared the credit. The English thanked their trusted allies after the war, and the English generals went to Kodagu and thanked the Raja for his services in the war. They also paid tributes to the men and officers of the Bombay army.

"THE EXEMPLARY CONDUCT":-

Among the many letters that the Governor-General of India wrote after the fall of Srirangapatna on the 4th May 1799, the one written by the Earl of Mornington to the Governor of Bombay, Jonathan Duncan, from Fort St. George, dated the 8th May 1799, was an important one. That was as given below:

"The exemplary conduct and distinguished character of the Kodagu Raja having rendered me "desirous of manifesting some public testimony of my approbation of his recent services, the "remission of his annual tribute to the Company appears to me to be a measure, which would "combine the effects of an honourable distinction and of a profitable reward. My intention "is that of the whole amount of the Raja's present tribute, which I understand to be about "Rupees 24,000, a sum of not exceeding a thousand rupees be reserved to the Company, or that "in the place of tribute, some articles of considerable value be annually required from him, "as an acknowledgement of his allegiance to the British Government; I request that after "having determined the nature of the acknowledgement to be required, according to your own "judgement, you will take the necessary measures for carrying my intentions into effect. I "think the arrangement should be made to take place from the day of the junction of the Army "of Bombay with the detachment commanded by Major-Gen. Floyd."

It was in consideration of this sentiment expressed, the Raja's annual tribute to the Company Government was reduced from Rs. 24,000 to just an elephant as a token of his allegiance to the Company. From that incident, Kodagu became a staunch ally of the British. On the 23rd May 1799, Commander-in-Chief General Harris congratulated the Raja. Gen. Stuart met the Raja in Muttur near Peryapatna and with both these generals, the Raja had cordial meetings. Like Gen. Stuart, Gen. Hartley also presented the Raja with a horse. The Raja replied to the letter of Gen. Harris on the 9th June 1799.

The English generals accompanied their army, and also the sick and wounded, to Cannanore. The Raja also accompanied them to the coast and a salute was fired on their arrival at Cannanore. The Raja stayed there for a week, when he ordered Karnik Subbarasayya to make over the Kodyal district to Mr. Wiseman, the Collector. Gen. Stuart sailed to Madras promising the

the Raja a sword with the arms of the Company, and of Lord Mornington, and his own photograph. After Gen. Stuart embarked, the Raja returned to Kodagu.

In Mysore, Purnayya continued as the head of the Affairs of Mysore which came under the Company. The English sent one Ishwarayya to Kodagu, but this man, it was said, insulted the people of Kodagu. The Raja also complained that his old enemies were the Brahmins, and ordered Ishwarayya to withdraw from Kodagu. Capt. Mahonney, the Resident, admitted that he did not know the Raja's dislike for the Brahmins.

THE BRITISH WERE GOOD:-

One should here pause and ponder over the statesmanship of the British. It could be found at once that they just took advantage of the disunity of the Indian chiefs, and they were not at all on building an empire of their own accord. The Indian politics of those days had been running wild and the British were the God-sent agencies to the country. The readers can find that Tippu Sultan invited hostility of the British, and if the former had been reasonably good like the Nizam, he could have been a master of the Deccan. Anyway, the Mysore royal family which had almost become extinct, was restored and the role of the Rani Laxmammanni in that was remarkable. The British had the goodness of never letting down those who helped them. For instance, here is a letter of the Military Secretary Robert Lewis of Malabar and Mysore area, written from his headquarters in Cannanore, on the 5th June 1799, to Capt. Dennis Mahonney, the Resident at Kodagu, stating that:

"-----I am directed by Major-General Hartley to draw your attention to the extensive "supplies which the Kodagu Raja collected during the late war, with so much honour to him-"self, and so much advantage to the Company. It is neither suitable to the dignity of "thatGovernment as you must be sensible, nor consistent with justice that the Raja should "make such heavy disbursements at his own expense, besides the agreement (between you and "Mr. Ulthoff) that he was to be fairly repaid the charges he might incur on this. But "as the generous disposition of the Raja may prevent him bringing forward his account, you "will be pleased in the most delicate manner to call upon him for a statement of different "articles of supply furnished by him. Value may be ascertained and liquidated-----.

"Rice may be disposed of in any manner to prevent the entire loss----You will furnish "what proportion might probably be purchased by the people of Malabar and the merchants "trading between Malabar and Mysore."

The above letter showed the gratefulness of a great nation. Soon after they obtained Mysore, the British thought to introduce postal service, according to a letter written

written from Srirangapatna on the 20th June 1799. Arrangements to convey tappals along the routes of Srirangapatna, Bangalore and Roycottah, and from Bangalore to Kalyani, were contemplated. It was also suggested to establish a tappal route to Kodagu, Baramahal and Kalyani and thus link some of the important military centres and strategic areas that had belonged to the Company Government. ***

*** Most of the facts given in this chapter are just reproduced from this author's earlier work on Tippu Sultan (Letters and Correspondence). The history of Kodagu and Mysore is much inter-linked that at many places one has to write the same thing in the histories of Kodagu as well as Mysore. It was Benjamin L. Rice who had aptly put that, "What Wales is to England, Kodagu is to Mysore".

CHAPTER XV.

A SECOND LOOK OVER THE THINGS.

With the fall of Tipu Sultan in the very last year of the eighteenth century, the new era began. The British emerged as the power paramount in South India. The Raja of Coorg had already become a feudatory chief after his signing the treaty of Tellicherry in 1790. A British resident was appointed for Kodagu and he was going about between Nalknad and Virarajpet, but from 1799 a permanent residency was established in Madikeri.

The history of Kodagu of the second half of the 18th century was closely linked with that of the history of Hyder and Tipu Sultan, and what Hyder Ali had left unfinished, Tipu tried to finish off in respect of Kodagu, but his efforts proved futile. Hyder died imprisoning the Kodagu princes and that led to the political unrest in Kodagu. Tipu's atrocities to the English prisoners like General Mathews had already known to all, and he placed some of them in chains and those Indian prisoners were dragged to death by elephants, and some were placed in iron cages.

Here it is worthwhile going back for a moment to study the situation in retrospect, and see how the affairs had turned to such a pitch right from about 1779 to 1799- those eventful twenty years.

The population of Kodagu in those days were only a few thousands and it did even exceed one lakh. The earliest non-Kodavas inside Kodagu were a few traders from Mysore, Malabar and those Gowda agriculturists of Tulunad. There were a few Virasaiva or Shivachaars and about half-a-dozen brahmins and none else. There were of course those jungle tribes wandering all over from out of their jungle hutments.

There are no records to say how the Kodavas lived in those days, and how they noursihed such an outstanding cultural aspects of their day-to-day life. The semi-Kodava communities like Airies, Hegades and Koyavas have been, perhaps, the outcastes among the Kodavas who were zealous in guarding the superiority of their distinctive culture. Excommunication of the people who violated customary regulations, was a common practice. From the southern tip of Marenad right up to the Surlabbinad of North Coorg, wandered the Kodavas establishing their own settlements. They had no idea of Hinduism at all and also about the Hindus scriptures and gods. They worshipped the eldest or the oldest of their ancestors as their Guru and hero, and they set up family shrines called KAI-MATTA, and those were attached to their family houses. Bigger temples were there in village centres where the spirits of great heroes were worshipped and people gathered in large numbers and conducted festivals. It seemed that those indigenous people had such a lively and orderly way of living with such glorious ceremonies and traditions of wedding customs, Kutri and other temples dances, festivities and public sport like the Keil Mhurtha festival and so on.

Moreover, the densely jungled Kodagu of those days was an ideal place for the Kodavas

to flourish untouched by any extraneous or evil influences. Even then from time to time they have been swept or tossed about by the political currents with the influence of such ruling races like the ancient Kongalvas, Hoysalas, Cholas, Chengalvas and others. The Kodavas were essentially a tribe of hills, the mountaineers of the by-gone days and also a hardy race. But they got involved in the political turmoils as opportunities came, but most of their time they lived happily in a land of heavy monsoon, dense jungles and wildlife.

The emergence of the rulers of the neighbouring Mysore of the I6th and I7th centuries afforded them further opportunity to show their prowess. Those petty chiefs of those districts of Mysore and Malabar areas had unsuccessfully tried many a time to subdue this land of the Kodavas but failed. Till the middle of the I7th century, Kodagu was quite in tact with occasional expeditions taking place towards Mysore or Malabar. The Kodavas were doubtlessly the leading tribe, and if there were others among those men they were just the jungle tribes and a few of those emigrated labour class of people from outside Kodagu.

The coming of Hyder's army into Kodagu in I763-64 after his Bedanore expedition, had no serious effect whatsoever on the Kodavas, but that signalled the danger that was ahead, and rightly after ten years in I773 Hyder Ali conducted some violent incursions into Kodagu when he favoured or picked up his own man from the Kodagu Raja's family to be the ruler of Kodagu. Later, after four years, he exiled the young princes of Kodagu, and that resulted in a chaotic state for a long time right from I775 to I790 till the treaty of Tellicherry.

The ancient mud fort of Madikeri was developed by Hyder Ali but during the frequent wars and onslaughts, the Kodavas smashed and almost erased it to the ground. When Tipu Sultan reoccupied the fort in I784, and called it Zafarabad, it rose up again as an impressive structure. Tipu's Kodagu expedition in the I780s was historic as well as bloodthirsty in nature. He carried away many hundreds of Kodavas to convert them into Islam by force although a good many of them escaped later on. He appointed a new Governor, a brahmin-named Nagappayya, but the Kodavas revolted against him for they did not like a brahmin to rule over them, although they had been uncomfortably tolerating their Lingayat chiefs waiting for opportunities to drive them also. It was said that the Kodavas had polyandrous habits, and according to Mark Wilkes, Tipu Sultan addressed the Kodagu people during his campaign and said as below:

"If six brothers dwell together in one house, and the elder brother marries, his wife becomes equally the wife of the other five, and the intercourse, far from being disgraceful, is familiarly considered as a national rite. Not a man in this country knows his own father, and the ascendency of women and the bastardy of children is your common attribute. From the period of my father's conquest of the country, you have rebelled seven times and caused the death of thousands of our troops; I forgive you once more, but if rebellion be ever repeated I have made a vow to God to honour every man in the country with Islam; I will make them aliens to their house and establish them in a distant land, and thus at once extinguish rebellion and plurality of husbands, and initiate them in the more honourable practice of the Islam."

This so-called speech of Tipu Sultan delivered to the Kodavas of the I780s was first noted by an European officer in his diary and later reported under the title, "The Journal of an Officer". This 'journal' was kept by an anonymous European soldier, and the period covered in the diary was from the I4th March to I8th October I782. In the Coorg expedition of Tipu Sultan there were soldiers, some 5000 irregular troops, matchlock men, some 'christian boys' and "other mixed material ending up with men with bows and arrows". The European officer proceeds to say that, the 'Coorakees' or Coorgs or the Kodavas "made rings round them (Tipu's men) and though the Mysoreans regularly hanged any rebels they could get their claws on, the expedition collapsed in failure".

From Tipu's above speech some facts come to light. The Kodavas had polyandry habits. During those ten years from I773 to I783, they have rebelled against Hyder and Tipu's men seven times, and Tipu now resolved to convert them if they repeat their rebeliion again and make them 'aliens to their house and establish them in a distant land'.

These are some of the gruesome facts of the day. Deny Forrest says that before the year was out Tipu 'felt obliged to execute his threat', when the Kodavas, led by one Momuti Nair, an official whose sister Tipu's governor had abducted, rose in a body and imprisoned the governor, perhaps, Brahmin Nagappayya, within the walls of Zafarabad, or Madikeri. Tipu sent a punitive expedition of 2,000 men under the command of Zain-ul-Abidin Shustari, but this man failed in his mission in that 'wooded country', and sent a message to Tipu to come at once. It seemed that Kodavas did very well in repulssing Tipu's men. However, in the month of October of I785, Tipu entered the forests of Coorg with a strong force which included Lally's French contingent. This time Tipu succeeded in crushing all resistance despite the dauntless fight of the Kodavas

"Like game being rounded up by beaters, thousands of the Coorg inhabitants were captured or trapped in a vast circle of armed men", and here it was said that Tipu played a trick over the unsuspecting Kodavas by inviting them for a meeting. In January I786, Tipu said to have captured some thousands of men, but the actual number so trapped and taken is still not known although the records speak of 40,000 and 50,000. Considering the population of the time in Coorg, only about 3,000 to 5,000 men must have been taken away, and even that 5,000 would be much because it was not easy to gather such a big number and take them all the way to Mysore.

From Coorg Tipu seemed to have proceeded to the coast to entrap the Malabar Christians who had helped Gen. Mathews with a loan of money, and there also it is said that a huge number of 60,000 men were sent to Srirangapatna as prisoners. That might be only about 2,000 or 3,000 and not more even by any imagination. The official census of Coorg of I839 showed only 8I,437 inhabitants in Coorg, and there was no question of Tipu transporting 55 years before that a huge number of 50,000 men. The most reasonable number of Coorgs and Malabar Christians that he captured might come to somewhere between 3,000 and 5,000 and not more. To replace the exiled Coorgs, people from Mysore, mainly Muslims, were brought in and settled as agriculturists in various parts of Coorg.

Thus ended the two Coorg campaigns of Tipu Sultan in I784 and I786, and it was during that hectic time the Coorg chiefs, under one Utaya Naig or Naik, contacted the British for the first time through the British official in Srirangapatna. That began in I783 and the communication continued till I789 till Tipu committed his major blunder of attacking Travancore. Kirkpatrick's letters reveal a good deal of information concerning Tipu Sultan's politics and administration, both in his internal and external spheres. The letter of the Governor-General Cornwallis, addressed to General Medows on the 27th September I790, showed that the British were out on taming the 'tiger' of Mysore. The letter said, that:

"The daring and restless ambition of Tipu Sultan, the superiority of his telents over the rest of the princes of this country, the mischievous purposes to which these talents have been constantly applied, not only in oppressing his subjects and tributaries but in disturbing the tranquillity of all his neighbours, would undoubtedly render it desirable as well as for our future peace as for the cause of humanity that he should be driven from that throne which his father so unjustly usurped, and that the representative of the family of the Mysore Rajas should be put into possession of their ancient territories------.

"Tyrant and usurper as he is, we must recollect that we have repeatedly acknowledged both his father and himself as Sovereigns of Mysore, and if after your army and Col. Kelly's have happily ascended the Ghats,he should, upon finding his capital and Government in imminent danger, send to you to say that he was ready to submit to such terms as you would impose upon him, we do not think you could with propriety answer that nothing but his life, or indeed his disposition, would satisfy us.....

"It will no doubt require great circumspection in devising means to ensure Tipu's acquiescence in the terms of peace that we should wish to impose upon him, in the event of any new circumstances arising in the course of the negotiations to give a more favourable appearence to his affairs, and we are of opinion that you should acquire, as security for that acquiescenee, one of the three following pledges:

"i) His own personal surrender,
ii) His putting ypu in possession of Srirangapatna,
iii) His delivering his eldest son into your hands as a hostage, with the possession of Bangalore, (and, in addition to either of these conditions, his making you an immediate payment of a large sum of money as part of the indemnification of the Company for the expenses of the war.)

This letter gave an entire idea of Lord Cornwallis' mind. In fact, he did work out his way to deal with Tipu Sultan, and the third Mysore war was fought exactly on those lines, and with the full help of the Mahrattas, the Nizam and, of course, the Raja of Coorg. After the war, the English took most of Tipu's possessions that were adjacent to theirs, and that was in March I792. They listed several territories as 'adjacent' to the possessions of the English and their allies. Tipu found that Coorg had been added to the English quota and then he exploded, that:

"To which of the English possession is Coorg adjacent? Why do they not ask for the key of Srirangapatna? They know that I would have sooner died in the breach than consent to such a cession, and durst not bring it forward until they had treacherously obtained possession of my children and my treasure."

Tipu had a case but not a genuine case, because Coorg had never been a part of Mysore. The young Raja of Coorg had all the time been fighting for his independence. When Tipu made a last-minute conciliatory approach to him on the 26th May I79I, the Raja's reply was as below:

"You now ask for my friendship, to which I answer I have pledged my word to the English, with whom I am in alliance. They have locked it up in a box and sent it to Europe. How can I therefore give my word to you when (until) the English choose to restore it to me again?".

As to the adjacency argument, Denys Forrest too said, Coorg certainly had no common frontier with any existing English territory, but it did adjoin a part of Malabar which, as already had been agreed, the Company has to take over, and that was adjacent to nothing except the tiny trading station of Tellicherry. The truth was that Coorg had been omitted from the earlier schedules by inadvertance, and that it was Gen. Abercrombie who said the necessary word in Cornwallis's ear.

So after the war, when peace settlement was made, Governor-General deputed to talk over things one Kennaway, and the final outcome proved to be very humiliating to Tipu Sultan. The basic terms of Cornwallis were i) a cession of territory producing three crores of rupees per annum, ii) a cash of indemnity of eight crores, and iii) the persons of two of Tipu's sons as hostages.

It was said that Tipu's vakils were alarmed by the stringency of these demands which they assured Kennaway could not possibly be met, and it was only after that a quick modification was offered, and those were as below:

i)Cession of half of Tipu's domain being the parts adjacent to the allies' territories, ii) indemnity of Rupees six crores, iii) all prisoners taken by Hyder Ali and his son to be released, and iv) two hostages as said before.

But Tipu's vakils were able to obtain some more concessions even from this, and especially the amount of indemnity, and Tipu himself announced at the principal mosque of Srirangapatna that: "Three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees to be paid either in gold coins or in bullion, in three instalments, but one crore and sixty-five lakhs to be paid immediately. The next day hostilities ceased, and the arrangements were made to send Tipu's hostage sons to the English camp. Abdul Khaliq and Muiz-ud-din were taken to the camp, and many on-lookers of the scene of hostages being taken to Lord Cornwallis have described the whole thing in moving terms.

All this happened in Mysore, and that was the first stage of Tipu's fall. After that for the next seven years he seemed to have spent most of his time within his island capital, and he was no longer the old 'tiger' because he was now a crippled 'tiger'. The Raja of Coorg became a staunch ally of the English after this incident, and he became in a way a chief spy of the English,who informed the latter all about the movements and actions of Tipu Sultan. After that during the years of 1793 and 1798, the Raja of Coorg had become bold enought to create some border incidents at his eastern border and that naturally led into skirmishes between his men and that of Tipu Sultan. All these reports were promptly communicated to the English who were watching the situation regarding Mysore from all sides. Viraraja the Elder of Coorg knew that he was now a friend of the English. and he was in good books of English residents at his court.

Lord Cornwallis retired in I795, and he was succeeded by acting Governor-General Sir John Shore, with whom ~~the~~ Tipu Sultan conducted negotiations on small border districts of Coorg, namely Amara, Sulya, Kalubauchee or Kalurbaji, Yelusavirasime and so on. But much of it was done on paper and nothing much in action. In the later years, Tipu Sultan had become helpless because Viraraja of Coorg knew that he had the English Government on his side. Tipu Sultan, in the meantime, had relied on the help of the French who, instead of helping him, were busy in telling him to calm down. In fact, the French were not interested to come to the aid of Tipu because of many national and international causes of their own. The French officials in Mauritius wrote to him several letters not to get entangled with foreign powers but see that he befriended his own people and their chiefs- like the Mahrattas and the Nizam. But Tipu was fast plunging to his death by his hatred to the British in India.

Lord Richard Wellesley who came to India in early I798, as Governor-General, was the man who was determined to finish off Tipu Sultan. He too wrote many nice letters to bring Tipu Sultan round but the latter slightened most of those letters, and the British intelligence system worked so well that Tipu was entrapped by them by the end of the year I798, when they began to move their army now into Srirangapatna, and, for the second time. The Raja of Coorg had to again repeat all his performance ~~again~~ now in order to help the British army that was coming from Bombay, exactly in the way they did in I79I. But this time there was no General Richard Abercrombie, but General James Hartley, who wrote from Calicut on the 6th January I799, to the Commander-in-Chief, General George Harris, that:

"------The number of pack and draft cattle in the province(of Coorg and Malabar) including I,500 on hire amount to about 5,200 heads, and I am exerting all my influence to draw forth the resources of Malabar at this crisis. I have written to the Travancore Raja, Cochin Raja, Coorg Raja and every other person of consequence in the province for such assistance in grain, men and cattle-----". Sd) James Hartley.

On the I9th January I799, Gen. George Harris wrote to Gen. Hartley, that, "You will continue to urge the Coorgha (Coorg) Raja to collect large supplies of rice in places beyond the pass contiguous to your line of advance------".

Similar letters went to the native chiefs who were hostile to Tipu Sultan. In the meantime, hectic preparations for a full-scale war were going on at both the sides- the English amd Tipu Sultan. In between that many courteous letters were passed on between them, but all that was to no effect. In the first week of March I799, the armies of Tipu and the English met at Malavalli, near the border of Coorg and Peryapatna, and the summit of the nearby Gaddige hill became the reconnoitring station of the English army officers and their ally and friend, Viraraja the Elder.

A detailed account of this battle and the gallantry shown by Col. Montressor and other English and Indian soldiers including those from Coorg, have already been told in

in the previous chapters of this work and also in another work on Tipu Sultan just compiled by this author with an elaborate account of Tipu's career and activities. What has to be noted here is that soon after this fourth and last Mysore war in 1799, not only the English Government in India but also those Indian chiefs like the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Mahrattas too became big powers within the country, but all that was only for a short time. The British soon became the power paramount within the country.

As far as Coorg was concerned, the success of the British at Srirangapatna and the willing cooperation of the Raja of Coorg in the war against Tipu, assured its separate identity as a province, and the status of the Raja as a native chief like the rest of the hundreds of such fallen chiefs all over the country. Coorg Raja helped the British for his own survival, and that in turn helped the people of Coorg, mostly the Kodavas, to enjoy about 150 years of British rule with modern education and modern developments. The Kodava soldiers of the ~~Coorg~~ Raja served during the war of 1799 as border guards at the Coorg-Malabar, Coorg-Mangalore and Coorg-Saklespur boundaries, and a good number of them took part in the Malavalli War under Col. Montressor. A separate Coorg division were later on sent to Srirangapatna war under Gen. Harris, Gen. Hartley, Col. Montressor and others, and the Coorgs won the esteem and approbation of the British even there.

The most outstanding right-hand men in the internal administration of Coorg in those days were all Kodavas, but another outstanding administrator was Keremane Hombale Nayak who hailed from Kantamurnad and whose descendants still enjoy Jaghir there. Keremane Hombale Nayak was a trusted lieutenant of the Raja, and as a non-Kodava, he had enjoyed some special confidence of the Raja. Among the prominent Kodavas during those years from about 1783 to 1800, one could mention such names like Appaneravanda Achayya, Pattacheravana Belliappa, Kulletira Ponnanna and their associates who were all heroes of the time of the third Mysore War and who helped the then young Raja and Gen. Richard Abercrombie in his march through Coorg from Cannanore and Tellicherry to Srirangapatna to meet the battalions of the Governor-General Charles Cornwallis.

Some other younger men who later on became prominent as great soldiers were Chowrira Kariappa, who later became a Dewan, Biddanda Bopu or Bopayya who led Coorg units first to Srirangapatna and later to Puttur and Mangalore and suppressed the rebellious elements, Chowrira Appanna who became a royal adviser later on but fell out later on during the time of the wicked Lingaraja II, one Subedar Muthanna (whose family name was not known) and who went on deputation as far as Madras, the first ever man from Coorg to go as far as Madras in 1808-09, to see the Governor-General Lord Minto on an issue of succession to the Coorg throne, and a few others were ~~all~~ in the forefront of the Coorg affairs.

Some of the outstanding Coorg families of the time need to be mentioned here because a few of those families had earned royal patronage during the last forty years of the eighteenth century from 1760 to 1800, and those families had carried the idealism and gallantry of the Coorg race as a whole, and indeed, it was during that time, the Kodavas

had shown high in the estimation of the Europeans like Robert Taylor, Denis Mahoney, James Macleod and those servants of the Company like Emmatt, the surveyor, Mr. Farmer, the Company's revenue official, John Spencer of Malabar, J. Uthoff, a military adviser, and others had admired to the extent that the Raja, Viraraja the Elder, and the Kodavas, had the benefit of being honoured by such distinguished officials of the East India Company Government, like Col. Barry Close, Col. Arthur Wellesley, and that great Orientalogist, Dr. Francis Buchanan who conducted his explorative tour of South India that included his march through Coorg in 1800 soon after the war of May 1799.

~~Therefore,~~ Some of the Kodava families that were in the forefront were Mukkatira, Chowrira, Palanganda, Appaneravanda, Karneravanda, Mukkatira (of Bilugunda), Mandepanda, Merianda, and the like and from which families many young men rose up as leading persons in war or peace. Some families of Nalknad like Ketolira, Boverianda, Bettolanda and so on were also in the limelight during those years. Some as soldiers in the army and a few in civil service. Men belonging to Madanda, Mandetira, Appanderanda, Kodimanianda, Karera, Kattera, Alamanda, Natolanda and the like had been active all over between Srirangapatna and Mangalore during those years of 1789 and 1799. When the Kodavas first contacted the British for help as early as 1783 and again ~~at~~ in 1784, it was not clear who exactly the men who had such foresight and political shrewdness, although records simply say that the English resident at Srirangapatna was contacted by one 'Utia Naigue'.

This double word 'Utia Naigue' could be read in many ways. Utia is a short form of Uthayya, Uthayavar, Wodeyar and ~~xxx~~ so on. Uthayya is a Kodava name, Uthayavar is a Malayalam name and Wodeyar is a Kannada word. The next word 'Naigue' meant just Nayak or Naik, and, of course, in those days there were many petty nayaks even among the Kodavas, ~~just~~ like Keremane Hombale Nayak of the 1790s, who was the only non-Kodava official of some influence in those days. So from 1783 to 1790, till they succeeded in bringing the British into Coorg with a treaty, was a ceaseless endeavour of those Kodavas who had in the meantime to undergo untold sufferings due to Tipu's two invasions of 1784 and 1786.

Capt. Macleod and Capt. Murray, the first resident in Coorg, had to do much in bringing the case of Coorg to the notice of the Fort William Government through the Governor Duncan of Bombay. It was only after that in March 1790, Robert Taylor of the Malabar Commission visited Coorg through Virarajpet and met the Raja in Nalknad. Taylor's elaborate report on Coorg, its scenery, and people was the first in the series of such reports that followed. Capt. Murray and Lieut. Emmatt who surveyed the Coorg boundary, both wrote elaborate reports, and it was only after this Alex. Pennant and James Mill, those reputed historians of India of the end of the eighteenth century referred to Kodagu (Coorg) in good terms, and after the Mysore War some other historians including Mark Wilkes, glorified the achievements of Viraraja the Elder and the people of Coorg. The battle of Malavalli of the 6th March 1799, it was said, was ~~xxx~~ won on account of the gallant support and services rendered by the Kodavas under the directives of the Raja and those of his cabinet.

How were the economic and social conditions of the people? According to all accounts, the Raja was a god to the common people, and his ministers semi-gods. In fact, all those top men were devils and they were no 'gods' by any standard. They exploited the people and became rich, and some among them were the bloodthirsty tyrants. The common people were mostly ignorant and in the modern sense they were uneducated. None of the Kodavas knew to speak or write Kannada although a few top men had known some Hindustani. The Kodavas, like most of the other people of the country, never went to any school till 1800 because there were no schools at all in those days. Moreover, they did not feel the necessity of learning anything as they were happy with their life as farmers with plenty to eat and enjoy. They spent their spare time in hunting wildgame. There existed the system of barter and all their produce used to be bartered to some other products imported from Malabar and Mysore.

The customs and manners, in many cases, were scientific although in some cases there were a few haphazard ways in the rituals that the Kodavas observed. Even then most of the customs observed on various occasions like weddings, funerals etc, their dances, festivities and so on, are, no doubt, spectacular. As dwellers in the densely wooded and hilly countryside, the Kodavas fostered a costume of their own which are again picturerque and impressive, and that is so in the case of both men and women. It was these characteristics, cultures and costumes and also their features made the Europeans of the time to admire these men apart from the political advantage they derived by their Raja being an ally of theirs in their wars against Tipu Sultan. Long before those Europeans of the 1790s had admired the ~~English~~ Kodavas, there have been many records of the earlier days which made references to Kodagu and Kodavas. The Kannada poet Kumara Vyasa was one and he was followed by many writers and poets of Mysore of the 16th and 17th ~~cent~~ centuries. Hyder Ali was ~~an~~ another important personality who had the goodness to see something good in the gallantry and physical features of his enemies- the Kodavas. All such things showed that these 'mountaineers' of about 200 years back had impressed one and all by their remarkable way of life which was second to none in the whole of South India.

These people of 200 years back were, no doubt, hardy because they lived mostly in open space, enjoyed the environments of lovely nature, ate only those nutritious jungle stuff and moved about as carefree happy-goers without any problems whatsoever. But they had many other disadvantages as well. They had to experience four or five months of torrential rain every year from June to October and their dwellings were not in the way one could see these days. In many respects, people lived only under the mercy of Nature and to some extent their own effort, while the Governments were there only in name and as tax-collecting agencies. In all other respects, Governments did little for the people, who had built up their own system of life and organization like the joint family system at home and the panchayat system outside their home.

As to the origin of these people- the Kodavas- who had influenced their own life and that of Coorg's, even 200 years back, and who had been able to get recognised and talked by everyone of the educated and enlightened people of the whole of South India, had been told to some extent elsewhere in a work by this author, in his book published in 1953, and entitled as A TINY MODEL STATE OF SOUTH INDIA, Chapter 33. Further elucidation and departmental and political history was also covered in detail in that book, and then about the facts concerning the recent past was given in ~~further~~ detail by this author in his second book on Coorg, called THE COORG MEMOIRS of 1971. These notes and recollections afford an elaborate account of these people, the Kodavas, of the earlier days, but what is heartening at this point to point out is that by the emergence of Hyder and Tipu Sultan after about 1760, the Kodavas got a unique opportunity to come to limelight, and, indeed, they did come to limelight. Later, after about 1790, the British came to their rescue, and by the year 1800, great things happened, and all that happened during those twenty-five years before the last Mysore War of the year 1799.

Viraraja the Elder (1788- 1808) was a glorified man, because his personal contribution to the political developments of his time was nil, nor did he care to name in his RAJENDRANAME those lieutenants of his who had stood by his side. This man did not seem to have been indebted to the Kodavas who had rescued him from his prison. He had no goodness to speak in terms of appreciation of the Kodavas who had unitedly fought for their land and thus caused his survival go on uninterruptedly. All the same, the man did not also care to tell those Europeans like Taylor, Murray, Macleod, Farmer, Emmatt and Mahoney who wrote reports on Coorg during the 1790s, the names of those Kodavas and others who were in the forefront of the affairs.

Once he got himself established by the help of the Kodavas and the English, this Raja went on in his own way. But in fact, the Kodavas too were not in love with him although they wanted only a symbolic figure to rule over them. But this Shaivaite ruler, whose ancestry was of a dubious type and whose right to rule over Kodagu was itself questioned by many, was an unscrupulous and immoral wreck as many of the chiefs of those days actually were. If the Kodavas had not rescued him from the prison this man would have been a Muslim, and, in fact, there are records to say that Tipu had converted him and others of his family into Muslim religion. By the time he could know what it was all about he was rescued from his prison.

This Viraraja the Elder seemed to have had confidence in his non-Kodava secretary CUM Dewan, Keremane Hombale Nayak. That, perhaps, was understandable. All weak, cowardly and tyrannical rulers do such things even today. They dread the power of the majority and pick up obscure men of their own breed as their henchmen to run their kitchen. In that way this Raja too picked up one Hombale Nayak.

But things did not end with that. Perhaps, in order to strengthen his own position, and also to please his saviour and masters, the East India Company officials, Viraraja

the Elder brought those deserters and defectors from Tipu Sultan's army into Kodagu, and then rehabilitated them as agriculturists by distributing them lands. He also brought a good number of Christians from Mysore after the fall of Srirangapatna and housed them in and around Virarajpet. Of course, he brought also a good many Shivachaars or Lingayats from outside Kodagu, built Mutts for them at various places and endowed large acreage of lands to each of those Mutts in the name of the public service, but all that was done in order to feed his own political ends.

Thus, the man who had no roots in the soil brought in many more rootless men. Such things are always done by men without any political morality or scruples, and as rulers they always forget everything but their own self. It is a tragic thing that such things happen from time to time at the hands of the immoral wrecks. It was to this same pitiable situation, this author referred to in the pages 4I3 to 440 of his COORG MEMOIRS published in I97I, when he spoke of the very menacing atmosphere that existed for a little over four years during I952- I956. Even in such small places it was found that minds of men working treacherously to lay waste the entire land. What Viraraja the Elder did was repeated exactly after I50 years in the I950s by similar junglee gangsters, and it might go on in the same manner even after I50 years. After all, historical evolution takes place and it should take place some way or the other, either for good or bad, but time and time alone can say whether what happened was for good or for the worse.

The history of Kodagu till the end of the eighteenth century was that, and one has yet to know what happened later on. But things that happened after that were much more disappointing and distressing. Before proceeding to the next volume of the story of the nineteenth century, however, it is well-worth giving one more chapter here in the end to know what Viraraja the Elder, Col. Arthur Wellesley, Col. Barry Close, Col. Kirkpatrick and the Governor-General Lord Richard Wellesley, were doing after the war of May I799. Of course, all those whitemen formally and profusely thanked the Raja for his cooperation and goodwill in the conduct of the successful campaign of the war- both at Malavalli and later at Srirangapatna, but they left without saying that the Raja's survival itself was due to their own services to him. Anyway goodwill was reciprocated on both sides, and Kodagu seemed to have gained an added and enhanced prestige and status by this time in the whole country. After that, and in the turn of the century, some more Kodavas came to the forefront, and, new and somewhat fascinating changes were slowly taking place after about I800, but it was a slow process. Modernity was emerging but imperceptibly and it took over one-hundred years to call it truly modern.

CHAPTER XVI

AND, AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY.-

THE 18th CENTURY ENDS:-

Seven more months had to go for the end of the eighteenth century A.D., the century that marked the crucial changes in the affairs of the country, and, of course, of Kodagu as well. The British Government had a hard job at stabilising the situation of their newly won territories in South India including Mysore. With the defeat of Tippu Sultan, the whole of Western and Southern India was under their occupation in spite of the petty Rajas and the Nawabs here and there. The Raja of Kodagu was now fully dependant upon the Company Government, and the latter treated him as their subordinate chief offering him at the same time tributes for 'his gallant services'. The Raja, strengthened by the defeat of a powerful neighbour, began sending his men to the neighbouring territories to suppress the people there who complained to the British on the 'excesses and outrages committed' by the people of Kodagu. As a result of that the Company Government issued a notification stating that:

"That the Secretary (of Fort St. George) address a letter to Capt. Mahoney, Resident "with the Raja of Kodagu, informing him of the numerous complaints that have lately been "made of the excesses and outrages committed by his subjects in the dominions of the late "Sultan, and to convey the wish of the Commissioner to Capt. Mahoney taking effectual means "to put a stop to the evil."

Capt. Mahoney, Resident at the Raja's court in Nalknad, Kodagu, kept on sending some useful information to the English officials at Tellicherry, Fort St. George and Fort St. William (Calcutta). He wrote to Capt. Macaulay, Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, on the 7th June 1799, as below:

"While hostilities continued to be carried on against the dominions of the late Tippu, "the Raja of Kodagu had granted KAUL to the people of many districts in the East and North-"ern frontiers, and even after the reduction of Srirangapatna, others earnestly solicited "and obtained similar security from the Raja so that the entire tract from Heggadadevanakote, "near Wynad to Manjrabad, along the Kodagu frontiers, has thus become partially connected "with his Highness. It is necessary to observe that the Raja's first grants of protection to Tippu's people were the result of that humane and judicious policy which he has always "observed-----In the northern borders troops are stationed because of hostile actions------ "Krishnappa Naik of Balg (Bilgi ?) within the Ghats made several conciliatory efforts with "the Raja of Kodagu-----He was active with a force to raise a revolt in the country who "excites the people of Belur area against the Kodagu Raja-----".

THE RAJA'S HELP TO THE BRITISH:-

Capt. Mahoney gave a clear account of the extent of the Raja's help to the English in the form of grains and other supplies. In his letter of the 25th and of the 26th June I799, from Virarajendrapet, to the Company officers, he said that the Raja collected 3,33,333 Butties of rice (each Butty I20 pounds), and that he had for immediate delivery 2,222 bullocks and five elephants. Mahoney further said that:

"His (the Raja's) very zealous and effectual endeavours in promoting the public service "by various other means were also noticed-----Intimately acquainted with the Raja's conduct "during the war-----I am made to see the services of this extraordinary prince-----.

"The vast supplies of rice thrown into the bazaars and provided at such stations as the "Army occupied during a stay of nearly two months in Kodagu, incurred the full cooperation "of the forces from this side of the peninsula, and though unable to particularise, through-"out the aid which the Raja continued to afford by the supply of coolies. I must notice "the transport of the entire 'Moode Khana' at Honey river to the Commissary's depot above "the Ghat, and some I00 men employed in erecting hospitals for the sick and wounded when "it was deemed advisable to remove to the town-----The removal of I000 gabious and 2000 "fascines from Siddapur to the advanced post at Siddeshwar (hill) was followed by the "immediate assembling of 2000 of the Raja's trusty subjects who were hastily summoned at "this crisis from various distant quarters to convey those materials from Srirangapatna, a "measure which as it was thought of the utmost consequence to the operations of the seige---- "Whilst our troops lay before Srirangapatna the accommodations necessary for the station "here as well as works of precaution both at this place and Heggala required the services "of some I00 men, the greater part of April and May. So soon as the Army was about to "return considerable sheds were erected at the respective halting places throughout Kodagu "after collecting straw etc from different places. About 3000 coolies attended our troops cheerfully aiding in readiness-----Though I shall forbear to particularise the daily instan-"ces of the Raja's hospitality to all in the army, I must notice a supply of more than 3000 "sheep.

"Though the Raja promised a quota of pack cattle-----in all 3030 bullocks of which 2049 "were complete for immediate service. The regional stock of rice stored at this town for "the future calls of the public service was added to, previous to the Ist April last, by "4667 butties,II94 butties were made over to the Commissary depot, for immediate consumption "prior to the departure of the army from these frontiers. Thus the Raja's actual supply "of this to the Company amounted to 39,I94 butties-----.

"I encouraged the Raja to supply further (grain) and later received assurance from him "that as soon as the quantity already provided was taken away I3,000 additional butties "should be deposited in its room-----the estimated rates, there appears due to the Raja "Rs. 366,696 and including other artocles the "sum total must exceed Rs. 4 lakhs".

"many thousands of his own subjects who repeatedly acted as servants to the Bombay Army-----
"assembled 2000 people in order to transport the Gabeons and Fascines made in Kodagu for the
"siege of Srirangapatna------3000 pack bullocks-----4000 butties of rice, five elephants and
"about 3000 sheep-----For all the supplies, the Raja declined receiving any pecuniary indem-
"nification.....I consider it further necessary to affirm that the Raja's daily hospita-
"lity exercised towards all ranks in the Bombay army, proved of service to many, and was high-
"ly acceptable to all----.

"The necessity of some arrangements in view to the future disposal of a vast proportion
"of the grain stored by the Raja during the late war which still remained on hand, requiring
"my attendance at Virarajpet for a few days-----I had previously closed all transactions with
"the Raja in the official character of Resident-----I left Kodagu yesterday morning and now
"on my way to the coast for the purpose of resuming my military functions. Sd) Dennis Maho-
"ney, Resident (late) with the Raja of Kodagu, Irkoor, 20th October I799."

A TOKEN TRIBUTE -ELEPHANT:-

The Company Government were unanimous in their appreciation of the Raja's services and assistance during the war, and, therefore, as a gesture of their reciprocal obligation to the Raja, they made the below said arrangement, and the corresponding letter to that effect was as given below:

"The Right hon'ble Governor-General having announced to Haleri Viraraja of Kodagu on the
"30th of April I799, his determination to relinquish the tribute by the said Raja to the hon'
"ble Company, and only to require hereafter some annual acknowledgement of the Company's
"claim to his allegiance. In pursuance of powers vested in me by John Spencer Esq., Presi-
"dent of the Commission in Malabar, under the immediate authority of the Bombay Government
"for carrying into effect the intention above adverted to, of the Rt. hon'ble the Earl of
"Mornington, I hereby declare and certify that the acknowledgement substituted accordingly
"is in future to consist of one trained elephant which elephant Haleri Viraraja Wodeyar of
"Kodagu, pledges himself to present annually to the hon'ble East India Company in proof of
"fidelity and entire devotion on his part to the Government of the said Company.

"Given under my hand and the seal of the hon'ble Company at Virarajpet, on the I6th of
"October I799. Sd) Capt. Dennis Mahoney."

The Raja in reply to the above letter said that:

"In conformity to this letter, Capt. Mahonney and me, being in Virarajpet, the relinquish-
"ment of the NICKADEE (tribute) which by mutual consent has been annually paid from my count-
"ry to the East India Company, was this day made agreeable to the Company's orders, and with
"infinite satisfaction to me, and in return, I am to train and present annually to the Sarkar
"an elephant in token to all the world, of my fidelity and attachment, even as the son of her
"own womb, to the Sarkar, that protects me for which a SAADHANA KRAMA is executed by both the
"parties, today the I8th Wednesday, October I799. Sd) Viraraja Wodeyar.

"I (conveyed) the spirit of your orders to me so fashioned as to flatter-----The Raja "very cheerfully entered into necessary detail, at the close of which, I took an occasion "to observe to what large amount the Company had become his debtors-----I-----noticed the "value annexed to the cattle and grain-----but expressed the wish of leaving for you to "determine that of the other articles-----and to urge the required settlement-----The Raja "listened to me very patiently and with much good humour and smilingly observed that I "certainly had acted or intended to act the part of an excellent agent to him-----I con-"sidered my duty to call his attention to the present state of Kodagu and the heavy expen-"ses he had incurred in coming forward as he had done in support of the public service, "that a sum which I considered to fall but short of Rs. four lakhs which he thus express-"ed unwillingness to receive it as little became his present moderate circumstances to forgo as it might the Company to give a sanction to the measure. I added fullest assu-"rances that the successful result of his zealous endeavours throughout had far exceeded "the most sanguine expectation of Government and actually proved of the utmost importance. "But that as the sums of money now under consideration were merely intended to defray ex-"penses he had necessarily incurred by special application, a transaction distinct in it-"self, I finally recommended his acquiscence. The Raja soon resumed his usual cheerful-ness but continued to give new instances of sincerity of what he had first declared, occa-"sionally discovering his devotion to English Government and avowing that he had no other "ambition but that of becoming instrumental in promoting its success-----.

"About the sale-----some have come forward with offers which can only have effect on "the return of the fair season, at which time I am apprehensive that a small proportion "only will be merchantable. I have taken every possible measure to encourage purchasers "and am made to hope from the present scarcity of this article in that part of Mysore bor-"dering Kodagu, that some may be disposed of to people of that quarter------ Sd. Capt. "Mahoney, Virarajendrapet, dated the 25th June ~~19~~ 1799.

ABUNDANT SUPPLY OF GRAIN:-

Capt. Dennis Mahnoey relinquished his post of Resident of Kodagu in October 1799, and in pursuance of the orders of the Governor-General, he had an interview with the Raja of Kodagu on the 12th October 1799. During the interview, the Raja expressed his earnest desire that the out-going Resident (Capt. Mahoney) should attest in writing such services as he had performed during the late war. Mahoney, therefore, certified that:

"That in my interview with the Raja throughout my stay with him and even during the "war, I invariably found him disposed to make all his country afforded subservient to the "public service, many essential branches of which he was the principal means of promoting.

"That the abundant supply of grain and other necessary articles of consumption provid-"ed by the Raja's orders-----enabled the Bombay army to advance to Srirangapatna with an "adequate stock of provisions brought on by the Company-----That the Raja supplied many

The above letter about Capt. Mahonney's interview with the Raja, was forwarded to John Spencer, President of the Commissariat in Calicut, on the 24th October I799, and the Governor-General's orders for relinquishing the revenue or tribute that had been payable by the Raja was carried out and the communique sent to the higher quarters by William Page, of Bombay Castle, on the 7th November I799.

Thus, it was evident from the documents that in consideration of the Raja's faithful services, the tribute of Rs. 24,000 payable by him every year was relinquished, and a nominal tribute of a trained elephant substituted, in accordance with the wishes of the Earl of Mornington, the claim of the Company upon his allegiance was established, and he was considered a tributary and dependant, and that the Raja agreed to the treaty that confirmed the whole transactions and conclusions.

"BY FAR THE BEST NATIVE":-

On this subject of the Raja's help to the British, many records are there. R. Montgomery Martin, writing in defence of the last Raja of Kodagu, long after his death in November I866, referred to this same subject and said, that:

"-----On the renewal of the war in I799, the Raja assisted the Bombay Army, under Gen. "Stuart, with servants, elephants, cattle and provisions to an enormous extent, refused "all remuneration, detached a Kodagu expedition into Tulunad, fought the battle of Siddeshwar by the side of Gen. Stuart and wrote a graphic account to the Governor-General Lord "Mornington-----(already quoted).

"The generous appreciation of the Governor-General was keenly felt by the Raja. The "British troops were entertained with profuse hospitality in their routes from Bombay to "Mysore through Kodagu, the Raja declaring that a private English soldier ought to be "carried in a palanquin, and only be allowed to march when he went into battle. Colonel "Beatson officially declared that rice and grain collected in Kodagu for the British Army "was equal to the subsistence of 40,000 men for I59 days, the gram was for 2000 horses "for 20 days. (Rice amounted to 6,360,000 pounds). Gen. Wllesley (later the Duke of "Wellington) wrote that, "by the liberality of the Raja, the Company's treasury is richer "at this moment no less than Rs. six lakhs than it would have been if he had taken payment "of the money expended for supplies furnished by him". In this I do not take into consi-"deration the nature of his services or the time at which they were rendered.

"Gen. Arthur Wellesley travelled to Malabar through Kodagu, and he met the Raja on his "way on the I5th June I80I. He said that, "I have had constant communicat-"ion with him, and I think that he is by far the best native that I have ever met."

"Yet Viraraja, not withstanding his long and intimate acquaintance with the highest

"highest class of British people, British officers and civilians, although like Baird, he "had been Tippu's captive-----and was honoured with heary esteem by the Wellesley brothers. "He also shared the anxiety felt by the native princes throughout India in watching the "rapid dimunition of the power-----."

ARTHUR WELLESLEY:-

Col. Arthur Wellesley was the brother of the Governor-General, the Earl of Mornington, also called Richard Wellesley. Arthur Wellesley came down from Calcutta and took part in the last Mysore War, and subsequently he was appointed as the Resident of Srirangapatna and in charge of ~~all~~ the over-all command of the post-war Mysore. Naturally he had to come in contact with the Raja of Kodagu on many occasions before he testified the latter as "by far the best native" that he ever met. After the war, the Raja kept on writing to the British for some kind of help or the other, and in a letter of the 30th December 1799, Arthur Wellesley wrote to Col. Close, the Resident of Mysore, stating that:

"My dear Colonel, I enclose a letter which arrived yesterday for you from the Raja of "Coorg (Kodagu), and ~~which~~ one which came with it for me. I shall write a civil answer "and not enter into any one of the topics which he has started-----. Sd) Arthur Wellesley."

However, a couple of years later, and after he met the Raja, the Colonel, (Arthur Wellesley, again gave his impression of the Kodagu Raja, according to the despatches of Field Marshall, the Duke of Wellington, published long after the latter's death. He said that:

"In my journey through Koorg (Kodagu) I saw the Raja. He appeared to be much afraid "that we, on the Eastern side of the peninsula, were not aware of the services which he had "it in his power to render to the Company, and that we should listen to his enemies, who, "he said, were very desirous of prejudicing us against him. After a long conversation he "appeared better reconciled to us than he was at first. There is more simplicity in his "manners and in what he says, and apparently more sincerity, than in any native that I have "yet seen. He is much attached to the English, and it would certainly be a misfortune if "he were to be estranged from us."

THE RAJA OF SOONDA:-

After Sir Robert Abercrombie, it was Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington, ~~who~~ who visited Kodagu, was responsible to lay the foundation for the separate statehood of Kodagu, from the year 1800 A.D. to 1947 or up to the year 1956. Col. Arthur Wellesley's recommendations about Kodau and the Kodagu Raja were all carried out by his brother the Governor-General, the Earl of Mornington.

In 1801, the Raja got his first daughter married to the prince of Soonda, and that seem-

seemed to have been an early marraige because the princess Rajammaji must have been young at that time. The bridegroom happened to be from Goa, a son of a petty Raja of the taluq of Soonda. It is wonderful to see the match-making between the people and the parties of distant places as that in those days. A letter from Col. Close, Resident of Mysore, to Capt. Mark Wilks, private Secretary to the Governor, dated the 25th May 1801, said that:-

"An alliance having been long proposed between the Houses of Kodagu and Soonda, I "Have accordingly the pleasure to forward ~~th~~ at the request of the Raja of Kodagu, an "address from him to H.E. the Governor-General the purport of which is to solicit that "means may be taken to induce the Governor of Goa to grant permission to the Soonda Raja "to visit the province of Kodagu for a few months in order that his proposed marriage with the daughter of the Raja may be speedily celebrated."

On the 30th May 1801, Marquess of Wellesley, the Governor General wrote to the Governor of Madras, Lord Clive, stating that:

"My Lord, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship's consideration a copy of a "despatch from the Resident in Mysore accompanied by an address to your Lordship from the "Raja of Kodagu soliciting your Lordship's good offices with the Governor of Goa to ~~fami~~ "facilitate the marriage of the Raja's daughter with the Raja of Soonda, to which the "Resident in Mysore appears to have seen no objection."

PASSPORT ISSUED:-

Issuing a passport to facilitate the travel of Basavalinga Raja of Soonda from Goa to Kodagu, Col. Arthur Wellesley, said in a circular letter to the collectorate of Malabar and Kanara, dated the 19th October 1801, as below:

"I have to inform you that, at the desire of the Governor-General, the Governor of "Goa has permitted the Raja of Soonda to go from Goa into the Koorg (Kodagu) country in "order to marry the daughter of the Raja of Kodagu; and I have sent to the Raja of Soonda "a passport, and I have written to the officers commanding stations in Malabar and Kanara "to request that they will give the Raja of Soonda every assistance, and that they will "show him every attention on his passage through the districts under their command. I "am convinced that your knowledge of the LONG AND FAITHFUL SERVICES RENDERED TO THE COMP-"ANY BY THE RAJA OF KOORG (KODAGU) will induce you to give orders that every attention may be paid by the Company's servants under your authority to a person about to be so nearly "allied to him as the Raja of Soonda on his passage through your district. The Raja of "Kodagu has been in the habit of paying the great attention not only to officers who may "have had occasion to pass through his country, but even to private soldiers-----and large "detachments and even the whole Bombay army. I have been entertained by him; for this

"this reason, I should hope that if it were possible the Raja of Soonda might pass through "the Company's territory, with his small train without expense to himself-----I don't think "that this treatment of him can be drawn into a precedent on any future occasion----."

The marriage between Basavalinga Raja of Goa and Rajammaji of Kodagu was held in December I80I and it was well attended. Capt. Marriot, Capt. D. Foulis and Capt. Ashbourner from Malabar also attended the wedding as representatives of the Company Government. Sode Raja returned home in I802 before the monsoon. He had taken only three months' leave from the Portuguese Government. Viraraja at the same time wished to settle one lakh of rupees of the property held by him in the Bombay Government papers, upon his son-in-law, the Sode Raja, as Rajammaji's portion at her new home was not much.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY MEETS RAJA:-

The last two Mysore wars certainly helped to raise the prestige of both Kodagu and her Raja, especially when the British got so much in the form of money, land and resources. After the war, they had a good deal to do, and Col. Arthur Wellesley thought of personally seeing to the things, and that was about ten months after the war, in March I800. Writing to the Resident, Col. Close, on the 20th March I800, Arthur Wellesley said that:

"----I think that we might employ some of our troops to advantage in clearing the Bisley "Ghat. I have some thoughts of going down to the Malabar coast to have a little conversat- "ion with the gentlemen there. Will you turn over in your mind whether my going through "Kodagu can have any effect upon your negotiations, with the Raja. Perhaps it may be con- "venient to you to meet him at the time when I should wish to go into Malabar-----.

In another letter to Col. Close, written from Virarajpet, Kodagu, on the 30th March I800, Col. Arthur Wellesley said as stated below:

"I arrived here this morning in four marches from Srirangapatna, but they were very long. "It is forty miles to Peryapatna and 25 miles from thence. The Raja came over from Nalknad "this morning and I have been to see him. He received me well, but spoke but little. He "complains of sickness and has really got a fever, and Mr. Trevor is going to stay with "~~with~~ him for a day or two.

"He received your letter immediately previous to my seeing him and as his Persian Munshi "was not here, Ogg read and interpreted it-----I have received from Col. Sartorius the copy "of the letter written to him by the Commissioners in Malabar in which they desire that at "least the native part of the troops collected for the expedition of Wynad may be suffered "to remain in Malabar-----At present I see no objection-----for these troops to remain in "Malabar-----The country from Siddeshwar hill is an almost continued jungle. I had scarece- "ly room to encamp at Siddapur. In the neighbourhood of the place there is some cultivat-

"cultivation; but this magnificent capital is about of the same extent and has a similar "appearence to a country town in Ireland.

"I propose to get down the Ghat tomorrow and to be at Cannanore on the 2nd of April. "Yours most sincerely, Sd) Arthur Wellesley."

THE RAJA EXPLAINS:-

From Virarajpet, Col. Arthur Wellesley, the man who defeated Napoleon, and then became the Duke of Wellington, and the prime minister of England, proceeded towards Malabar, and from his Stony River camp, he wrote on the 31st March 1800 about the talk he had with the Raja of Kodagu, in the following terms:

"My dear Colonel (Close), After I had written to you yesterday, the Raja sent me to "me to say that he would pay me a visit. He began by saying that he had intended to meet "me at his frontier, but I had not given him notice of the day on which I intended to "leave Srirangapatna, and that he had been so ill on the day that he heard that I was "at Peryapatna, and that he had not been able to quit his house. He then said that as "I was going to Cannanore, I should see the Bombay gentlemen and should have an opportu-"nity of conversing with them about him, and they would tell me whether he was such a man "as he had been represented to be----He then from the beginning to the end related the history of his connection with Hyder and Tippu and with us; and he repeatedly said that "the Brahmins were his enemies. He declared that from the commencement of his connection "with the British Government to this day, he had never done anything relative thereto "without an order from them, or from their agents, which he could produce, and offered "to do so for my satisfaction. I then took an opportunity of telling him that I had "nothing to do with political matters; that he would soon see you, that you had been many "years in this country, had a perfect knowledge of its affairs etc, and that you were not "ignorant of the nature of his connection with the Company. I recommended it to him to "listen to what you should say to him as to the advise of his best friend. He said that "if he was sufficiently recovered, he would go with me to Srirangapatna-----of which he "said he had informed you. After having stayed about three hours, he went away.

"It appeared to me that pains had been taken to induce him to believe that we (Mad-"ras people) were prejudiced against him and that we listened to Brahmins----He repeated-"ly said that we could not be aware of the services which he had it in his power to render "to the Company-----I am of opinion however that a little better acquaintance, more com-"munication and a little gentle treatment will remove all these impressions.

"He speaks Moorish fluently, but Ogg says, with an idiom that belongs, he supposes, "to his own language; he has more simplicity, and apparently more sincerity in his manners "as well as in what he says, that any Native I have seen.

"It struck me as remarkable in conversation that he should have urged repeatedly "that he had orders for everything he had ever done either from the Company Government or

"or their agents-----The Raja was better this morning and went to Nalknad when I came "here. He had still however some fever-----. Sd) Arthur Wellesley.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY SPEAKS ON:-

Colonel Arthur Wellesley, later the Duke of Wellington and a victor of the Napoleonic wars, was also a hero of the last Mysore war and later of the Mahratta wars. All his letters were compiled and published under the name of Wellington Despatches, long after his death,in I862, and his letters from I799 to I805 have much to say about what happened at Mysore and Kodagu during those times. Col. Wellesley wrote to Col. Close after reaching Cannanore, and in his letter of the 6th April I800, he again mentioned about the Raja said, that:

"-----I hear from Kodagu that the Raja is better although still weak-----I propose to "go to Tellichery tomorrow-----I shall let you know whether the Raja will come with me "either to Srirangapatna or Peryapatna, and I will stay with him a day or two in order to "give you time to set out from Srirangapatna-----I think-----that the Raja will come out "to Peryapatna at least-----. Sd) Arthur Wellesley."

In another letter of the 7th April I800, Col. Wellesley wrote that:

"The vantage ground on which he stood as creditor could not make the Raja forget that "his principality was bordered by the dominions of his powerful debtor, he had also good "reason for considering that his steady adherence had not been appreciated at its due value--

The Editor of the 'Wellington Despatches' stated that, "Gen. Wellesley listened with "patient sympathy to Viraraja's complaints and represented his borther (Governor-General "the Earl of Mornington), the Raja's fear, "that the English on the eastern side of the "Peninsula were not aware of the services which he had had it on his power to render to the "Company, who, he said, were desirous of prejudicing us against him."

Thus it seemed to have been a good augury and luck for Kodagu and her people that during those crucial years of I790 to I793, there were Governor-General Lord Cornwallis and General Abrecrombie, and during the years of I799 to I804, there were Governor General Lord Wellesley and his brother Col. Arthur Wellesley, who were all well-disposed towards the Raja and the people of Kodagu, and it was the repeated assurances, complements, tributes and genuine good wishes that helped Kodagu and her people to come up to the limelight during those days, even though Kodagu was too small then as it is now and the number of people, mainly the Kodavas, was very few.

BUCHANAN'S JOURNEY:-

Col. Francis Buchanan was a great scholar, explorer and Indologist of that time who

who had produced great scholarly works in scores of volumes in Burma, North India and elsewhere. Governor-General Earl of Mornington sent him to Mysore after the last Mysore war to do some field work on their newly acquired territories, and Sir Francis Buchanan, a scholar and linguist, set up on his expedition from Mysore through Kodagu, Kanara and Malabar to Coimbatore and other districts. Col. Buchanan's travelogue came out in three volumes in 1807, in London, and that was one of the excellent works of the time. While passing through Peryapatna on the 10th September 1800, Francis Buchanan obtained the following historical account of the place, and he wrote that:

"Near Peryapatna are many small pools and contain water throughout the year----Rain "is not sufficient to bring a crop of rice. I am told that in Kodagu or Koorg country, "the rains are fully sufficient for the purpose-----.

"Peryapatna or Priyapatna, formerly belonged to a Paleygar family named Nanda Raja. "These princes were related to the Raja Viraraja of Codugu (Kodagu) and both families wore "the Linga. The territories of Nanda Raja included two districts of Peryapatna and "Bettadpura, producing an annual revenue of 30,000 pagodas. At that time, the fort was "small-----Chikkadeva Raja's wars were mainly with Virarayas (or Viraraja-s) of Kodagu----.

"On Tippu's accession, to distress the inhabitants of Kodagu, and thus to make Vira- "raya to submit to his authority, he interdicted all communications with that country; and "ordered that all such of its people as might be found in his dominions should be instant- "ly put to death. This restraint was felt by the Kodagu people who were entirely surround "ed by the dominions of Tippu, and no means of selling their produce nor of procuring fore- "ign commodities. Viraraja sent an embassy to Tippu and represented that it had always "been customary for his merchants to trade with those of Mysore and Malayala and that he "was forced by necessity to require that his custom should be abolished. He received "no answer but contemptuous defiance-----Seventeen years ago Viraraja was confined by "Tippu for four years in Peryapatna with a yearly allowance of 300 Pagodas for a subsis- "tance. The walls of the hovel in which he was confined are still shown-----One of his "sisters was forced into the Zenana of Tippu, and to her intercessions the Raja probably "owed his life."

BUCHANAN IN KODAGU:-

Sir Francis Buchanan was another great scholar, Indologist and statesman of the last century who had visited Kodagu while passing through that territory to Kanara and Malabar. His observations on Kodagu and the adjoining areas he visited, were as under:

"The Kodagu country deprived of its active gallant prince, fell under the yoke of "Tippu who built in it a fortress called Jaffarabad and placed a strong garrison. After "four years, the Raja was set at liberty by twelve Gowdas or chiefs of villages who enter-

"entered the town in a concealed manner and carried their master with his own dominions "where he was instantly joined by all ranks of people; and Tippu's possessions there were "too soon confined with the walls of Jaffarabad. The Raja's troops were quite unfit for "beseiging supplies and was able to prevent Tippu's troops from entering into the country, "and was also able to plunder the dominions of Mysore.

"The raja also made repeated demands of assistance from the Bombay Government request- "ing for regular troops to enable him to destroy the enemy's fortress and as Gen. Abercrombie's Harmy ascended the Ghat about the time when Jafferabad was evacuated-----After this the Kodagu "soldiers repeatedly plundered Peryapatna area and took cattle etc as their booty.

"Siddeshwara and Bettadpura are the most conspicuous mountains of the Kodagu country---- "There is no trade in Madikeri and Nalknad, the two places where the Raja usually resides----- "Weekly market in Virarajendrapet, five or six thousand ox-loads of rice pass through Perya- "patns annually-----The eastern boundary runs through Hanagodu-----.

"Kumbla produced an annual revenue of I5,000 Ikkeri Pagodas. Before I799-war, the Raja "lived in Tellichery on a pension from the Company which has been doubled since the Company "got possession of that and now the Raja stays in Kumbla. The Kodagu Raja in I799, under "the pretence of assisting the English, made an incursion into the country and swept away "all the people he sould seize-----and the people are now desirous of returning home. The "Bangar Raja, also a Jain, was hanged by Tippu-----Bantwala had 200 houses. In the last war "(of Mysore), the Kodagu Raja destroyed them (through Biddanda Bopu's expedition) and carried "away half the inhabitants-----Kodagu Raja attacked Mangalore also when Tippu had placed a "Killedar in the Fort where the residence of an Aesoph (Muslim ?), who governed Kanara on be- "half of Tippu Sultan-----"

This account of Dr. Francis Buchanan on Mysore, Kodagu, Kanara amd Malabar, in three vol- umes run over I500 folio pages of very large size, and is of an absorbing interest.

ABOUT AMARA- SULYA AGAIN:-

While making the territorial adjustments after the last Mysore war, the Company Govern- ment came across the districts of Amara, Sulya and Yelusavirasime which were claimed by the Kodagu Raja as his. The Governor-General's letter of the I5th January I800, to Lord Clive, Governor of Madras, was as below:

"------The validity of the Kodagu Raja's title to the districts of Amara, Sulya and Yelu- "savirasime, is not now a proper object of consideration. If we did not recognise his right "to those districts, we manifested our determination to secure to him the undisturbed posse- "ssion of them in the propositions to Tippu during the siege of Srirangapatna requiring that "the Sultan should relinquish for ever all pretensions to the districts in favour of the Raja "of Kodagu.

"Nothing having occurred since that period to weaken the claims of the Raja or the grati- "tude or generousity of the Company, it behoves us to give full effect to our original intent-

"intention of securing to him in the terms of Peace the just reward of his services in the "war. Besides it is of importance to consider that with respect to the district of Amara "and Sulya situated below the Western Ghats, the Raja appears to have holden possession of "them with little molestation ever since I792. It is therefore evident that we cannot "reasonably or justly hesitate to confirm him in the peaceable possession of those districts.

"The case is no doubt different with regard to Yelusavirasime, of which the Raja does "not appear to have been at any time in possession since the Peace of Srirangapatna in I792. "As however he always asserted his right to that district and it was my intention to secure "it to him in the event of concluding a treaty with late Tippu. I am now disposed to ful- "fil that intention. I therefore request your Lordship will direct the Resident in Mysore "to adopt the requisite measures for the purpose without delay. No difficulty is likely "to occur in finding an equivalent for Yelusavirasime (which under the treaty of Mysore be- "long to the Raja of Mysore) in some convenient part of the Company's possession above the "Ghats------.

"With respect to Wynad, my opinion is that any consideration of the pretensions of the "Pychy Raja previously to our taking possession of the district under the treaty of Mysore "would be fatal to the authority of the Company. No compromise must therefore be admitted "on this subject. The authority of the Company must be established in Wynad, and the "Pyche Raja should presume to resist the measure, his contumacy must be punished with the "most signal severity-----." Sd) Lord Mornington, G.-G.

ABOUT YELUSAVIRASIME AGAIN:-

On the same day, i.e. the I5th January I800, the Resident of Mysore, Col. Close, address ed a letter to the Governor of Madras, on the above subject of Yelusavirasime, in which he explained that:

"Being directed by my instructions to arrange with the Dewan of Mysore for cession of "Yelusavirasime to the Raja of Kodagu, I take occasion to forward a short account of that "district, collected from the records and principal revenue servants of Mysore-----. By the "schedules prepared in I792, Arkalgode which comprises Yelusavirasime is rated at 4300 "pagodas per annum of which I300 pagodas refer to Yelusavirasime, so that as an equivalent "for the cession, the Government of Mysore should receive from the hon'ble Company a port- "ion of territory yielding annually a revenue equal to the later sum.

"It appears that the whole of Yelusavirasime according to its ascertained limits is now "in possession of the Raja of Kodagu, who is occupying the district, adjoining the taluqs-- "----It being likewise in contemplation that the districts of Amara and Sulya below the "Ghats, which are also laid down in the sketch, shall be ceded to the Raja of Kodagu----I "forward----the extract of a letter from the Collector of Kanara to Major Macaulay, then "acting Resident in Mysore, respecting ten villages which seem to have anciently belonged "to Amara but ~~which~~ of which the rents were allotted by Tippu's Amaldar of Bekul till after "the fall of Sriramgapatna when they were occupied by the Raja of Kodagu in whose possess-

"possession they still remain. Sd) Col. Close, Resident."

In another long letter of the same date, the I5th January I800, Col. B. Close wrote to the Government as follows:

"----When some disputes arose between Naranayya and Amildar of Arkalgode after some "years and the people of Yelusavirasime, it was put under separate management of Mohideen "Ali, Amildar of Maharajadurg- for two years. Later for two years, it was under Rajib Ali, Amildar of Zafarabad or Madikeri and was after that was again united to Arkalgode. Later "it was about five years back it was divided into several portions and was called Second "Arkalgode and was under an Amildar named Abdul Azeez and Shirestedar Govinda Raw who till "last year collected revenues.

"Yelusavirasime is between Manjrabad and Arkalgode, and it does not appear probable that "it was made a part of Kodagu. The people of Kodagu have dug ditches along their frontier "which do not enclose any part of Yelusavirasime. Upon the fall of Srirangapatna, the Raja "of Kodagu occupied it with his troops. The Jamabandy of Arkalgode and Yelusavirasime as "specified in I792, was 4300 Pagodas, and Yelusavirasime collection is I300 pagodas. Sd) "Col. B. Close, Resident,"

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE:-

Some more letters were exchanged on the same subject and on the administrative set up of these small districts and allied matters. Lord Clive, Governor of Madras wrote to the Resident of Mysore on the 3rd February I800, as under:

"-----On a reference to Mr. Uthioff's letters of the 3rd and the 7th July I799, to the "Commissioner for the Affairs of Mysore, you will observe that the wishes of the Raja of "Kodagu extend beyond the possession of the districts which I have named. But, although "the Governor-General entertains a very high sense of the merit of the Raja of Kodagu and "wishes to reward with liberality his zealous and loyal adherence to the interests of the "Company, it is evidently impracticable to comply with his views relative to a new bounda- "ry in the manners suggested by Mr. Uthioff. Possibly ne weighty objection may exist against "granting to the Raja the two small districts of Panja and Bellare below the Ghats-----".

Writing another letter to Col. Close on the 2Ist February I800, Lord Clive also made the following observations on the affairs concerning Kodagu, stating that:

"Received the communication of the Earl of Mornington's sentiments regarding the conduct "of the Raja of Kodagu-----Although perfect concord appears to subsist between the people "of Kodagu and Mysore, the contact between the two countries is likely to be interrupted "owing partly to the prejudices of the Kodagu(people) who are stated to be averse to quit "their jungles and partly to the jealousy of the Raja who is disinclined to permit strangers "to traverse his country.

"It being of the utmost importance in a commercial military and political view that a free

"free communication should be maintained by the route of Kodagu between Mysore and the "coast of Malabar. It is incumbent on you to endeavour to remove these impediments---- "Sd) Lord Clive, Governor, Fort St. George."

Long after the above letter was written, the Governor of Madras wrote another letter to the Resident of Mysore, Col. Close, dated the 6th January 1801, stating that:

"-----Although the case of the unfortunate captives from Mysore still detained by the "Raja of Kodagu, affords little ground for hope under the opinions, which he appears to "entertain on that subject. I am nevertheless desirous that you should try to effect on "the mind of this chieftain by a prospect of the liberation of the women of his own family "in yielding to considerations of compassion for sufferings which he himself has created— "---I authorise you to exercise a discretionary power as well in the case of Kodagu family "as in that of the connections of the Raja of Mysore who are in either of the Mahals at "Srirangapatna. Sd) Lord Clive, 6th January 1801."

THE RAJA REMUNERATED:-

Thus while making the territorial adjustments, the Company Government had always been having a soft corner for the Raja of Kodagu in view of his great services during the last two Mysore wars. In a communique of the 15th December 1802, Col. Wellesley said that:

"----We owe him (the Raja) much; the position of his country is highly important to "us, and it is more so to our character in this country to keep him in the situation in "which he is."

Later in 1803, the Governor-General further remunerated the services that was rendered to the British Government by the Raja ceding to him districts out of the Kanara Province, yielding an annual revenue of about 24,011 Pagodas or Rs. 72,033. The Marquiss of Wellesley's brother, Col. Wellesley, had borne his testimony to the Raja's services,many times. In a letter to Lord Clive, Col. Wellesley stated that no part of Mysore territory could be given to the Raja for political reasons, and then said in his letter of the 1st January 1803, stating that:

"The services of the Raja of Kodagu, however, still deserves remuneration. It appears "by Capt. Mahoney's accounts that he expended sums of money and furnished supplies of catt- "le and provisions, in the late wars, of a value amounting to about Rs, 4 lakhs. If he had consented to be reimbursed this expenditure, he would have received the bonds of Bombay "Government for this sum of money, bearing interest at 12 percent per annum, in the beginn- "ing of the year 1799, and in this manner would have added Rs. two lakhs to the above sum. "It may, therefore, be fairly concluded that by the liberality of the Raja, the ~~Company's~~ "Company's treasury is richer at this moment, by not less than six lakhs of rupees, than "it would have been if he had taken payment of the money expended, and for the supplies

"supplies furnished by him. In this view of the question-----I have stated particularly "what the supplies furnished by him would have cost the Company if they had been furnished "by another person, as I found thereon the amount of remuneration which I intend to recommend "your Lordship to grant him."

However, Viraraja was now left in the free and full possession of his principality, and lived on the most friendly terms with the Residents of Mysore, the Madras Governor, Sir George Barlow and Lord Bentinck, and Marquess of Wellesley, the Governor-General.

A SWORD PRESENTED:-

The British Government showed utmost courtesy and generousity to the Raja of Kodagu, and it could be said that no one and nowhere in those days got a treatment like that as this petty chieftain got. In 1804, the Governor-General "under instructions from England acknowledged the long and faithful service of the Raja by the highest mark of respect which can be paid to an Indian prince" A handsome sword accompanied with the letter of the Governor-General, was presented to the Raja on the 23rd May 1804, by Gen. Harris with one of his palanquins and one of his Howdahs. The Company Government also commutted the money payment of the tribute into the gift of an elephant to be presented to them annually. The letter of Marquess Wellesley to the Raja dated the 23rd May 1804 said that:

"I have had frequent occasions to express to you the sentiments of approbation with which "I have contemplated the zeal and attachment which you have uniformly manifested during a long "course of years towards the British Government. I have apprised of the views and wishes "which you entertain with respect to an extension of your territory-----.

"Being fully impressed with a sense of your merits as a faithful friend and adherent of the "British Government, and being anxious to afford you a proof of the sentiments of regard and "respect which I entertain for your character, I have directed Capt. Mahoney, who formerly re-"sided with you----to proceed to your court for the purpose of carrying into effect the arrange-"ments which I have adopted for an extension of your territory. I refer you for information "respecting the details of this arrangement to Capt. Mahoney-----.

"As an additional mark of ~~respect~~ my personal regards and esteem, I request your acceptance "of a sword which will be transmitted to Capt. Mahoney----for the purpose of being presented "to you in my name. Sd) The Marquess of Wellesley, Governor-General."

The Secret Proceedings of the Eighteen thirties concerning Kodagu, said that:

"Although in 1799, the Company's claim to the Raja's allegiance became more distinctly mark-"ed by documents, the Raja's services had been so much increased and had risen so much in pub-"lic estimation since 1793 that it is not probable-----to interfere in the Raja's interior "management of the country----The actual interference exercised by the British Government in "the interior management from 1793 to 1833, has been very little."

Conclusion

MUTHANNA'S RECORDS 208

History of Coorg.

(Volume Two)

1800 AD – to 1935 AD.

By

I. M. Muthanna
July 1974.

DR. I. M MUTHANA,
M.A.(B.O.L.),B.T.(MADRAS)
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112/4

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HISTORY OF KODAGU.
(Coorg)

VOLUME TWO.

1800 to 1935 AD.

90

BY

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(Dr.I.M.Muthanna)

HISTORY OF KODAGU.

VOLUME II.

CHAPTER I.

LAST DAYS OF VIRARAJA THE ELDER.

The Raja- A Good Friend:

From the day Viraraja the Elder rejoiced at the news of Tippu's fall and ordered a salute of twenty-one guns at Madikeri in May 1799, for the next four or five years, he was repeatedly congratulated, honoured and awarded with presents by the British statesmen. The Raja also became a widely respected man, and showers of tributes were poured on him from many quarters. Writing to the Commissioner of Malabar, Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General of India, said, that:

> "-----I rejoice in the friendship of the Raja of Kodagu-----I have viewed with utmost contempt and indignation, the weak and insiduous attempt of Tippu to cast doubts upon the faith of an ally whose attachment, integrity and wisdom have secured the affection and admiration of the British Government."

After the last Mysore War, many Britishers became Raja's friends. General Floyd took the Raja round the artillery when the latter expressed his wish to possess one of the dragoon swords, and the General thereupon presented him with his own sword in token of his friendship. General Harris, as already said in the previous volume, expressed his high regard for him, and sent him one of Tippu's horses, Howdahs, etc. When the General asked him what he wishes to have from him, the Raja told him his wish to have a sword with the Company's and Lord Wellesley's arms engraved on it as a token of friendship with the English, and that was done accordingly. Six MAGANEs belonging to South Kanara district was also transferred to his territory as a reward for his timely help during the war. The agreement bond drafted in Virarajpet soon after the war in October 1799, as already said, between Captain Mahoney and the Raja, on behalf of their respective Governments, specified that:

> "The NAZUR paid in money (Rs. 24,000) to the British should cease, and the Raja, as a mark of friendship shall yearly make a present of an elephant to the Company."

These terms were carried out from 1800 to 1804. Furthermore, Lord William Bentinck, Governor of Madras, ordered the repayment of corrent year's revenue into the Kodagu treasury and thus fulfilled the commands of the Governor-General in making over the country to the Raja as recompense for his manifold services to the Company. Sir George Barlow, Governor-General, wrote a formal letter to the Raja stating that the war broke out between the English and the French and the Spanish nations, and that was his privilege to inform him that news out of a friendly gesture. Later when the war ended with success to the English, the Raja reciprocated expressing his pleasure to the good news.

The Boundary Adjustments:

Viraraja the Elder wanted to set right the boundaries of his small kingdom, and,

and, therefore, addressed a long letter to Lord Marquess of Wellesley. In reply, the Raja was told to meet Col. Barry Close, who was empowered to decide about the boundaries. It was made clear to the Company that since Capt. Mahoney was familiar with details and since Col. B. Close must have been prejudiced by the men of the late Tippu Sultan, at Srirangapatna, the Raja desired to see the former and not the latter. But the East India Company Government sent one Peille to decide on the boundary dispute, and the Raja received him and produced all documents relating to that. The Raja of Mysore had written to the Raja of Kodagu, that:

> "Formerly the boundary of Kodagu extended to the ditch of Siddapur beyond which the Raja of Kodagu had no domain; that previous to Kodagu being over-run there were twenty-seven villages in Chennankote hobli in the Peryapatna taluk------and near the said ditch constituted the Jaghir in possession of the men of Hyder Ali's time and at the same time Siddapur ditch was the boundary------and after the Company got possession of Srirangapatna in 1799, the Raja of Kodagu took possession of twenty-seven villages of the Chennankote hobli of Peryapatna taluq....."

On this the Raja of Kodagu gave his statement what was called EEZARNAAMA, in which he stated about Tippu Sultan's sabotage, his going over to Madikeri, changing its name to that of Jaffarabad, calling Talekaveri, a place of Hindu pilgrimage, as Abzullabad, and about the coming of his brother-in-law Burranuddin to Kodagu with an army. The Raja said that when the Bombay army passed through Virarajpet, Ammathi, and Siddapur, he had placed guards at Siddeshwara hill, and he had considered that as his frontier, and had not advanced beyond that. One Mr. Emmatt, an engineer, was sent to Kodagu, and he examined and then approved the boundary marks. The Raja gave several proofs to show that he claimed the areas that he had pointed out as the boundary of his State since a long time, and he was ready to swear that he had assumed no territory but his own.

Mr. Peille and party went down towards the West to Subramanya where they enquired the ryots of South Kanara, Kodagu and Mysore about the boundaries. They pointed it out from Magadi from where the river Kumaradhara rose and where the districts of Kodagu, Mysore and that of the Company Government met. From there they pointed out the boundary as far as KADEGY MOONDE NULLA, exactly as Mr. Emmatt marked and lined it out.

The Boundary Demarcation:

Messers Peille and Mackenzie measured the apot around the area and ordered 196 stones to be made flat with the Company's mark on the top, that of the Raja of Mysore on one side and of the Raja of Kodagu on the other side. Major Mackenzie drew a plan for reference. The Raja approved the measure and arranged to dig ditches from one stone to the other and ordered stone-cutters from Puttur. By the Article 7 of the treaty of 1792, it was understood that if any dispute arose between the boundaries, a deputation should be sent from both sides to settle it. Therefore, if any army made a forcible entry it led to dispute between the two nations.

The Commissioners of Malabar had taken that Amara and Sulya had belonged to the Raja. The Panje and Bellare districts were ordered to be retained by the Raja. Peryapatna,

Bettadpura and Arkalgode were ceded to Mysore State. The Governor of Bombay wrote that:

"The Raja of Mysore had become independent and the throne had been conferred upon the family of the former Rajas of the State. You are informed that a Resident would constantly remain at Mysore and if you have anything to do, it would be proper to employ the medium of the British Resident."

The Raja in turn claimed Peryapatna since it formerly belonged to his relations. He pointed out the boundaries and stones that were placed at Gudur and Kodagarahalli. The Raja wished that an enquiry be made in the matter and asked as the former dominion of the Rajas of Mysore had been given to them, the ancient territory of Peryapatna might also be made over to him. The Article 5 released by the Government of India after sometime decided for ever all claims to the disputed areas belonging to Kodagu and Mysore. The Raja wrote to James Stevens of Tellicherry, that:

"It is already three months since I ordered my confidential agent at Mahe to pay the tribute to the Company. As Captain Mahoney is not with us, there may be some delay. I am very glad that you are now the First Magistrate in Tellicherry. May you be on, as friendly terms with me as Mr. Taylor was and look upon my weal and woe as upon yours."

In another letter to J. Stevens, the Raja of Kodagu, after the war of 1799, wrote that:

"------Since the English commenced war with Tippu, I have assisted the Bombay army. As to Poornayya of Mysore, he is, and remains a Brahmin. His caste and mine dislike each other. In the time of Tippu he blackened my name and prospecuted me, and now he is a master in the country, and, therefore, he distributes offices amongst his friends and relations; blackmails me through his officers and even submits complaints against me to the English Government."

The Raja's Frustration:

With all the encomiums and showers of tribute, the Raja received, and in spite of so much esteem shown to him by the members of the alien Government, he was not a happy man. It was true that he helped the British during the wars, but that help was due to his own selfish motives. ~~he rendered.~~ The Raja had expected much as a reward and not only swords, horses and Howdahs. He thought that the whole of Peryapatna taluq ruled by his ancestors would be annexed to his territory. He also expected that the whole of Puttur, Kasaragode, Kumbla, and areas even up to Mangalore would be annexed to his dominions, but the British were too clever for him. They annexed some small MAGANEs that were touching Kodagu in the West and north-east and reduced his yearly tribute of Rs. 24,000 to just an elephant. With all this, the British, as conquerors, were too good towards him and to the royal family of Mysore. They restored these petty chiefs to their thrones and assured them of safety and solidarity, provided of course, if they behaved well, and they had to behave well. But the Indians rarely behave well, and, as a result, most of those fellows of the time had to disappear from the scene due to their own fault although they were very good in abusing and cursing others. The Raja of Mysore lost his hold after thirty-one years of the last Mysore war, and the Kodagu Raja after thirty-three years.

Selfishness, greed and cruelty did not afford any peace of mind to Viraraja the Elder from 1804 or so, when Captain Mahoney arrived in Madikeri with a letter from the Governor-

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Governor-General informing the Raja that six MAGANEs of South Kanara would be transferred to him. Those districts yielded 24,897 PAGODAs.

But the Raja, on the whole, was not satisfied with all that had happened. Many Englishmen, however, kept on visiting his court and most of them came from Malabar side. Some of them had visited during the wedding of his daughter Rajammaji. John Torin, Alex. Bell, Lieut. Parsons, Capt. McDowell, Capt. King and others had attended the ceremony. The last named two men came from Srirangapatna. They accompanied the Raja in hunting deer, tigers, elephants, etc and thus they used to have a good time.

It was during that time, early in 1806, Sir George Barlow, wrote acquainting with the victory achieved in October 1805 by the English fleet over the fleets of France and Spain at Trafalgar where the English became a supreme naval power. The Raja replied that he greatly rejoiced at these good news and that his prayer was for the prosperity of the English SARKAAR, he said.

The Raja's Family:

Linga Raja I of the 1770's, who secured the throne from his cousin Devappa Raja with the help of Hyder Ali had three sons, Viraraja, Lingaraja II and Appaji. Linga Raja ruled from 1774 to 1780, and soon after his death, Hyder Ali imprisoned his three sons and some other members of the family at Gorur, and later Tippu Sultan shifted them to Peryapatna. Tippu invaded Kodagu in 1783 and sent his men many times after that but luckily the British came to the Raja's help. The Kodagu people had begun to try to secure the British help from 1783 onwards, and in the end of the year 1789, they sent one Mutha Bhatta to Tellicherry with a letter signed by the young Raja who had fled from Peryapatna with the help of a dozen of his trusted lieutenants who were Kodavas. After this, the rest of the things happened during the later fifteen years from 1790 to 1805.

According to the accounts of the year 1809, Viraraja's first wife was Muddammaji. After some time, he married Mahadevammaji. His daughter by his first wife was Rajammaji and she was married to the Raja of Soonda of Goa. His favourite second wife's daughter was Devammaji and she was eight years old in 1809. His other three daughters were six, three and one-and-a-half years old respectively. Apart from these, it is said that he had seven illegitimate children- all boys by different women.

His youngest brother Appaji Raja had eleven children- mostly boys. Lingaraja II had Virappa, later to become the Viraraja the Younger, and another girl. He also had some illegitimate children, according to the Court physician, Dr.Ingledew.

On the 3rd January 1806, Rajammaji, the Rani of Sode, delivered a son, and he was named Sadashiva Raja. He was the first grand-son of the Raja while the latter's favourite wife Mahadevammaji bore him two daughters. The below account is given in the book, "The Last Rajas of Coorg" of 1857, written by "An Officer", that:

> "The Raja would have lived and died happy if he had a son and heir, had not mistrusted his near relatives, and if his violent temper had not often carried him beyond the bounds of humanity. He lived in a constant dread of poison-----He committed acts which he sincerely regretted when he recovered his reason-----caused by drugs administered to

to him-----In 1807, he caused a history of his house written, called Rajendraname----- It was translated by Lieut. Abercrombie and published in English at the expense of the Government of Madras-----".

No Male Heir:

The concluding lines of the book, "RAJENDRANAAME" which was got written by the Raja, affords a glimpse of the alternations of hope and fear which agitated his heart. It was said that:

"On the 7th of PUSHYA month of Raktakshi year (1805), Capt. Mahoney brought the sword sent by Marquess Wellesley from Bengal, and fastened it around the Raja's waist. In the MAAGHA month (February 7, 1806) Viraraja told him for the imformation of the Governor-General that on the day of his second marriage when he sat on the throne with his Raani, he had determined that any son of his by this wife should be his successor; that his wife had borne him two daughters. If any son hereafter be born of her, he would be the heir, but if it was the will of God that she should bear no son, then the three sons of his concubines called Rajashekarappa, Shishushekarappa and Chandrashekarappa should succeed to the throne. Since the above date, two more daughters, in all four, have been borne by Mahadevammaji, who died at 3'0 clock on Sunday the 7th month of JEYSHTA, of the PRABHAVA year. As by her death, the Raja's hopes of having a son by her were blasted and he was afraid, lest, if the succession devolved on the sons of another mother, they would create trouble to the four daughters of his lawful queen. The Raja determined that of the four daughters, the eldest should be married, and whatever son she might have, he should be named Viraraja, receive the Raja's seal and the sword which was presented by Wellesley and be the successor to the throne. If she should however have no son, the son of either of her younger sisters, according to seniority, should be the successor------upon the family of his four daughters being extinct, the fittest of the above three sons or their posterity should succeed. The Raja, sensible to the instability of human life------thought proper now-----to record this matter in order that no wrong hereafter occur; and he requests that English Government will be the guardian of his family and see the execution of the will attended to.

"The Raja kept a copy of this, affixed his seal and signature, in the palace treasury. This proves the Raja's fondness to his four daughters of his legal Raani and his confidence in the English Government."

Raja's Mental Condition:

The RAJENDRANAAME and several other records have said that the mental state of the Raja's health in his last days, was seriously upset. It was said that:

"The Raja was suffering from mental excitement. In May 1807, the Raani died suspected of sorceries. He too dreaded a similar fate. There was a conspiracy in which the whole of his Kodagu guards were implicated, and it was suppressed by a massacre in the palace yard, of 300 people by the African people (the Siddis) in the pay of the Raja. The Raja is said to have himself shot twenty-five of the insurgents from a balcony window.

"From then on, the Raja was very gloomy and sad. He wanted the East India Company to settle his succession, but it was not clearly done. He became more suspicious. He mistrusted his two brothers, Lingaraja II and Appaji, and despatched two excutioneers to bring him their heads. He repented after it was too late, when Appaji s head was not saved. Linga Raja II had escaped. The Raja tried to commit suicide twice and both the times Dr, Ingledew treated him. The Company Government pardoned the Raja for all his evil deeds.

Henry Grame's report, dated the 20th March 1834, deals with this part of the story of the Raja, and says that:

"Till 1809, at the time of the Raja, in a state of extreme excitement, if not of insanity, had put to death one at a time a great number of people. On such an occasion, the Supreme Government seemed to regard our interference as imperative and the Chief

Chief Secretary at Fort William remarks in a letter to Fort St.George Government, on 3rd April 1809, that the unhappy circumstances under which the Raja committed the acts of violence noticed in Mr. Cole's report------must be considered to exempt him from reproach, but that the Governor-General cannot contemplate with the same indulgence, the blind obedience of the agents of those sanguinary deeds to the mandates of suspended reason------and no doubt the Governor will judge it desirable to provide, by proper instructions to the Resident at Mysore, against recurrence of similar acts-----".

The Raja's Eccentricities:

One Laxmana Rao, formerly a Dewan for some time in the time of Viraraja the Elder, and later a Vakil of the Sode Raja, deposed before a commission of inquirers in 1834, about his experiences while he was Dewan of Coorg, and said that:

"In 1803-04, I had been in the service of Poornayya in Mysore and due to some disagreement left home and went to Kodagu, and after two years------was appointed Dewan. Karnik Subbarasayya was a MANTRI, the chief privy counsellor. Five years after my appointment, the Raja caused the execution of Karnik Subbarasayya and about 700 persons on suspicion of a conspiracy on their part to destroy him of poison.

"Was there any ground for this?"

"The Karnik was a Brahmin. The Raja had married his sister (the mother of Devammaji) and made a lingayat of her. After her death, the Raja's favour towards him diminished and he (Subbarasayya) entertained the ambitious project of placing his own son, Seshayya, upon the throne. He caused poison to be presented to the Raja on medicine. The Raja's sagacity made him suspect it as Subbarasayya had been particular in sending for medicine for him from Mysore, and the Raja made dogs eat it, ~~which~~ those were killed. The Raja immediately imprisoned Subbarasayya who escaped from prison with the help of guards, and he and Subedar Medappa, Sudebar Mandanna and three others made an attempt to seize the Raja for the purpose of surrendering. The Raja escaped into the interim of the female apartments and the conspirators were prevented entrance by armed female sentries. The Raja caused Subbarasayya and other conspirators seized by Siddi guards, obtained confession of all their relations and friends concerned in the conspiracy. He ordered them and all their families amounting together to 700 to be murdered with the exception of the wives of the conspirators who were given to Sidis in concubinage.

"QUESTION: Dr. Ingledew states that the Raja poisoned himself and did not take medicine that Dr.Ingledew offered to him, and that the Raja expressed constantly a wish to die. How do you account this?

"Laxmana Rao: I have no idea that the Raja poisoned himself or that he wished to die. He suffered sincere grief after his wife's (Devammaji's mother) death. He intended to wrest the Nagar country from Mysore and he had obtained from me every information respecting to that place."

The Raja's Politics:

The former minister of Viraraja the Elder, Laxmana Rao, gave some more information regarding the political and palace life of his master to the British officials who had gathered to collect evidence on the past history of Kodagu. Laxmana Rao said in answer to a question on the Raja's interest for Nagar, and added that:

"There is an affection of very long standing between Kodagu and Nagar. It was to the Nagar Rajas that the Rajas of Kodagu were indebted------all of them being lingayats. They look therefore to Nagar as the cradle of their religion whilst there has been decidedly an enmity between Kodagu and Mysore from frequent wars------The feud was so deep that the Raja would have attempted to take Nagar which he deemed himself to possess a strong claim to him because he had been promised by the Bombay Government the eventual annexation of it to his dominions if he would give entrance to the English armies through Kodagu. It was in consideration of this promise that the tribute was remitted and that Puttur and Yedatore districts were given to the Raja by the English Government.

"During the conspiracy (hatched by Subbarasayya), the conspirators had gone through the house of Sode Raja, Swami Basavalinga Raja, which made the Raja suspect that the Soonda or the Sode Raja was concerned in the plot and he intended to have put him to death; but I remonstrated and said that it would look ill if a foreign Raja and his own son-in-law invited by him were murdered, and that that he had come there too by the special permission of the English SARKAAR to be married to his daughter Rajammaji, and their displeasure would be incurred if anything happened to him (the Sode Raja). The Raja, in consequence, considered better of it.

"Viraraja the Elder considered as a dependant under the British in all respects. He allowed into his country strangers from Company's territories and not from Mysore. He considered the English as great."

Viraraja's greatness was mainly due to the reason of the British finding the strategic value of Kodagu, and it was for the purpose of marching their army and procuring grain, they were bent upon befriending the Raja, and the latter served them well.

The Will and Succession:

Viraraja the Elder had some difficulty in regard to the successor to the throne. The Raja being sensible of the instability of human life, thought proper to record those arrangements in order that no wrong may occur thereafter, and decided that the Company Government would be the guardian of his family. He told Capt. Mahonney for the information of the Governor-General, that on the day on which he assumed the throne and married, he had fixed, that:

"That any son of his, by his wife should be his successor. He had two daughters but if any son should be borne to his wife later, he would be the heir."

A few years after the death of his favourite wife, Mahadevamma, his hopes of having a son vanished. The Raja had four daughters- Devammaji, Muddammaji, Rajammaji and Mahadevammaji. He determined to marry the eldest of the four, and to the son she may have, he desired that he be named Viraraja and receive the Raja's seal and sword that was presented to him by Lord Wellesley, and he be successor to the throne.

Viraraja affixed his seal and signature to the will and placed it in his palace treasury. He then addressed a long letter to the Governor-General Lord Minto in October 1807, on the subject of the successor to the throne. After that, it was said, that a sad melancholy took hold of him.

The Raja made arrangements with the Company to pay his son-in-law, the Sode Raja, a lakh of rupees out of the property held by him in Bombay as his daughter's portion. The Jaghir of his brother Appaji, was added to the Jaghir of Haleri in the name of Lingaraja II who was living there. In 1808, the Governor-General of India sent a bracelet to the Raja in token of his regard and friendship for him. That was delivered to Raani Devammaji in 1809, by the Resident Col. ~~Barry~~ A.W. Close, as the Raja was dead by that time. Minister Laxman Rao's deposition in 1834, said about the succession as below:

"The old Raja had left a will declaring that his daughter Devammaji should succeed him, that his son-in-law Soonda Raja should marry her as the latter had also married her sister Rajammaji, and should be Regent, and that son born from them should be the future Raja. After the Raja's death, Dr. Ingledew came to Kodagu and was informed by the Soonda or the Sode Raja about the will-----".

The Raja's Illness:

Dr. Ingledew was a missionary physician, and he also served as an official Resident at the Court of Viraraja of Kodagu in 1808-09. A good number of letters were passed on between him and the Resident of Mysore about the Raja's illness which was mostly due to his mental unstability or frustration. Dr. Ingledew wrote from Madikeri on the 4th March 1809, to Resident Arthur Cole of Mysore, that:

"-----My private letter this morning contained an account of his Highness's health and my opinion of his illness together with a short relation of an attempt he made to put an end to his existence-----.

"Yesterday on entering the room where he slept during the night, I asked to look at the paper which contained the medicine which he had taken. They bought it along with another which on opening I found to contain corrosive sublimate, both papers had the same direction in English and both contained the same medicine the Raja had been accustomed to use it as a wash to the feet dissolved in water-----.

"I requested him to take anectic (?) which he obstinately refused until I put it to his lips and partly freed it into his mouth.

"When he had taken it he declared that he wished to die as he has no friend near him and not one in whom he could place confidence. He then desired the daughter to be called, and introduced me to them separately mentioning their names. He desired them to approach me and requested that I would take them into my arms. He called aloud several times that Devammaji was to be his successor. He requested me to take her by the hand and to assure him that I would support her as far as I was able to see that justice was done to her after his death for there was not another person near him to whose care he could venture to confer her and he trusted entirely for the protection of his children and the security of his country to the British Government------.

"At this time the emitic started to operate and he soon became more obedient to my wishes towards encouraging its operation.

"I took an opportunity to speak to him on the sum of money he was desirous of investing in the Company s funds; when he began a relation of it he was not able to proceed. As soon as the emitic had operated, I requested that he might be left with few attendants to whom I gave strict injunctions not to suffer him to have any medicine without my permission or to permit him to be presented with any sharp instrument with which he might make another attempt on his life."

Dr. Ingledew's Narrative:

In his letter to the Mysore Residency, the Physician continued to state that:

"I enquired if there was any more poisonous medicine in the palace, and was told that there was still a bottle containing a solution of the powder in water. I caused it to be immediately broken. I sent instructions to the ladies that no medicine be given to the Raja without consulting me.

"The Raja complained of the profidy and wickedness of his subjects and declared that he was driven to the act of taking poison chiefly by them, that he lost his favourite queen and that he had suffered severely with sickness for the last eight months...."

"He wished to take medicine and desired that Devammaji (his daughter) bring him the good medicine and be received from her hands.

"Previous to the application of the knife to his throat he covered his face and chest with a shawl. He was heard to groan by one of the attendants who ran to the side of his bed, uncovered his face and seized the knife; the wound is trifling----.

"He regretted that the knife was wrested from his hand for he would have made a wound in his throat so deep that nothing could have saved him------He stated that he wished to die in the presence of the English gentleman for then he was certain that the English Government would do justice to his daughter.

"As I had retired to a distant room within the palace-----he gave orders that all his keys might be delivered to me, and I received them from the hands of Devammaji. I embraced the earliest opportunity to converse with the Sode Raja and the Dewan in Company. I told them to unite under the circumstances; I told them that I had possessed all the keys and I was prepared to do whatever might be requisite to preserve order and tranquility in the event of his Highness's death------I saw ~~again~~ the Raja again at 7 p.m. He had remained quiet, and I wished that he might not be disturbed for some hours.

"After enquiring of his health and finding him in good spirits, I took the opportunity of ascertaining his sentiments regarding the sum of money he intended to invest in the Company's funds, the marriage of his daughter Devammaji and about the management of the country during her minority.

"His Highness the Raja ordered his Munshi to attend to him, and on his arrival, he dictated his will which he signed in my presence, and later it was delivered to my care. The substance of it was that a sum of money should be sent to Mysore to put in the fund of the hon'ble Company at Fort St. George in the name of Devammaji, that after his death she should be the queen, that a Dewan on her part and a Vakil on the part of the British should be appointed in charge of the country and the management of the revenues on her account, and that this management will remain until the son of Devammaji shall be of age sufficient to undertake the rule of Kodagu herself-----and the remainder of the will was concerned about the choice of a husband for his daughter, Devammaji.

"At 3'0 Clock in the morning he sent the Munshi into my bed-room for the will for the purpose of making some alterations and additions; and, I have not seen it since.

"The Raja delivered me a copy of a letter yesterday written sometime ago to Lord Minto in which he makes provision for the Sode Raja------He leaves the Sode Raja a Jaghir below the Ghats lately ceded to himself by the British. It is Raja's wish that the present Dewan Hombale Nayak is continued------and he appears to be a favourite of the Raja. He is "quiet, good man but is not considered to possess much ability."

"The Raja continued to be free from pain until this morning-----I hoped that the poison had been brought off the stomach by the emitic and that no ill effects would ensure from it. This was announced throughout the Fort. I visited him twice in the night and he was composed and free from pain.

"Was Determined to Die-":

Dr. Ingledew's above letter of the 4th March 1809, was lengthy. It was also very important document, in the sense that it revealed quite a lot of unknown facts about his succession arrangements, his investment of money in the English banks and treasuries, etc. The physician attending the Raja continued to say in his above letter, that:

"This morning when I visited him he told me that he had ceased any longer to have hope that the poison would take effect. He said that I was his enemy because I had preserved his life-----but he was still determined on death and would destroy himself by refusing all medicines------I acquainted him with your speedy arrival-----.

"About an hour ago I saw him again and he spoke of his fixed resolution to die whatever measures I might take to prevent it-----I am having an eye on him and preventing any sharp instruments going to his hands, or poison------.

"Within the last ten days he has ordered four or five principal civil and military officers to be assassinated within the palace. Several others also have suffered. I now entertain little hope of the Raja's recovery because he strongly refused medicine----- The Sode Raja is living within the fort with his family and during the two days before my coming, he was refused admission into the palace------The Raja's brother resides in a village eight miles from here, Madikeri, and lives in a quiet and retired manner-----There is no reason to apprehend disturbances. Sd) Ingledew, 4th March 1809, Madikeri."

After the receipt of the above letter, Resident Arthur Cole of the Mysore Residency, wrote to the Governor Sir George Barlow of Fort St.George, on the 8th March 1809, as below:

"------Mr. Ingledew considers the Raja's health to be infinitely better, so much so that he has little doubt of his perfect establishment provided that I can compose his mind as to some violent acts which he committed during the delirium of fever and assure him of the continued friendship and support of the British Government which he dreads that recital of his anomalies may forfeit------I shall endeavour to persuade him that he is not answerable for acts committed during insanity------I will never solemnly offer to him the assurances of this under your hon'ble seal and signature and under that of the Governor-General and I shall trust to your support for the speedy ratification of my promise------It is a lementable reflexion to me that the Raja has been seriously indisposed for a length of time without my having had the least intimation on the subject------Indeed so sedulous was the Raja to keep the matter secret that his own Dewan who lately waited upon me at Mysore for requesting Mr. Ingledew's attendance on his master assured me that the Raja was only ~~a~~ low spirited at the death of his wife and consequently there was no immediate cause for alarm------.

"I am now clearly of opinion that his Highness was determined to die and that shame at having put to death some people whom he afterwards thought innocent, and the consequent dread of loss of estimation with the British were the foundations for this resolution. Sd) A.H.Cole, Mysore Residency, Camp- Madikeri, 8th March 1809."

Effects of Indisposition:

On the same day, the 8th March 1809, A.H.Cole wrote a letter to Sir George Barlow, Governor of Madras, from his Madikeri camp, as below:

"After my arrival here, the Raja invited me to a conference. I waited upon him in his bed-room, and supported on his couch, he received my visit.

"He appeared languid and faint-----His violent conduct to his subjects-----his unmanly attempt upon his own life-----has degraded him so much in his own eyes so that he is under the influence of shame-----He complained of his misfortunes-----He added his dread of the disapprobation of the British Government which he feared among the other marks of providential wrath would be inflicted upon him.

"Indeed his appearence and manner indicated the humiliation of a proud spirit indignantly giving way to temporary misfortune and disgrace------I said to him the crime he had unwillingly committed were the effects of indisposition and I assured him that no man was answerable for conduct dictated by a disordered mind.

"I tried to comfort him telling that about his young daughters and "the claim which the country and subjects had still upon his fostering protection"------but these were of so little avail in alleviating real misfortune------I conjured him in the name of friendship, established by ancient alliance and mutual confidence to detach from his mind all suspicion that the British Government could decrease its friendship to him------I had no hesitation in pledging myself that you and Lord Minto would shortly assure him of your attachment and friendship and that you would by no means hold his character in less estimation from the unfortunate events into which his late malady had plunged him.

"The Raja appeared pleased at this assurance but observed that not being the master of the Persian language and being unable to procure a good Munshi, he could not entirely comprehend the letters of Government------May I suggest that if possible your address to the Raja on this occasion may be conveyed in Kannada language as being his Highness's native tongue and consequently that by which the full force of your meaning will be most intelligible to him------My return to Mysore depends upon the Raja's safety. Sd) A.H.Cole, Camp- Madikeri."

In reply to the above letters, the Secretary to Fort St. George Government wrote to Mr. Arthur Cole the Governor's concern over "the unhappy intellectual derangement of the Raja". The Governor also approved the letter of the 13th March 1809, and said, "All assurances given by Ingledew and Cole to the Raja and satisfied with the conduct of Dr. Ingledew during the Raja's illness. The letter added that:

"-----In the event of any fatal catastrophe with respect to the life of the Raja, full reliance is placed in your discretion for making the best temporary arrangement you may judge expedient. Sd) A.Falcouver, Secretary, Fort St. George."

Dr. Clarke Arrived:

The Chief Secretary of Madras also informed Fort William (Calcutta), about the situation in Kodagu in his letter of the I3th March I809 and said that:

"Refer------the enclosures (the letters of A.H.Cole and Dr. Ingledew)------In this state of things, I am directed to request the orders of the Governor-General with regard to the appointment of a person to manage the Raja's country in the event of his death agreeably to the request said to be contained in his will------He proposes that a Dewan on Devammaji's part and a gentleman on the part of the British Government should be nominated to the charge of the country and the administration of the revenue on her account until the son of Devammaji became of age to undertake the rule of Kodagu himself------".

In the meantime, the Governor of Madras, in his letter of the I7th March I809, authorised Dr. Clarke to attend the Raja under the instructions proposed by Mr. Cole who had written another letter on the 11th March I809 explaining some facts of importance. He said that:

"A complaint that Malabar Government taxes very much for all the things going to or coming into Kodagu. Mr. Ingledew continues attending the Raja who requested him for corrosive sublimate "assuring Ingledew that if he would accede to his proposal he would appoint him Dewan over his children and country------Ingledew has to stay on there if an European medical man with his requirements, are permitted to be at his court. The Raja stated that Dr. A.M.Clarke had been deputed to wait upon him from Srirangapatna and that he had derived great satisfaction from his attendance which however he had dispensed with a consequence of an objection on my part to the man's continuance to Kodagu------We made an enquiry and Mr. Ingledew reports to Dr. Clarke to be fully adequate to the duties for which he is required. Dr. Clarke was already an assistant surgeon, qualified in medicine in Scotland, and served for nearly two years as surgeon in ships------You may be pleased to consider him as a person adopted to act here as Ingledew's deputy in compliance with the Raja's wishes and who will use his services in emergency cases-----.

"I beg to state that the Raja has despatched to the Residency Treasury about the sum of I,70,000 Pagodas to be invested in the hon'ble Company's funds under Devammaji's name. I have had the honour to be introduced to this princess and her sisters when his Highness recommended through me to the protection of your hon'ble Government---".

Dr. Clarke took charge of the Raja on the I8th March I809, and bulletins about his condition were frequently sent to the Government of Fort St. George, through the Mysore Residency.

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CHAPTER II.

The Raja's Death and Devammaji.

The Raja's Investment:

The first time that Viraraja the Elder invested his money was in I793, fifteen years prior to his sickness and death. He deposited a sum of Rs.I,09,I92 on six per cent interest. Later it was notified that the Raja "may receive the amount from Tellicherry treasury with interest at eight per cent", and according to the letter of the I2th July I793, the matter was dealt with by the pay-master-general, Bombay Castle, (the details of which has been told in the Chapter VIII of the previous volume).

Now on the I6th March I809, Mr. Cole reported that the Raja had despatched to the Presidency treasury a sum of star Pagodas I,70,000 and that was invested in the Company funds under the name of his daughter, Devammaji. An extract from the diary of the Resident of Mysore, dated the 20th March I809, said that:

"To the Accountant-General------stating that his having granted a receipt of Star Pagodas I,86,240 in favour of his Highness the Raja of Coorg (Kodagu), paid in on account of his eldest daughter, and that he has given credit in his accounts for the same. Sd) W.G.White (Capt.), Commissioner & Resident-Escort."

Another extract from the Accountant of the Account-Current of the Mysore Residency for the month of March I809, issued by the General Treasury, dated as above, said that:

"For the amount of cash received from his Highness Viraraja Wodeyar of Coorg, on account of his daughter Devammaji, and on account of the late loan of the Madras Government bearing interest at one per cent per annum; with this exception that the premium of three per cent dispensed with according to the Accountant-General's letter of the 28th February I809.

"Published in the Madras Gazette of the I0th June I809 as per register of the receipt. Total Pagodas- I,73,000 at I00 for I08 Star Pagodas-(Grand) total- I,86,400."

The German missionary, Rev. Moegling wrote in his 'Memoirs' about the circumstances of those transactions stating that:

"In fact, the Raja under the idea of obtaining a kind of adoption by the hon'ble East India Company, for his daughters, begged Mr. Cole to embrace the four girls in the name of the Governor-General. Mr. Cole was deeply moved. A receipt was given to the Raja soon after for the Star Pagodas I,86,240 to be invested in the Company's funds as the property of Devammaji.

"This was in April I809. Mr. Cole returned to Mysore. Dr. Ingledew soon followed. His place was taken by Mr. Clarke, a physician. The confidence of the British Government had been only more firmly established. He believed that the Governor-General had sanctioned and thereby guaranteed the succession to Devammaji and her future son and heir. The Company had taken charge of her rich legacy.

"In May 24th I809, Mr. A.H.Cole reported to the Secretary to the Government, Fort St.George, that the Raja was again labouring under insanity."

A Will Made on 23-5-I809:

The below given text is a translation of the Will made by Viraraja the Elder on the 23rd May I809. Much of it sheer repetition of what he had said earlier. This Will was widely distributed soon after it was made. That was as below:

"Six years ago my eldest daughter Rajammaji was by my consent married to Basavalinga Raja of Soonda. Of all the princes in the world a son-in-law is the greatest.

"At this time my children were all young and with the exception of Basavalinga Raja, I have no persons to undertake the management of my domestic concerns and of my country; and for this reason I consider him the same as my eldest son and have appointed him to the charge of these officers (Ingledew, Cole and others). I am convinced that we will execute my wishes for he belongs to an ancient family of princes.

"Until this period I have made him a regular allowance for his support but from henceforth that arrangement is no longer requisite. Whatever may require for his expense may be taken from the treasury.

"As there will be constant disputes and disturbance amongst the people of Kodagu, it is my wish that a Resident be appointed from the English Government to superintend the management of my affairs and to protect my children, my son-in-law and his children. It was to obtain this support that I conducted myself agreeable to the desires of the British Government for the last twenty years.

"It is my wish that the son of my daughter Devammaji shall succeed the throne of Kodagu. I have Rs. four lakhs in Company's treasury at Bombay, and I request that Rs.One lakh be taken from that sum, and a bond for that amount be made out in the names of Sadashiva Raja and Virarajendra, my (would be) grand-son and the interest arising from it be annually given to them. The interest of the other Rs. three lakhs to be placed in the treasury of Devammaji. I formerly wrote to Lord Wellesley that it was my wish that the interest of Rs. One lakh which I had deposited in the Treasury of the Bombay Government should be given to my eldest daughter, the wife of Soonda or Sode Raja, and Lord Wellesley had despatched an order to that effect to Bombay Government.

"I have communicated every other particular to my son-in-law who will detail the whole thing to Lord Minto (the Governor-General). Sd) Viraraja Wodeyar."

Sode Raja In-Charge:

The Resident of Mysore, A.H.Cole, wrote to the Governor Sir George Barlow, concerning the affairs of Kodagu and about the anxiety regarding the Raja's health. He said that:

"As the Charge-of-Affairs in Kodagu now devolves upon Capt. Mahoney and as considerable delay may occur from the adverse season of the year in the attendance of that officer upon the Raja, I shall ask Mr. Ingledew that in the event of the demise of the Raja, he is to endeavour to establish such a temporary arrangement as well, successfully obviate every idea of the present disturbance without embarrassment to Capt. Mahoney in establishing succession. Mr. Ingledew will also make himself acquainted with the local usuages of the country------.

"If,however, this arrangement should not coincide with the desires of the Government of Fort St. George and that it may be deemed expedient to employ my services------I stand prepared to proceed my self to Kodagu on the notification by return of post of the orders of the Government------It appears that the Raja will not long survive his present indisposition. In the meantime, the Soonda (Sode) Raja------has assumed the temporary charge of Government, and, I believe with the approbation of his father-in-law who I am given to understand has of late entertained some idea of appointing Sode Raja, a Dewan, during the minority of the little Rani.

"The Raja has a younger brother (a peaceably inclined person and respectable too- I understand) and to this man, according to the doctrine of the SHASTRAs, the kingdom would devolve-----It will be the duty of the agent to combine as far as possible his power and the law of the SHASTRAs and the local usage, but should they differ, to what extent is he to favour the one to the exclusion of the other---,Sd)A.H.Cole, Mysore."

From what was stated above it seemed that troubles would soon arise due to these reasons: i) The sick Raja has drawn up a will all by himself entrusting authority to his young daughter and her husband who was an outsider. ii) It is said that the money deposited in the Company's treasury in Bombay and Madras would go to his daughter and to his son-in-law, but the Sode Raja himself might have manouvred to get that written by his

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sick father-in-law. iv) The Raja's own brother, who is said to have been "peaceable and respectable", Lingaraja by name, was known to have been sneaking around and presenting the authority of the Shastra in his favour to succeed his brother. Therefore, it is interesting to see how the events would take place after the Raja's death.

Viraraja the Elder- Died:

The Raja's son-in-law, the Sode Raja, was the acting chief when the Raja had fallen ill. The Raja also had appointed him as Dewan during his daughter Devammaji's minority. However, on the June 1809, amidst a tense atmosphere and excitement that prevailed till then, the Raja gave his seal to his young daughter Devammaji and then expired. He was burried in Gaddige, the northern end of the town- Madikeri. J. Mill, the historian, has furnished the account of Viraraja the Elder, and that was quoted by "An Officer" in his book of 1857, which said that:

"The circumstances in which the Raja had been placed by misfortunes, broke many of the fetters which bind the understandings of his countrymen; and he manifested an enlargement of mind seldom witnessed amongst those matchless slaves of prejudices. Not only had trials invigorated his faculties, he also displayed a generousity and heroism worthy of much more civilized state of society. Bred in diversity and obliged to submit to the duties of a religion which was foreign to his caste, the Raja's mind was indeed enlarged beyond prejudices which generally fetter the natives of India; he was desirous of seeing and being instructed; were on board the ships at Tellicherry; was fond of conversing with our officers; of making himself acquainted with our discipline, and, on many occasions, particularly on horse back, adopted the English dress."

In his early days the Raja showed genial characteristics, and his conduct and character was better understood from the following circumstances. That was an incident of 1793 when he must have been a youth of about thirty years. It was said that:

"When the Bombay army was first ascending the Ghats, the Raja cleared the country from the enemy and was employed in the blockade of Madikeri which Tipu had fortified with cannon, and maintained as a post in the heart of his country. A detachment sent from Srirangapatna to relieve it, was surrounded and summoned to lay down their arms. The officer who commanded the corps having been friendly to the Raja, and particularly instrumental in assisting him to escape from Tippu's power, made himself known-----.

"General Abercrombie convinced of the Raja's sincerity offered to send a detachment to assist him in recovering Madikeri from the enemy. This,with many expressions of gratitude, he declined, and was determined to regain his capital------The Raja's generousity to his friend in Tippu's service and his magnanimity in prosecuting the siege with his own people, were soon rewarded by the surrender of his capital which with the spirit of a Sparatan, he dismantled of its defences, resolved to leave no harbour for his enemies and that his Kodagu should depend solely on their own bravery for the defence of the country."

Kodavas Rescued the Raja:

There was another side to the character of Viraraja the Elder. He was not that good as many of his predecessors and successors, and like them he was cruel as well. He got a book written about his family history, RAJENDRANAAME, and that gave the story of Kodagu from 1633 to 1807, a period of 175 years, two months and a week. Its English translation came out in 1808 and the Persian translation in 1809. The English version was re-edited and printed in 1854 by Rev. Moegling in Mangalore. George Richtor wrote in his "Coorg Manual" of 1872, about Viraraja the Elder, as below:

"The Raja is most careful not even to hint at the system of terror by which he ruled the country. Human life seems to have had very little value in his sight. He had been trained in a bad school. Hyder Ali had cut off the whole branch (Horamale) of the Rajas. Viraraja's nearest relatives died in prison at Peryapatna as victims of hunger and disease. At Kurnchi (after his escape), his own wives and children were cut off by the robbers sent from Kote Raja and led by a traitor- a Brahmin. Amidst bloodshed and rapine he had grown up. No wonder that he would not spare those who were or whom he conceived to be- his enemies among his subjects. The book was written for the use of his friends and patrons. For this purpose, the English translation was made at the request of Viraraja, and the Hindustani translations distributed as remembrances among the higher officers in the Company's service.

"Viraraja (the Elder) was anxious to------bear fair character in the eyes of the English SARKAAR. He seems to have been conscious that to his own people he was an object of terror, probably of hatred, and that he had no friend on earth but the English Government, whose gratitude he had indeed fully deserved."

The fact that the Raja helped the English and that he was helped by them in return, made his history colourful, and all that was due to Tippu Sultan who was a common enemy of both the parties. That apart, the Raja failed to reveal the ~~good~~ bad side of his character. He too killed people, including his owm brother Appaji and other relations. While killing an enemy, these lingayat rulers would not even spare the poor members of their families, means, they were notorious killers. Viraraja's sickness during the last two years of his life was the reaction and repercussion of his own monstrous deeds and sins. His RAJENDRANAAME- is an account that he got dictated to tell the world that all he did was good but much of it is not true and even biased. He was greedy and selfish to the core by the way he got himself lured into investing money in the English treasury and by drawing out a superflous will in favour of his minor daughter. The Kodavas were responsible to restore him on the throne in I786-88, (Kulletire Ponnanna, Appaneravanda Achayya and others), and again the Kodavas who got him much of Tulunad area in I799- (Biddanda Bopayya and others). Thus he had a band of loyal and gallant subjects but he seemed to have been not deserved so much by the way he behaved with his close relation and the rest of the people. Indeed, absolute tyranny was the order of the day and he was the Raja for twenty years from I789 to I809. Before I789, for about six years, he was in Gorur and Peryapatna prisons, and during this time, Tippu had almost succeeded in converting him and his family to the Islam. Later, due to the Kodavas, he managed to escape and then got the Nalknad palace built between I788 and I790 and settled there till the English cleared Kodagu off from Tippu's influence.

The Succession Issue:

The death of Viraraja caused a great deal of problem and political manouvring between different parties and people, and that was so specially on the issue of succession despite his will of the 23rd May I809. Dr. Ingledew, in one of his letters after the Raja's death, to the Mysore Residency, dated the I0th June I809, stated the position concerning the situation, as below:

"------This morning, at the request of the Sode (Soonda) Raja, I attended at the palace for the purpose of hearing the will of the late Raja------I presented the Governor-General's letter------which excited considerable feeling------Lingaraja, the late

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late Raja's brother, by the same parents is still at Madikeri. I have had some talk with him and he appears to be a quiet and peaceable man and perfectly satisfied with the arrangement for the succession made by the late Raja. The late Raja, for some years past, never permitted his brother to visit him and seldom mentioned his name, but he has been heard to declare that he should not be his successor alleging that as he himself did not receive a kingdom from his father but obtained it in conquest from the late Tippu Sultan; he would nominate whom he pleased to succeed him and although a female had never sat on the throne of Kodagu, he was on this account authorise to appoint his daughter.

"During the last Dasara festival, the Raja promulgated to all who were present that Devammaji should be his successor to the throne and she received their salutations on this occasion in a public manner.

"This morning I was informed that order prevailed within the fort, but at 3 p.m. two confidential servants brought me a message from the Soonda Raja stating that the eunachs were trying to excite disturbance------saying that all Government servants would be removed and a Vakil from the English Government would be appointed. I immediately repaired to the palace and in consultation with the Soonda Raja and Dewan Hombale Nayak, it was agreed to assemble all the civil and military officers and ryots who had come from all over the country for the Raja s funeral. When they were assembled, Devammaji was placed on a chair------.

"After expressing condolence on the Raja's death, I explained the purpose and purport of his will which they were made to agree------They received the will from me, and after the headman had placed it to their forehead, it was returned to me, and they all expressed their satisfaction and fell at the feet of Devammaji and returned.

"I afterwards collected the chief military officers with Lingaraja, Dewan and Soonda Raja, and recommended them to unite in giving effect to the last and dying wish of their late beloved sovereign. The Soonda Raja has requested me to remain at Madikeri until every arrangement is made for the preservation of order and tranquility. Sd.) Ingledew."

Was the Will Forged?:

On the basis of the Will of the late Viraraja, Dr. Ingledew, the Resident European Officer in Kodagu, local headmen and people, enthroned young Devammaji on the morning of the I0th June I809, and dispersed. The late Raja's brother Lingaraja was also there. But this man who was stated to have been 'peaceable and respectable', was not that after all. He was not keeping quiet. In the evening of the I0th June I809, Ingledew wrote another letter to A.H.Cole, the Resident of Mysore, and said that:

"-----This morning I was informed that there was considerable agitation in the minds of the people within the Fort, and, on my arrival I found the eunachs engaged in a serious dispute with the officers. They accused them of having forged the Raja's will. A saddler was produced who declared that he had signed the name of Viraraja to several papers on the day of the funeral at the request of the Soonda Raja and the Persian Munshi.

"I immediately called for all the papers and requested the presence of the Soonda Raja and the Munshi for the purpose of examining them. By this time a great alarm had been excited and the room was filled with people.

"I found that there were two papers which I had not seen and which were said to be the true will of the Raja.

"As soon as these papers were produced I had them compared with those men. They were somewhat different and as the parties persisted in their respective assertions I was apprehensive------I therefore requested a private audience with the Soonda Raja, and in as inoffensive manner as I was able, I mentioned to him my apprehension and fear that some fraud had been practised. But he positively denied having any knowledge of it nor did he place the smallest credit to the change, but after conversing with him

him for some time, pointing out to him the danger at this momentous and precarious period-----and threatening to leave the country if the business was not cleared up satisfactorily, he confessed that the late Raja's name had been put to certain papers by the saddler and that the Munshi would acquaint me with the whole affair."

Forgery By Sode Raja:

Therefore, it seemed that according to the confessions made by the Sode Raja, the Will was forged, and "the Raja's name had been put to certain papers" by the Saddler. There was also a gang behind this act of forgery and the Sode Raja said that "the Munshi would acquaint him with the whole affair". Dr. Ingledew's letter of the above date, further stated that:

"The Sode Raja had informed me that the Raja had dictated a second will containing some additions and alterations and more correct than the former one, but that he did not live to sign it as it expressed precisely the sentiments of the Raja he procured the saddler to fix his (the Raja's) name to it. The man was taught to imitate the Raja's name and seal and execute them with great facility and considerable similitude.

"As the Munshi had kept a copy of this last will, it was thought advisable to tear it in pieces in the presence of all the people as the confusion and alarm was then very great among them------I explained to them in a way to satisfy both the sides. The crowd dispersed and I again assembled the chiefs when the Soonda and others told them to exert for the preservation of order and maintenance of peace and tranquility-----I have every reliance on the mild and peaceable disposition of Lingaraja but he should be at the crisis of this type endeavour to make a party to advance himself to the throne, I apprehend he would experience but little difficulty in exciting considerable tumult----- I forward a table of the chronological order of the Kodagu rulers-----Sd) Ingledew."

From this it is clear what had really happened. It was a manipulation and fraud committed by an outsider like the Sode Raja, and that was revealed in time. Laxmana Rao, a Dewan under the late Raja, deposed about this long after in 1834, as under:

"------Lingaraja and his party tried to convince Dr. Ingledew that the Will was a forgery. The Kodagu people did not like a foreigner like the Sode Raja and a female (Devammaji) to rule over them and that they preferred the old Raja's brother, Lingaraja. Devammaji was only seven years old then, and was a minor.

"Ingledew tried to ascertain the validity of the Will. Mir Abdullah said that it was dictated to him by the Raja. This supported Sode Raja's claim, and, therefore, Lingaraja killed him the same night. Sode Raja sent the Will to Mr. Cole with Parsee Byramjee. As he reached near Virarajpet, he was put to death by orders of Lingaraja.

"Parsee Harjie, Subedar Muthanna, and Ponnappa (family name not known) were on an embassy from the Raja to Lord Minto at Madras, and on their return they and a number of their adherents were put to death because Ponnappa by the concurrence and advice of the others had, being a servant and known to have been also an eunach, disgraced the Raja by representing himself as the Raja's son to Lord Minto and receiving honours from me (Laxmana Rao). The Sode Raja was at that time in Kodagu and wrote to me that they had been put to death."

In the Name of Devammaji:

The very next day of the demise of the Raja, Viraraja the Elder, his daughter Devammaji, on the basis of his Will, was enthroned and the state of affairs was carried on in her name. In the meantime, it was discovered that the Will was a forged one, and was also known that Lingaraja had been organizing a COUP against the new regime. According to the above account, he had already begun the bloody game of killing the people in order to secure his rights to the throne. Dr. Ingledew's letter of the 11th June 1809, to Mr. Arthur Cole, said about what was happening at that time. He wrote that:

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"-----I again visited the palace this morning, and am glad to have it in my power to inform that the eunachs are again brought to subjection and that the agitation------removed. The Soonda Raja, at my request, went through the Fort to examine and give orders at the different posts when Sepoys are stationed and by taking an active part in the Government and by making arrangements------He is now in complete possession of the Government (as the guardian of the minor ruler, Devammaji) and continues to issue all orders to the civil and military officers for Devammaji in whose name a Seal of State is prepared-----The Soonda Raja is not considered to be a man of talents. He is benevolent and moderate-----.

"The two ministers, Hombale Nayak and Chowrira Kariappa, together with the two senior military officers, Mandanna and -------? (this Kodava name is not clear in the manuscript) who have long exercised command of troops------approve the present order of things----The military officers are faithful servants of the Government-----Much praise is due to Dr. Clarke for his great kindness and attention he paid to the Raja throughout his last illness. His exertions to prevent bloodshed to avert the cruel orders given by the Raja when he was in the state of mental derangement------Several lives have been saved and much confusion prevented. Sd) Dr.Ingledew, Madikeri, 11th June 1809."

The acting Resident of Mysore, A.H.Cole reported to the Governor of Madras, on the situation that existed in Kodagu, in his letter of the 12th June 1809. He wrote that:

"From the native reports, I have full authority to conclude that his Highness the Raja of Kodagu is no more.

"I feel assured that this intelligence will be received by the Governor with sentiments of affliction and regret proportionate to the cordial and unparalleled attachment which the prince has uniformly manifested to the British Government. The unhappy malady however to which the late Raja has been subject for some time will contribute in a great degree to reconcile the feelings of the hon'ble Governor to this melancholy event-----".

Lingaraja Presses his Claim:

In another letter of the 14th June 1809, Mr. Cole informed the Governor, Fort St. George, stating that he was awaiting further news from Madikeri on the developments that was taking place after the death of the Raja who was the ruler for over twenty-five years. He said that:

"-----Dr. Ingledew arrived at the capital of Kodagu only a few hours after the death of the Raja, his journey having been greatly impeded by rains.

"As there at present appears some doubt of the wishes of the late Raja as to the control which it was his intention to vest in the authority of his son-in-law, the Soonda Raja. I shall suspend the expression of any opinion until I shall be master of the final will of his Highness which Mr. Ingledew's next communication will detail. In the meantime, I am prepared without further reference to Government to second the authority of this officer by my presence at Madikeri, should he consider such a proceeding at all neccasry to prevent disturbance-----I have no doubt however that Mr. Ingledew's good sense and firmness will entirely manage matters to the entire satisfaction of the people of Kodagu-----. Sd) A.H.Cole, Mysore, 14th June 1809."

On the same day, from Madikeri wrote Dr. Ingledew, to the Resident stating about the further developments in Kodagu. His praise for Lingaraja as mild, quiet etc was reported to Fort St. George. He also informed that Lingaraja's behaviour was responsible for peace in Madikeri, but in fact, the facts were different as Lingaraja had quietly killed some men and was trying to work out his way to the throne. Ingledew, however, wrote that:

"-----Lingaraja also promised his cooperation to the new regime stating that he was fully satisfied with the arrangements made. He told that "Kodagu was formerly held from its lawful heir and was usurped by Hyder Ali and that his brother (the late Raja) conquered and obtained possession of it by force of arms after a long and obstinate contest

for which reason he considered that the late Raja was empowered to dispose of the crown at his death as thought fit, and he had no wish to interfere in the public affairs.

"He then told that his elder brother Appaji was allowed a small Jaghir of 200 Pagodas a year. And for the last eleven years he was confined to his village with little contact with any. Now (Lingaraja) has to support many members of his family, his sister who was confined in Peryapatna by Tippu, and many other women, and whatever provided to him is very little. So he asked for something more and he would retire to his village and live in peace. I have appealed similarly to the Soonda Raja. So I recommend to enable Lingaraja to live in a manner more suitable to his rank and situation in life. Sd.) Ingledew, Madikeri, I4th June I809."

The Bracelet Arrived:

The bracelet that was meant to be a present to the Viraraja the Elder, reached Kodagu after his death. On the I3th June I809, the Secretary, Fort William, wrote to the Secretary, Fort St. George, that the bracelet intended as a present of the Governor-General, Lord Minto, to the Raja Viraraja the Elder of Kodagu, had been entrusted to the care of Capt. Fleetwood Pellew. It took about a month to reach Madras from where it was transmitted to the Mysore Residency. Dr. Ingledew presented that to the Rani Devammaji on behalf of the Governor-General and the Company Government, on the 29th July I809.

Resident Cole wrote to Ingledew on the I5th June I809 requesting him to remain at Kodagu until further orders. He also expressed his obligation to Dr. Clarke for his "judicious and humane conduct during the insanity (or mental sickness) of the late Raja."

In another letter to the Resident, Ingledew wrote on the same day, the I5th June I809, explaining some more about the will and the late Raja's atrocity. He said that:

"-----The Soonda Raja has familiarised with the state business and is in touch with the chief officials------According to the SHASTRAs, Lingaraja is the lawful heir. He is thirty-four years old and has retained in honourable confinement for the last eleven years, and had no opportunity to get acquainted with state affairs. He scarcely went beyond the precincts of his own village-----Appaji Raja who was not mild, was assassinated by order of the late Raja four months ago------Lingaraja would also have been met with the same fate if he had opposed to the will of the late Raja. I am of opinion that people would at the moment satisfied with any Government they might be placed under-----".

"All Amildars and chiefs were given strict orders to adhere to rules and good behaviour. Many of them were pardoned by the Soonda and the young queen for creating intrigues. Those who still created trouble were asked to be placed at remote places. They bring disquiet in the minds of several officers. Dewan Hombale Nayak threatened to resign if these trouble-some chiefs were permitted to remain in Madikeri. Sd) Ingledew."

The New Arrangements:

On the 20th June I809, the acting Resident of Mysore, A.H.Cole wrote to the Governor of Madras, stating that :

"The connection of the Soonda Raja with the Portuguese Government (in Goa) may be deemed an objection on our part to the present arrangement but this apparent evil will, I hope, be thought counter-balanced by the estimation in which the late Raja's character is generally held------The Resident of Kodagu, and an Englishman, would at all events obviate any difficulty which might result from the Soonda's subjection to the Government of Goa-----It now remains with the Governor to determine whether the will of the late Raja is to be considered paramount-----. Sd) A.H.Cole, Resident, Mysore."

In a letter of the 23rd June I809, the Fort St. George Government asked the Resident the allowance he would recommend for the maintenance of Lingaraja. In the same letter they told Mr. Ingledew to continue in Madikeri for some more time. The new Resident

of Mysore, John Malcolm wrote after Mr. Cole's report which stated that the new Government in Kodagu had happily settled "in strict conformity with the late Raja's will", and Resident Malcolm's report of the 26th June 1809, said that:

"------The deceased prince was adored by his subjects and was himself enthusiastically attached to the British Government of which it was his glory and boast to be a dependant------had almost a romantic attachment to the English of which he had given many strong proofs------He made a dying request that an agent of the British Government should permanently reside at Madikeri and aid his successor in the conduct of the Government-----.

"I consider it highly advisable to fix an inferior political agent permanently at Madikeri. Such a measure would be received as a pledge of protection and favour to the existing Government------An amount not exceeding 5,000 Pagodas per year would meet every charge that could attend its adoption-----for the agent-----."

Mr. Ingledew has recently acted very well under considerable difficulty-----His ability and his knowledge of the language and habits of the natives peculiarly qualified him for such a charge------He has been instrumental in aiding the establishment of the present authority and in reconciling the minds of the principal inhabitants-----. Sd) John Malcolm, Resident, 26th June 1809."

Lingaraja Claims Right:

As the new set up had started working according to the provisions of the will and with the Sode Raja as the care-taker, Lingaraja and a good number of people were not satisfied with the arrangements made, especially because of these reasons:

Firstly, they did not like a minor female to be a figure-head ruler; secondly, they did not like an outsider like Sode Raja to be a master; thirdly, they found out that the will itself was a forgery and fraud manipulated by the Sode Raja himself, and, lastly, Lingaraja, as it was said of him, was neither quiet nor respectable. He was busy mobilising support for his cause, and even told Mr. Ingledew, and as a result, the latter wrote on the 30th June 1809, to the Resident of Mysore, as under:

"-----Yesterday afternoon, I was informed that Lingaraja had mentioned in the presence of one of the principal servants that he was dissatisfied with the present Government of Kodagu, and that he would endeavour to place himself on the Musnad to which he considered he was entitled by right of inheritance.

"This information was communicated in the palace, and in consequence, a considerable anxiety prevailed in the minds of the family in the preceding night.

"I had seen Lingaraja yesterday-----I suspected that his mind was not perfectly satisfied but as he did not express a desire to make any communication to me, I concealed my suspicions------In the afternoon I sent him a message requesting him to pay me a visit and he came at the exact time-----I was extremely sorry to hear that he entertained sentiments of a very ingenious and pernicious nature which might be attended with dangerous effects-----.

"He acknowledged that as the succession to the Musnad had hitherto been conferred to the male relations, he was desirous of making the Governor-General acquainted with the usuages of the country by a public letter but declared that his views did not extend beyond that measure. I reminded him of his first meeting me when he expressed his satisfaction with the present arrangement and then he desired nothing more than an addition to his Jaghir-----.

"He decalred that he had no party nor did he think of obtaining one and that he had no further intention than to state his wishes to the Governor-General in writing, and

and concluded by assuring me that he never thought of exciting disaffection or the smallest opposition in any part of the country.

"I told him again-----any sentiments he might entertain which were of a nature to excite opposition would inevitably bring ruin upon himself.

"We talked for over an hour and I told him again on the necessity of obedience to the will of the young Rani, and the danger of entertaining sentiments of the kind he possessed, and pointed out to him that he would by such expectation forfeit the good opinion of the British Government and be suffered to remain in poverty as before. Then he became greatly agitated and assured me that from now on he would never entertain such hopes and declared his intentions were not to excite disturbance------and he hoped that he might be forgiven and that this affair would not injure him in the esteem of the British Government."

Lingaraja Not to Interfere:

Lingaraja seemed to have been on a big game. He did not want to offend the British, and at the same time sneakily pressed his claim to the throne through others. He promised them that he would behave well and would "not excite disturbance". He even went up to the extent of saying that he was to "be forgiven" for raising the issue. Dr. Ingledew further stated in his letter of the above date in continuation of that, that:

"In order to assure or to show his sincerity of his (Lingaraja's) mind, and the complete conviction of his error, he offered to make any declaration on oath or to sign any written paper that I might agree to------and as a further proof of his peaceable disposition he would immediately return to his Jaghir and not move from it and would be glad to have spies placed over his conduct------.

"He assured me that he was extremely sorry-----and hoped that the British Government would withhold their kindness------He would abide by their decision-----would for ever remain satisfied in peace and silence.

"I believe Lingaraja is sincere in his professions and that the peace of the Government will not be interrupted by him-------This morning he saw me and expressed great sorrow for having entertained such opinion of the type that he expressed yesterday----- and his future conduct would be such to merit the approval of the British. Sd) Ingledew, dated the 30th June of the year 1809."

The above sentiments were conveyed to the Government of Madras by the Resident of Mysore, on the 4th July 1809, when he spoke in high terms of Lingaraja, that:

"The sincerity of Lingaraja's professions may, I hope, be lied upon, and I entertain every confidence that Mr. Ingledew's judgement will suggest such a suitable provision for him as to ensure his future obedience to the existing arrangement in Kodagu and his continued attachment to the British Government to whom he will feel chiefly indebted.

"As I am persuaded that at this period the presence of an English agent at Kodagu is particularly necessary to awe the turbulent and give support to the well-effected. I have taken upon myself to request Mr. Ingledew not to depart from Madikeri until the arrival of Capt. Mahoney.

Mr. Ingledew appears to have ingratiated himself so completely with the court party in that country that no idea can exist in their minds of a desire on the part of the British Government to offer undue interference-----".

Soonda Became Unpopular:

Four days after Dr. Ingledew wrote the letter stating that Lingaraja had assured of his good behaviour, the Sode Raja, also called the Raja of Soonda, became unpopular all so suddenly, and as a result of that there was confusion in higher circles. There-

Therefore, Dr. Ingledew wrote another letter to the Resident on the 7th July 1809, and, from that it seemed that even Devammaji, the young Rani, had turned against the Sode Raja, and people clamoured to have Lingaraja on the Musnud. The tide of events turned that way, and the letter of Ingledew said as below:

"Yesterday afternoon I visited the palace where I found the people clamourous against the Soonda Raja. I ascertained that he had made himself unpopular by the punishment he had ordered to be inflicted a few days before, and Lingaraja and the eunach took this opportunity to promote their influence amongst them. The Soonda Raja requested me for permission to resign his situation and stated that he was no longer able to conduct the duties of the state. Devammaji and all the military officers requested that Lingaraja might act in the place of the Soonda Raja. I informed him that I could not give my assent to this step until the reply to my letter of the 5th (June) was received------No business had been transacted all the day and the Soonda sent me a verbal message that his resignation might be accepted.

"At four'o clock in the afternoon, Lingaraja took forcible possession of the Government. (That was on the 6th July 1809, 28 days after the death of the elder Viraraja.) At 9 p.m. Devammaji, accompanied by Lingaraja and about 200 men came to my residence to request that Lingaraja might be permitted to take charge of the Government, and on behalf of the young Rani. I replied that he had already done so without my consent and that my interference was now at an end, but in compliance with the wishes of Devammaji, I would remain at Madikeri until I was relieved.

"-----I acquainted Devammaji and Lingaraja that I could not but comply with what they had already determined on, and I requested the Soonda Raja to refrain from engaging in any public business whatever. This revolution has been effected so far without any bloodshed but it is impossible to conceive the result of it, and it is probable that Lingaraja may yet place himself on the Musnad-----".

Though by right Lingaraja should have succeeded his brother as the Raja of Kodagu, the way he tried to usurp power showed that his late brother was right in ignoring his claims. Nevertheless, mistakes have been done on both sides, and that evidently ended with this bloodless COUP stage-managed by Lingaraja who had so far pretended to have been "peaceable and respectable".

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CHAPTER III.

Lingaraja's Efforts to Enthrone Himself.

A Retrospect of Events:

The reason for the conflict and confusion was due to the atrocity, cruelty and selfishness of Viraraja the Elder, and his will which was just a fraud. There were reasons to believe that the will was dictated by the Sode Raja. The people also knew that. With all that the British Government was consistently good to the late Raja because of historical reasons. When Viraraja was ill, the British sent to him advisors, doctors and militarymen to help him in his hour of need, and that was the way how the British maintained a cordial friendship. The Governor of Madras, in his letter of July 1809, recounted the earlier events, as below:

"------A conciliatory letter from the Governor General would likely be to tranquilise the (late) Raja's mind, and his Lordship transmitted to us a letter addressed to the Raja assuring him of the un-diminished esteem of the British Government. The letter was to be accompanied by a bracelet which his Lordship desired to be presented to the Raja------.

"After his death on the 9th June 1809, Dr. Ingledew reported that the young Rani Devammaji, his eldest daughter by his second wife, had succeeded-----and that during her minority the administration was conducted by the Sode Raja who had married the Raja's daughter by his first wife, and that this arrangement, though not consistent with the Hindu Law of Inheritance, nor with the usage of the country, was in strict conformity with the will of the deceased Raja and entirely agreeable to the family and the people.....:

"Lingaraja, the only surviving brother of the late Raja, is the legal heir according to the law of the SHASTRAs, but he was said to have been a man of un-informed mind, of recluse habits of life and merely solicitous, on that occasion of procuring a small pecuniary addition to his maintenance.

"We did not deem it to be advisable to disturb an arrangement which was represented to have taken place under these sanctions; we thought it proper however to ascertain whether it might be expedient to establish a British agent in Kodagu."

The Subsequent Report:

The above letter from the Government of Madras, to Fort William (Calcutta), continued to say that:

"The Resident in Mysore, Col. Malcolm, expressed his opinion that the tranquility of the country would be best secured by our maintaining an agent at Madikeri, who should be subject to the orders of the Resident. For this, he recommended Dr. Ingledew whom he considered as peculiarly qualified for it by his temper, talent and knowledge of the habits and language of the people.

"Whilst deliberating on these arrangements, we learnt by subsequent dispatches from Mr. Cole that a change had taken place in the Government, that the Sode Raja had abdicated and that Lingaraja with the approbation of the Rani and of the other branches of that family, had assumed the administration of the affairs of the country.

"The mode by which Lingaraja had contrived to supplant the Sode chief could not certainly be approved and it was to be apprehended that he was by no means qualified for the important function of the State to which he had succeeded. Nevertheless, as the will of the late Raja appeared not only to be incompatible with the laws and usages of the country but to be also repugnant to the inclinations of the people as Lingaraja was stated to be the lawful heir and a man of moderate principles and approved by the family------.

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"We resolved to state the late concurrences at Kodagu to the Supreme Government, and to direct the arrangement should remain undisturbed until the sentiments of his Lordship is received------To Mr. Ingledew we stated that if it appeared to him that Lingaraja was dissatisfied with the order of succession prescribed by the late Raja's will, and that his usurpation was only a preliminary step to placing himself on the throne, we were of opinion that it would not be only consistent with justice but conducive to the security of the persons of the late Raja's family and to the tranquility of the country that Lingaraja should be informed that the British Government were ready to consider his pretensions to the throne, it being an established maxim of that Government to maintain in countries under its protection, the order of succession established by their laws and usages------".

Viraraja's Promise Recalled:

The Madras Government in their letter to the Governor-General, recalled the promises made by Viraraja the Elder towards the Sode Raja and other allied matters. The above dated letter continued to state that:-

"------We, at the same time observed that if Lingaraja had no design on the throne, we saw no immediate reason to alter the present arrangement of the administration of the country which appeared to have received the acquiscence of all the parties interested in it.

"We have since informed by Mr. Cole that Lingaraja is not dissatisfied with the order of succession prescribed by the will------has no apparent design on the throne------He manifested the greatest respect and attention to the young queen and that the existing administration is agreeable to the wishes of the people------.

"Mr. Cole brought to our notice the apparent disinclination of the Regent to fulfil a promise made by the late Viraraja on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter to Sode Raja, to grant as a provision for the family of his daughter and son-in-law the interest of the money vested in Bombay funds and jaghir of a value of four or 5,000 Pagodas.

"The late Raja having solicited the approbation of the Governor-General to these arrangements, there could exist no doubt of his intentions on the subject. The Lordship-in-Council accordingly authorised this to Mr. Cole to state to Lingaraja, and the Governor-General's entire approbation of the proposed provision in favour of the Sode chief------.

"However, long after that, Lingaraja actually ascended to the seat of power, a letter was addressed by Lingaraja to Sir George Barlow, Governor of Madras, accompanied by some complementry presents and amongst them a miniature painting of the late ~~of~~ Raja of Kodagu. The presents have been disposed of in the usual manner with the exception of the picture which has been transmitted to your hon'ble court in the packet by your ship 'Surrey'. (This was in about January 1910)-------".

Lingaraja's Duplicity:

Soon after the Mysore Residency came to know that Lingaraja had cleverly organized a bloodless COUP against the authority of the Sode Raja, Mr A.H.Cole wrote a letter to the Madras Government, dated the 9th July 1809, explaining the whole sequence as below:

"This morning I received a communique from Mr. Ingledew informing that the little Rani and the ladies of the family together with several of the military officers, appeared a good deal dissatisfied with some aspects of the conduct of Sode Raja. They accused him of several in-attentions towards her Highness (the Rani), called him a foreigner and gave Mr. Ingledew to understand that the guardianship of Lingaraja would be preferable to all parties.

"The Soonda Raja himself also under an impression that the opposers were too powerful, made a formal request to Mr. Ingledew to be permitted to resign (from) the charge he had undertaken and proceed to his Jaghir (in his native Sode.)

"Mr. Ingledew very properly replied that his conduct was guided by a desire to support the wishes of the late Raja and that he consequently could not sanction any arrangement of an opposite tendency. He communicated this to Lingaraja who professed that he had no intention of opposing the Soonda Raja although he and the family of the late Raja had many

many causes for complaint against the Soonda Raja.

"It was then proposed by Mr. Ingledew that the present system of affairs should not be interrupted until the wishes of the Government could be ascertained, and to this all parties appeared to assent. The Soonda Raja, however, was very much under the influence of fear but only Mr. Ingledew's promise of support could tranquilise. By the enclosed dispatch just arrived from Madikeri, it appears that matters have taken a different course.

"Lingaraja has usurped the conduct of the Government, and the former minister, conscious of his inability to cope with so strong a party has receded from the superintendence of the country. Mr. Ingledew regularly protested against such improper proceedings and intimated his decision not to interfere further, his advice having been so unbecomingly neglected. He at first threatened to withdraw immediately from Madikeri but at the entreaty of the little Rani, he has consented to remain until he should hear from our Government.

"Having no instructions whatsoever to guide me in directing Mr. Ingledew in the present crisis of affairs, and being of opinion that the conduct of Lingaraja has evinced a great duplicity and that the designs of this intruder may not cease even at the present stage to which they have succeeded, for the same artful ambition which had prompted him to subvert Soonda Raja may tempt him also to aim at the total annihilation of the authority of Devammaji, I have requested Mr. Ingledew to convene the chief civil and military officers of the Government, in the presence of the Rani to state again distinctly to them the will of the late Raja and the latter's disinclination that Lingaraja should in anyway interfere with the Government to mention the acknowledged incapacity of Lingaraja for any public situation and his own desire that matters could have been arranged in obedience to the will of the late Raja-----."

"Should Mr. Ingledew remonstrate against Lingaraja's usurpation be unheeded, his presence without the power to enforce his wishes cannot, I conceive, be necessary. If he continues at Madikeri, he must either remain in silence or he must countenance, or he must object to present proceedings. Sd) A.H.Cole, Mysore, 9th July 1809."

Illegal Possession:

Within a month after Viraraja's death, and very much against his wishes which he had made known through others, his brother Lingaraja successfully engineered a plot against the Sode Raja and volunteered himself as a guardian of the young Rani. Of course, he had a group of people to support him. People preferred him to an outsider like the Sode Raja but his interference and usurpation was characterised as an illegal occupation or possession of authority. Writing about this to the Mysore Residency, Mr. Ingledew stated on the 17th July 1809, that:

"-----My conduct had been entirely guided by a desire to conform to the sentiments and wishes of the late Raja and his will, and that I had supported the Soonda Raja apparently with the general goodwill------Lingaraja------had illegally possessed himself of (the authority)-------The little Rani signified her wish that I would remain stating that the authority of her uncle (Lingaraja) would be more agreeable to her and to her subjects than that of her brother-in-law (the Sode Raja) whom she accused of ill-behaviour in several instances. She said that as a foreigner he must be for ever obnoxious to her subjects if entrusted with a principal share of administration-------.

"But the late Raja was against Lingaraja for the reasons said in the will-----I have great satisfaction that this usurpation has not been followed by any bloodshed. Sd) Ingledew, Madikeri, 17th July 1809."

As this correspondence was going on, the Chief Secretary of the Fort St. George Government wrote to the Mysore Residency, on the 18th July 1809, informing their disapproval of the conduct of Lingaraja, and said that:

"From the intelligence communicated in your last letter, it appears that a new revolution has taken place in the Government of Kodagu, that the Soonda Raja has abdicated the Government, and that Lingaraja with the approbation of the Rani and of the other branches of that family, had assumed the administration of affairs.

"The mode by which Lingaraja has contrived to supplant himself and to invoke suspicions of Mr. Ingledew, cannot certainly be approved, and it is to be apprehended that he is by no means qualified for the important function of the station to which he has succeeded------".

His Preliminary Step:

In continuation, the Madras Government also said in the above letter, that:

"-------Nevertheless, as the will of the late Raja appears not only to be incompatible with the laws and usages of the country, but to be also repugnant to the inclinations of the people, as Lingaraja is stated to be the lawful successor to the Musnad, a man of moderate principles and approved by the family. The Governor,(of Madras) in the circumstances, considers it to be inexpedient to interfere with the present arrangement as to force on the family.

"The late occurrences at Kodagu is to be reported to suppress Government, and the Governor directs that affairs be suffered to remain as at present, until the sentiments of his Lordship shall have been received. Meanwhile it appears advisable that Mr. Ingledew continue at Madikeri------for the purpose of maintaining regularity or repressing any eventual commotion-----.

"If it should appear to Mr. Ingledew that Lingaraja is dissatisfied with the order of succession prescribed by the late Raja's will, and that his late usurpation is only a preliminary step in placing himself on the Musnad, it will not only be consistent with justice but conducive to the security of the persons of the late Raja's family and to the tranquility of the country that Lingaraja be informed that the British Government will be ready to consider his established maxim of that Government to maintain suspicion established by their laws and usages.

"If it shall appear that Lingaraja has no designs on the Musnad, the Governor has no immediate reason to alter the present arrangement of the administration------which appears to have received the acquiscence of all parties. Sd) Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, dated the 18th July 1809."

Devammaji Too Wrote:

Rani Devammaji was then a small girl of seven or eight years, and Lingaraja professed himself that he would be a suitable guardian for her and not an outsider like the Sode Raja. Therefore, a regular campaign went against the Sode Raja, and many representations were there against the latter exercising authority in the name of the young Rani. Lingaraja, in the meantime, made Devammaji too write a letter to the British against her brother-in-law, and her letter to Col. Forbes of the 10th Regiment, Cannanore, on the 26th July 1809, was as below:

"-----On the day of my father's death, Dr. Ingledew arrived from Mysore, and on the day after the funeral he intimated to me that I was the Sovereign of this State but advised to appoint Basavalinga Raja of Soonda to the administration until I should be capable of managing them myself. This was accordingly done, and twenty days have passed. But I and the family as well as the country and the army have suffered the greatest oppression from the Raja of Soonda. The day after my father's death, he caused a Persian Munshi to fabricate some papers purporting to be addressed by my father to the Governor (of Madras) and containing his appointment to the administration of affairs, and he made a saddler affix a signature thereto resembling the sign of my father. Dr. Ingledew, on an examination of these discovered them to be false-------.

"The Soonda Raja has conducted himself so tyrannically that it was impossible that we should live in harmony with him------Under the circumstances, I represented to Mr. Ingledew that my uncle Lingaraja would act as my guardian and that it would be proper to appoint him to the administration of the affairs. Sd) Rani Devammaji, Madikeri, dated the 26th July 1809."

A Conspiracy for Mutiny:

The affairs seemed to have been very much complicated by this time. The death of a powerful ruler with a record of about twenty-five years reign and also a close friend of the British, a minor girl, his young daughter succeeding him, an outsider like the Soonda Raja acting as a care-taker, the late Raja's brother Lingaraja sneaking around to press his own right to be a Raja, and the consequent confusion that ensued, caused a good deal of commotion. Apart from the palace revolution engineered by Lingaraja, there was an organized mutiny that was taking shape around the Kodagu borders. Some outside agencies also took interest to take advantage of the situation in Kodagu. One Bakshi Ramarao, along with a party from Chitradoorg started trouble and there were other whisper campaigns also. Therefore, troops were mustered at different border posts also. A letter from the Resident of Mysore, dated the 10th August 1809, said that:

"A confidential Parsee servant of the Raja of Kodagu, one Byramjee having been intercepted and brought here on his route to Madikeri by our horse-men, informed me that he was desired by the principal agitators of evil in the Fort to take a letter to the Rani of Kodagu with an offer of friendship to her Highness accompanied by a request that she would facilitate the progress through her dominions of a mutinuous corps on its march from Cannanore and destined to support the forces of Srirangapatna------.

"Having read this, I have requested verbally and by letter to the Kodagu Government that no Sepoy battalion be permitted to pass through her Highness's territory on any errand-----.

"There are still a number of Europeans in the Fort of Srirangapatna-----. Sd) A.H.Cole, Acting Resident, Mysore, 10th August 1809."

This same person was sent by Sode Raja to Mr. Cole with a copy of the will, and it was said that he (Byramjee) "was put to death by orders of Lingaraja" as he reached near Virarajpet. However, all this seemed to have been a part of a bigger game of launching a mutinous situation in order to unseat Sode Raja and Devammaji.

Devammaji & Lingaraja:

Anyway by the month of August 1809, Devammaji was completely brought under the influence of her uncle, Lingaraja, who had almost assumed himself as a guardian of his neice and care-taker of the Government. Devammaji replied to a letter of the Governor-General, Lord Minto, written to the late Viraraja on the 3rd April 1809, but received only in July of that year. In her lengthy reply to that letter, she appeared to have been under Lingaraja, and that was what the contents revealed. The letter of the 12th August 1809, addressed to Sir George Barlow, Governor of Madras, said that:

"Lord Minto's letter of the 3rd April 1809, was delivered by Dr. Ingledew on the day of my father's death, and its gracious contents alleviated and dispelled the sorrow which agitated my heart. If my father had lived to receive the letter he would have been exceedingly rejoiced at his Lordship's compliance with his wishes and would have manifested unbounded gratitude for the honour conferred upon him------I also value it as an assurance of his Lordship's protection. It was mentioned in the letter that his Lordship had re-

requested you to forward the present which my father was desired to consider as a pledge of support and I cherish the hope that his Lordship will extend the same indulgent care to me and to my family------During the twenty days in which the Raja of Soonda held the reigns of Government, I and the family were grievously oppressed and the greatest disorder was introduced-----."

She also mentioned in the letter about the fraud committed in respect of the will, her desire to be under the protection of her uncle, Lingaraja, and some such facts. Simultaneously with that, Lingaraja also wrote a letter to the Governor of Madras, as under:

"------Soonda Raja administered the Government for twenty days. During the time the Rani and her family and civil and military officers were exceedingly aggrieved by certain ill-advised measures of his, and the Rani expressed to me her desire that I should act as her guardian and superintend the affairs. She also told this to Dr. Ingledew who declared his readinass to acquiece in my measure------I was accordingly appointed Regent.

"I accepted the office confided to me in consideration of the ties by which I am connected with the family of the late Raja------."

Chowrira Appanna's Role:

What has to be said at this stage is the role of Chowrira Appanna in enthroning Lingaraja. Chowrira Kariappa and Chowrira Appanna were the two important persons of the time. Some have called them as ministers and some as Dewans but it could be said that they were the chief headmen at the royal court. Rev. Moegling, in his 'Coorg Memoirs' gave the following account of what had happened in the months of July and August 1809. He said, that:

"The 'peaceable' Lingaraja, however, was not quite unworldly minded. He was much at the palace, and was busy among the chief Coorgs (Kodavas)------They certainly did not much approve of the rule of a foreigner like the Sode Raja who was rumoured to have forged the will of the Raja. Dr. Ingledew enquired into it and found some truth in it. This Sode Raja, a son-in-law of the late Raja, from Goa, was performing the Dewan's duties. Hombale Nayak, one of the Dewans, even threatened to resign (in protest). One day there was a gathering of chiefs at the palace. It was proposed to displace Sode Raja by Lingaraja, but when the proposition was thrown out, Lingaraja rode away in his horse towards his residence in Haleri.

"As he was going along the market, Chowrira Appanna, one of the Dewans, met him. "Why do you cry, Lingaraja?", he asked. "I have been rejected by the Kodagu Panchayat. All is lost", he said.

"Come with me, Lingaraja. I will set you on the throne of Kodagu", said Appanna, and then at the palace, he pleaded with the Panchayat. The Kodagu people changed their mind. Lingaraja was preferred to the Raja of Sode.

"Dr. Ingledew, a British agent in Kodagu, was surprised when he saw Lingaraja 'usurping' the throne. He refused to transact business with him although he stayed with Rani's insistence. He was waiting for the orders from the Government of India. He wrote on the 13th July 1809, to the Resident that he was outwitted."

Thus it was Appanna who was primarily responsible to raise Lingaraja to the position of the Raja of Coorg but it took a long time to get the Government of India's confirmation. In the meantime, Lingaraja made all efforts to woo the English authorities to win their favour and to be in their good books.

Lingaraja's Gestures:

By the end of the year 1809, Lingaraja was out on wooing the British to get their recognition and approval to be their ruler after ousting his neice Devammaji. At home,

he fostered a group to hold on to support his stand, and, as to the British, he kept on writing to them nice letters. The one that he wrote to the Governor-General of India, dated the I2th December I809, was as below:

"------The children of my late brother, considering me in the light of even more than a father, are perfectly connected and happy while I, regarding them as my own children, extend my special care and protection to them.

"I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship by the hands of my Vakil by way of NUZZUR, four elephants, a pair of sandalwood CHOWRIs and the late Raja's picture, although they are not worthy of being presented to your Lordship's disposal, and as I hope, for your Lordship's favour and protection, I have taken the liberty of sending them and shall feel myself highly honoured by your Lordship's acceptance of them.

"The Most Noble Marquess of Wellesley, regarding my brother as one of his own children, was pleased to confer on him a most honourable mark of distinction, namely a sword as a testimony of his Lordship's personal friendship. I now hope that your Lordship, regarding me as your son, will be pleased to present me with a rich suit of clothes such as Englishmen of rank wear-----as a token of your friendship. I shall attire myself with them in due form and shall remain more than ever devoted to the service of the British Government-----."

Rev. Moegling, in his "COORG MEMOIRS" stated in detail the way Lingaraja found to enthrone himself. He began by saying about the gifts of Lingaraja that the latter sent to the Governor of Madras and others. He said, that:

"-----Lingaraja sent a deputation to Madras consisting of Ponnappa, Muthanna and Harji, a Parsee, who had to deliver to the Governor a picture of the late Viraraja. The present was graciously received, and the deputation dismissed with suitable gifts and a letter written to Lingaraja, which was calculated to satisfy him fully.

"Lingaraja was now the acknowledged guardian of the young Rani and regent of Coorg. The next step was to make his helpless ward sign a paper in which she abdicated her sovereignty in favour of her uncle. The document was fully transmitted to Mr. Cole who was requested to forward it to the Government of Madras and to the Supreme Government. This was done in the summer of I8I0."

Lingaraja & Money Bonds:

After almost strengthening his position as a guardian and a care-taker, Lingaraja claimed his right for the money deposited by his late brother. He wrote to the British, both as a member of the royal family and also as a ruler of the State. But his behaviour had caused some embarrassing situation for the British, and Rev. Moegling wrote in his "Coorg Memoirs", as below:

"-----Mr. Arthur Cole had some disagreeable correspondence with Lingaraja about the seizure of the British subject, Parsee Byramjee, who had been cast into prison under fictitious charge of having forged papers for the Raja of Sode. Lingaraja was not likely to give up the reins of power; that the Sode Raja claimed Rs. One lakh in the Bombay Government funds and a Jaghir of the value of four or five thousand Pagodas according to the promise made to him by the late Viraraja. Lingaraja objected to this demand. Sode Raja was given Rs. 4000 for his travel home, and, he returned to his country."

From this one could know that Lingaraja was repudiating the will of his late brother. Having successfully manouevred to become a guardian of the minor ruler, he succeeded in packing off the Sode Raja to his country without even honouring the commitments made by the late Raja in respect of Rs. One lakh in Bombay funds which was stipulated to be paid to Rajammaji and her husband, the Raja of Sode. Lingaraja was thus playing a vicious game

game, and now his next move was to succeed to the throne himself and together with that he also stressed on his right to the funds deposited by the late Raja. His three Vakils, Parsee Harji, Ponnappa and Subedar Muthanna (family names not known), who went to Madras, wrote to the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, on the 27th December 1809, that:

"The original pro-note for 1,86,840 Pagodas in favour of his Highness, the late Raja of Coorg, on account of his daughter Devammaji, having been transmitted by Lingaraja to M/S. Binny & Co., to enable them to receive the interests due thereon agreeably to the resolution of the Government dated the 24th of last month, we, the undersigned, being Lingaraja's vakils, we had also been authorised to receive the said interest to request that you will be pleased to permit the above named gentlemen to draw the said interest accordingly as her Highness the Rani's English agent, by whom the same will afterwards be paid to us, according to the directions they have received.

"Submitted through Mr. Arthur Cole, Resident of Mysore. Sd) Harji Nannoji, Ponnappa and Muthanna."

Financial Affairs- Again:

The Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, Mr. Falconer, wrote to Messers Binny & Dinnison, on the 29th December 1809, that:

"The Vakils of Lingaraja having made application that you might be permitted to receive the interest due on an original pro-note for Rs. 1,86,840 Pagodas in favour of his Highness the late Raja of Coorg on account of his daughter Devammaji, I am directed to acquaint you that the Right hon'ble the Governor-General grants you authority to draw the said interest on account of the Rani. Sd) A.Falconer, Madras."

Rev. Moegling, in his COORG MEMOIRS, stated the circumstances in which Devammaji had then been placed, and Lingaraja's anxiety in getting the accounts in the English firms and banks in his name. Moegling's version of the story was as below:

"On the 14th December (1809 ?), the Marquess of Hastings signed a despatch to the Government of Fort St. George on this (on the abdication of Devammaji). The document of abdication signed by the little Rani, appeared to be of no value to him, whatsover. Being a child she could not be considered as capable judging correctly. It was no doubt altogether a scheme and a fraud of Lingaraja. The Governor-General was of the opinion that it was unnecessary to take any steps now-----In the beginning of the year 1811, Lingaraja announced to the Government of Fort St. George that he has permanently assumed the Government of Kodagu.

"Lingaraja took the opportunity of selling Rs. three lakhs of Viraraja's deposits to Messers Forbes & Co., who demanded cash payment from the Government. Here also the treasury objected because the bonds were not in Lingaraja's name. The Governor-General declared that he reserved the settlement of the Kodagu bonds for the future. When Devammaji attained her majority, it would be enough to see whose property in the Madras funds was. As to the Bombay bonds, it was Lingaraja's business to prove in a court of law that he was the proprietor. At Madras, Messers Binny & Co., drew the interest every year for the Raja of Coorg, first in Devammaji's name and afterwards in the name of Lingaraja, and (later) his son Virappa or Viraraja the Younger------."

A New Bond Preferred:

In the year 1810, Lingaraja did everything to get himself to "permanently assume the Government of Coorg" as said by Rev. Moegling in his above note. He also took interest to get the financial problem settled with the British. On the 3rd January 1810, Mr. Arthur Cole, then Resident of Mysore, wrote to the Government, Fort St. George, Madras, stating that:

"I do myself the honour to suggest that the Accountant-General may be directed to furnish Messers Binny & Dennison who are appointed the agents of the Rani of Kodagu with a new bond drawn out in the name of her Highness Devammaji for the sum of Star Pagodas I,86,840 which was invested in the hon'ble Company's fund by her father the late Raja on the 20th March I809. Sd) A.H.Cole, First assistant-in-charge, Mysore."

The Accountant-General of the Madras Government wrote to the Mysore Residency, on the 5th March I8II about the exchange of the bonds etc which subject had been under correspondence for a long time. That letter said, that:

"In reference to your letter of the 24th December last (I8I0), regarding the bond held by her Highness the Rani of Kodagu, of the hon'ble Company, I have now the honour to transmit to you the new bond at the reduced rate of interest.

"You will be pleased on delivering this bond, to require the return of the former one and to obtain to it the endorsement or discharge of the Rani. The interest which will have become due thereon from the last payment to the date of the new bond can be certified in this office and paid by either a draft on your treasury or at the Presidency to the Rani's agents.

"I have the honour to request the exchange of the bonds may be arranged at your earlier convenience. Sd) G.Barlow, Acct.-General, St.Fort George."

The Marquess of Hastings, in a letter to Devammaji, on the 28th February I8I0, said almost approvingly that Lingaraja took charge of the affairs as he "was justly the object of her choice", and further stated that:

"------The arrangements which has been made for the administration of the country during your minority, has my entire approbation. As your uncle and guardian, Lingarajendra Wodeyar was justly the object of your choice while from his respectable character he possesses in great degree the confidence and affection of the people. I am satisfied that an administration conducted by his virtues and abilities, is calculated to promote the prosperity of your country and the happiness of your subjects, and then in his parental care and guardianship you will experience the utmost attainable compensation for the loss of your respected father.Sd) Marquess of Hastings, Governor-General, 28th February I8I0."

More About Lingaraja:

Lingaraja after successfully ousting the Sode Raja with a payment of only Rs. 4,000, became a guardian of Devammaji and Regent to the Kodagu affairs. But his game did not end with that. He made the young Rani to write to the British, together with his own letters, about his brother Viraraja's deposits in the Company treasury. His letter to the Governor-General of India of the 29th December I809, was as below:

"On the day of the late Raja's death, Devammaji sent for me. On the same day, Dr. Ingledew arrived from Mysore and on the day following the funeral, he told the Rani that she was now the ruler of the State and that until she is grown up it was desirable that she should appoint Basavalinga Raja of Soonda to conduct the state affairs.

"The Raja of Soonda------administered for twenty days when the Rani and the late Raja's family and the army and people of Kodagu, feeling aggrieved by certain offensive measures on his part, the Rani was exceedingly dissatisfied and told me that I was his own uncle and was no doubt disposed to act as a father towards her and family by extending my care and protection to them, and requested that until she should attain her age, I would assume the charge of the Government and administer the public affairs.

"The Rani at the same time made a similar communication to Dr. Ingledew who said that whatever might be her will and pleasure and the wishes of the people, was agreeable to him and he was accordingly pleased to invest me with the direction and management of the state affairs------."

In another letter of the 3Ist January I8I0, Lingaraja wrote also to the Governor-

Governor-General when he called himself a Regent, and further explained himself about the things, stating that:

"I have received a letter from Mr. Cole that he has received orders from you to inform me that I should immediately fulfil the wish of the late Raja in respect to the Jaghir of 5,000 Pagodas which during his life he signified to the British Government, his wish to grant to his daughter who married the Raja of Soonda."

About the Bombay Funds:

Writing a long letter, and in continuation of what he had begun in the above letter of the 31st January 1810, Lingaraja explained at length as below:

"-----In 1801-02, my brother (the late Raja) in a letter to the Earl of Mornington, proposing to give his daughter the interest of Rs. One lakh, out of the two lakhs which he held in Company's deposits in the Treasury of Bombay. But before his death, he wrote to Mr. Duncan, Governor of Bombay, desiring that the whole of his property in the funds of Bombay might be transferred to his daughter Devammaji, which superseding the other arrangement, he resolved to grant a Jaghir of 5,000 Pagodas in the names of children of the Raja of Soonda. This he wrote to your lordship but he did not receive your commands upon the subject, and, therefore, it did not take effect. In consequence of the Jaghir not having been granted, my brother proposed to grant an allowance of Rs. 1,000 per month to the Raja of Soonda but never gave it.

"As none of these three arrangements were carried into effect, the Raja of Soonda, after my brother's death, sent me a verbal message by Parsee Harjie stating that he had not possessed any money------My lord, as I make no distinction between the children of the Soonda and my own, I have in compliance with the Raja's wishes, presented with a lakh of rupees, and also Rs. 4,000 for T.A. The Raja has taken the money, and with his wife and two children departed for Goa leaving one child with me which I consider the same as my own and take ~~xxx~~ every possible care of it.

"I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship, a copy of the Soonda's receipt for the money------My Lord, the family of the late Raja consists of 15 to 20 persons, male and female, and the territory of Kodagu is very small and full of forests. If, therefore, every member of the family was to receive a Jaghir of 5,000 Pagodas, it must be evident to your Lordship that nothing would remain for defraying the expenses of several State departments.

"Considering the power and greatness of the British Government on earth as that of God in heaven, I am from my heart and soul devoted to it, and I entertain a confident hope that your Lordship regarding me as one of your own children will cherish and support me-----I never cease to offer up my prayers to the Almighty that British power and British protection may be extended over the world."

Lingaraja also enclosed a copy of the receipt given to him by the Raja of Soonda, which was as under:

"------Whereas my father-in-law did promise to comply with my several requests, but did not give effect to them, and, therefore, I represented these circumstances to my father-in-law's brother and sent a message to him by Parsee Harijie stating that if he would give me a lakh of rupees in cash on my return to 'Banadawaree'(?); I would ask for nothing more. Accordingly I have this day received through Muthu Bhat 20,000 Venetian coins, being equal to Rs. one lakh and hereby declare that I have no claim to anything beyond that sum."

"Written by Soobe ~~Mxx~~ Mutsady of Palur taluq, on the 14th January 1810"

Some More Letters:

Between the years 1810 and 1812, many letters were exchanged between the Company Government and Linga Raja, and the subject matter of those letters were as follows, given in the Index of the Secret proceedings of the Madras Government. (Pages 2945-2948):

The Index for January 1810: A letter from Lingaraja, Regent of Kodagu, acknowledging the receipt of the present offerings, elephants, etc in return, and requesting to be honoured with an 'English full dress' and requesting that the interest due on a bond in the name of Devammaji may be paid.

The Index for 1810: From Lingaraja- representing that the claim of Sode Raja for the Jaghir of 5,000 Pagodas is superseded by his acceptance of a present of Rs. 100,000 and that the resources of the country would be exhausted if each of the late Raja's children were to receive such a Jaghir.

The Index for April 1810: From Devammaji to the Governor-General acknowledging receipt of the latter's letter and requesting his protection and the gift of the present intended for the Raja stating that the Raja of Sode has been dismissed from the Regency, and Lingaraja has succeeded him to their entire satisfaction.

A letter from Lingaraja to the Governor-General reporting his succession to the Regency and attachment to the British Government requesting his Lordship's acceptance of a gift and expressing a wish to receive one from his Lordship.

Another letter from Lingaraja stating that on the death of the late Raja, the Sode Raja was appointed Regent but at the end of twenty days he had been removed and Lingaraja had succeeded him and taken under his care the children of the late Raja.

Another letter from Lingaraja detailing three plans proposed by the Raja in favour of his son-in-law. Reports on his having paid the Sode Raja Rs. 400/- for his travelling expenses.

From the Governor-General to Devammaji requesting her acceptance of the amulet intended for her father, and approving the appointment of her uncle to the Regency of Kodagu.

In another letter, the Governor-General wrote to the Regent Lingaraja acknowledging receipt of three letters and also a present expressing his pleasure on hearing that he had succeeded to the Regency and adopted the children of the late Raja. They expressed their reliance on his attachment to the British and wrote that the present required (full English dress) would be sent to him."

Lingaraja's Accession:

In the year 1810, Lingaraja took full hold of the Government of Kodagu and began corresponding with the British as a Regent, and later on as a sovereign. For some time he wrote in the name of Devammaji, letters concerning the money deposited in the English banks, and later he wrote on his own. One such letter of Lingaraja was on the subject given below:

"Index for May 1810: From Lingaraja requesting the interest on his bond in May last may be paid to M/S Binny & Co., (Page 1755), and to Devammaji assuring her of the favour and protection of Government and expressing approbation of the existing arrangement for the Government of Kodagu.(Page 1784)

"From the Company Government to Lingaraja acknowledging receipt of letters and expressing satisfaction at his having received his brother's children under his care and for having fulfilled his brother's intentions with regard to the Sode Raja. His expressions of attachment to the British Government are received with entire credit. The interest on a particular bond will be paid as he has desired and according to his request, a full dress English coat is sent to him (Lingaraja).

Along with this voluminous correspondence, Lingaraja became a full-fledged sovereign of Kodagu, and after the departure of the Sode Raja by the end of the year 1809, he had no opponents, also. But Lingaraja's formal enthronement took place during the first half of the year 1811, and the important correspondence of the time included the following:

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Index for June 1811: To Lingaraja congratulating on his accession to the throne, and the Company Government informed that it will be proper to transmit his correspondence through the Resident of Mysore (Page 2435 of the Secret letters file).

Index August 1811 (Page 3205), a letter from Lingaraja in reply to the one from Sir George Barlow, and another letter to Messers Binny & Dinnison to receive the interest of the Government funds.

Index- September 1811 (Page 3442), a letter from Lingaraja concerning his right to ~~dr~~ draw the interests of the property of the late ~~of~~ Raja of Kodagu in the Company's paper, either in his own right or that of his neice is now unquestionable request that the Government will authorise payment of at least in part of that interest specified-----".

DR. I. M. MUTHANNA,
M.A., (B.O.L.,) B.T., (MADRAS)
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CHAPTER IV.

Linga Raja II and the British.

The British Administration:

Whatever might have been the personal history of these Rajas and the Ranis, one should note that from the year I790, and with the treaty of Tellicherry of I792-73, Kodagu came under the British, and these Rajas had only some restricted powers within their State. Even with those limited powers those native rulers failed to serve their people well. Their repressive regimes were still barbaric and the British had to be reminding them every now and then to retrace their steps.

Viraraja the Elder, no doubt, was autocratic and cruel in spite of his RAJENDRANAME in which he scrupulously avoided mentioning about his own oppressive rule. Nevertheless, the British officers were there to introduce some modern measures even as early as that. Dr. William Ingledew, a Suregeon of Mysore Residency, vaccinated more than 7,000 people of Kodagu from October I808 to October I809.

The British also had planned to build roads. The passing of the British army from Malabar to Mysore through Virarajpet, Siddapur and Peryapatna in I79I and again in I799, had already laid the foundation to a long range topographical plans. They also laid down plans to build other roads from Kodlipet in the North to Kutta and Manantody in the South. But it took some time to bring these schemes into a reality.

After Viraraja's death, many more letters were exchanged between the Company Government and Devammaji or other behalf, by Lingaraja. The letter that went in the name of Devammaji announcing the death of Viraraja (Index No. I4I2), her another letter concerning the issue of succession (Index No. I670), and Lingaraja's letter declaring himself as a Regent (Index No. I766), were all important. A few of these letters signify the chaotic state of affairs that existed soon after the death of the elder Viraraja.

Most of the letters were concerned to the succession issue, and Lingaraja tried hard to un-do the will of his late brother and thus set himself on the throne. He succeeded in proving that the will itself was forged. But to assume full power he sought the co-operation of both the people and the British Government. Much about this has already been told in the previous chapter, and here some more letters of that time wre produced together with the records concerning the deposits of Viraraja the Elder in the name of his daughters. Many messengers were running to and fro and messages kept on going about between Madikeri, Mysore and Madras from about the month of May I809 for about two to three years till I8I2.

Lingaraja to George Barlow:

After assuming power as a Regent, Lingaraja continued corresponding with Sir George Barlow, Governor of Madras, especially with regard to the money deposited in the Company treasury. He got some letters written in that connection by Devammaji because a major portion of the deposits were in her name. Lingaraja's letter to George Barlow, dated the month of May I8I0, was, as below:

"------Relying with perfect confidence on your uniform kindness towards me, I, without hesitation take the liberty to represent that the interest on my bond, will become due on the Ist May I8I0, and I request that the hon'ble Company Treasurer may be instructed to pay it through Messers Binny & Dinnison to my servants Harjie Parsee, Ponnappa Sardar and Muthanna Subedar. I should also feel particularly qualified if you would at the same time favour me with a letter-----". Sd) Lingaraja.

In the meantime, Sir George Barlow's reply to Devammaji's letters on the death of father and the consequent arrangements, was received. The letter dated the 28th May I8I0, said that:

"-------Received your letters; the lamented intelligence of the decease of your late father and transmitting a copy of his will, and the second letter about the receipt of the amulet sent by the Governor-General as a pledge for his friendship.

"I embrace the opportunity of assuring you that the favour and protection which your father experienced, will invariably be extended to his family and descendants. The arrangement which has been made for the administration of Kodagu during your minority has my entire approbation, as your uncle and guardian, Lingaraja, was justly the object of your choice, while from his respectable character, he possesses in a great degree the confidence and affection of the people-----".

Among the important letters that were passed on to the Company Government, the fact that the Sode Raja and Rajammaji had a son in I805, that Viraraja had another two daughters from his favourable second wife, and that of the death of the Rani on the 7th June I807, With that the elder Viraraja's hopes of having a son had also vanished. Viraraja wrote a letter to Lord Minto on the 7th October I807, and another one to the Company Government on the I2th October I807. Resident Cole of Mysore sent a report dated the 4th March I807 about the Raja's deteriorating health, and on the 24th May I809, reports were sent about the Raja's insanity and cruelty towards his people. He died on the 9th June I809, after giving his Seal to Devammaji, his young daughter. From that day till I8II, it took two years for Lingaraja to announce himself as the head of the State with full powers.

The Governor's Letter:

The Governor-General's letter to Devammaji, dated the 28th February I8I0, "embracing the opportunity of renewing the assurance contained" in a previous letter, and as " pledge of that assurance", he desired that the young Rani "accept a badge which was intended for her late father, and that she will wear it as an amulet of hereditary favour and protection. In a letter dated the 28th May I8I0, Sir George Barlow wrote to Lingaraja as below:

"-----You have transmitted to me, by the hands of your deputies, Ponnappa Sardar, Muthanna Subedar and Harjie Parsee. I accepted with peculiar satisfaction the picture of your late brother, Viraraja, for whose character I entertained the highest respect, such a memorial however was unnecessary to preserve the memory of one, who was justly considered to be among the number of the most sincere friends and adherents of the British Government. His ardent attachment to the British interests, and his meritorious conduct in the late war with Tipu Sultan, have been repeatedly acknowledged, and will never be forgotten. He has indeed transmitted to his family an heriditary claim to the favour and protection of the British Government.

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"I am extremely happy to learn that you have received your brother's children under your immediate care; Your fatherly conduct towards them is highly creditable to you----- Your respectable character and the consideration and influence which you possess among all classes of the people qualify you in a peculiar degree for that important trust. I therefore received with great pleasure the information that you had by the Rani's express desire, assumed the administration of the Government-----I have observed with great satisfaction that one of the first acts of your administration, was to fulfil the wishes of your late brother in respect to his son-in-law, the Raja of Soonda, by making a liberal provision for his support------In conformity with your request, I have given orders at the Company's Treasury that the interest which was due on the 1st of the current month on the bond in the name of Devammaji should be paid through the agents, Messers Binny & Dinnison, to your deputies, Harjie Parsee, Ponnappa Sardar and Muthanna Subedar.

"I have much pleasure in complying with your request for an English full dress. I have accordingly given orders to have a dress prepared, and it is now forwarded to you, in charge of your deputies------. Sd) George Barlow (Governor of Madras)."

On Money Transactions:

During the years 1811 and 1812, some more letters of great importance were passed on between Lingaraja and the East India Company, including the officials of the Company Treasury. Those letters showed that Lingaraja, after enthroning himself, was keen on getting the interest on the money that was in the name of Devammaji. Some of these letters were from the files of the Madras Secret Proceedings of the time, and the below notes are reproduced from the Index of the reports. In a letter dated the 23rd July 1811, Lingaraja wrote to the Madras Governor, Sir George Barlow, and the note given in the Index about that letter was as below:

"I shall always consider the children of my brother as my own and show them every kindness and attention in my power------May the Almighty prolong your authority over me and may my people great and small partake of its benign influence-----I am continually offering up prayers for the continuance of your life and prosperity-----".

That was the subject on which Lingaraja wrote, and that he did- not only to get the approval of the British for his ascending the throne but also to get permission from them to withdraw or use the amount that was in the name of brother's daughter. Another letter of the 2nd August 1811 by Lingaraja to Sir George Barlow, was according to the note in the Index, as given below:

"-------Lingaraja sent his power of attorney to M/S Binny & Co., to receive the interest on Government funds at Madras for 1,86,840 Pagodas which is in the name of Devammaji------".

The Binny & Co., wrote on the 22nd August 1811, requesting that they "may receive payment of the interest due on a bond belonging to Lingaraja.

The Index concerning the letter dated the 4th September 1811 said that:

"Messers Binny & Dinnison wrote concerning the right of Lingaraja to draw the interest of the property of the late Raja in the Company's paper or in his own right or that of neice, is now unquestionable; also requested that the Government will authorise payment of at least a part of that interest specified."

A letter dated the 12th May 1812, said about the below subject:

"The Raja of Kodagu- in reply to the letter respecting the money invested in the Bombay funds, has directed his agent to pay back the money into the Company's treasure, (and this was according to the letter of the 10th April 1812.)

"Rani Devammaji. requesting that she may be put in the possession of the Jaghir intended for her father by the late Raja, and, that her husband may be placed in possession of his country and that her mother may have permission to visit her."

The Index for the letter dated the I2th May I8I2, said in respect of another letter that:

"From Rajammaji requesting one half of the country of Kodagu; payment of arrears on account of the Jaghirs and Rs. one lakh, and that she may have assistance in building a house at Soonda. If Kodagu country is made over to her husband she will pay an annual tribute of one lakh of Pagodas.

"From the Soonda Raja on the I2th May I8I2, requesting to be restored to the possession of his own country and of the Jaghir intended to be granted by the late of Kodagu------".

Some More Letters:

Some more letters were exchanged between the British officials and Lingaraja who also wrote letters in the name of Devammaji. A letter of February 28, I8I0, by the Governor of Madras, to the Raja, was as below:

"I am extremely happy to learn that you have received your brother's children under your immediate care. Your fatherly conduct towards them is highly creditable to you, and will no doubt find its reward in their gratitude and affection. As the uncle and guardian of Devammaji, you are properly invested with the administration of the Government during her minority. But your respectable character and the consideration and influence which you possess among all classes of the people to qualify you in a peculiar degree for that important trust; I therefore received with great pleasure the information that you had by the Rani's express desire, assumed the administration of the Government. I have much pleasure in complying with your request, for an English full dress. I have given orders to have a dress prepared and it shall be sent to you through the Resident------Your deputies will now return (from Madras) and will convey you my sincere regards."

Lingaraja's reply to the above letter was equally courteous and his statement of facts pertaining to his interest on Devammaji and some other subjects, seem to be bordering on hypocritical stand that he had consistently taken to come to power. He wrote that:

"My Lord, I beg to assure you that I consider the children of my brother as my own and it will be my constant care to provide in every respect for their comfort. This always been the practice of the nobles of this kingdom. Since Devammaji is equally dear to me and indeed more so than my own daughter, I have in obedience of her express desire consented to accept the MUSNAD of Kodagu and to take upon myself the permanent administration of the Government, and the care of the interests of all classes of subjects. For further particulars, I beg leave to refer your Lordship to the Rani's letter. As soon as I shall receive the English full dress through the Resident, considering it as a token of favour and protection of the British Government, I shall immediately invest myself with it, and I and my whole family will ever remain impressed with the strongest sentiments of attachment and gratitude to the British-----".

"The particulars of the State, about the Raja of Sode, etc will have been explained to you by Laxmana Rao (the Dewan). Harjie Parsee was one of my faithful and confidential adherents as he was formerly under my brother-----" Sd) Lingaraja.

Devammaji Surrendered:

Devammaji's letter that was received by the Governor of Madras on the 9th September I8I0, revealed that she had resigned or forced to resign her responsibilities due to the

the manouvring of her uncle who professed his affection on his brother's children. The young Rani could not do much because she had not yet reached her teens and could not in fact understand the implications of things going on around her. In fact, the letters that were signed by her were in fact written by Lingaraja, and this letter said that:

"------Your Lordship's friendly letters of the 28th February 1810, which was delivered by Subedar Muthanna and Harjie Parsee. The contents have afforded me great satisfaction and I consider it as conferring the highest honour on me that I should accept the badge which was intended for my deceased father, and that I should wear it as an amulet of hereditary favour and protection from the British Government, was made known to me, and the moment I received the amulet from Mr. Cole, considering it as a pledge of the protection of the British Government, I made a solemn return of thanks for so great a blessing and binding it on my arm, I imagined myself possessed of temporal and eternal happiness; for this token of your favour will be a cause of joy and exultation to all the people in this kingdom."

"In your letter you say "the arrangement which you had been made for the administration of the Government of Kodagu during your minority, has my entire approbation. As your uncle and guardian Lingaraja was justly the object of your choice, while from his respectable character he possesses in a great degree the confidence and affection of the people. I am satisfied that an administration conducted by his virtues and abilities is calculated to promote the prosperity of your country and the happiness of your subjects."

"I beg to assure you that the fatherly kindness and attention of my respected uncle towards me and all people exceeds the powers of expression. Although it is one and a half years now since the death of my father, yet much has been the kindness of my uncle that I never had occasion to regret his loss, indeed there is no one who-----is qualified to conduct the affairs of the Government------except Lingaraja. When therefore I attain my full age I propose to lead a life of retirement. It would then be impossible that the administration of public affairs, the maintenance and efficiency of the Army---- my comfort------should be provided for, without the help of my uncle who is fact supplies the place of my father. I have therefore resigned to him for ever the MUSNAD and Government, that he may take me under the wings of his protection------I shall pass the whole life in rendering my tribute of gratitude to the British Government------Sd) Devammaji."

A young girl who was not even ten years old would not write all these things, and it was evident that the usurper Lingaraja was cooking up things for his own advantage in the name of that young minor girl. Well, that was exactly that!

The British Suspected:

With so many letters being exchanged, the British were still left in doubt on the claim of Lingaraja to MUSNAD though he was the brother of the late Raja. They sensed Lingaraja's crude way in trying to ascend the MUSNAD on 'fictitious grounds'. The chief Secretary, Government of India, Fort William, wrote to W. Thackeray of Fort St. George, dated the 14th December 1810, as below:

"I am directed to transmit to you------the enclosed letters------to the Governor-General-------from the minor Rani of Kodagu and her uncle and guardian, Lingaraja (who) permanently assumed the dominion of Kodagu, it is observed, under the ostensible resignation of the former (the minor Rani), thereby changing the order of succession prescribed by the late Raja.

"It is superfluous to observe that the young Rani at her tender age cannot be considered capable of such an act of volition; and that Lingaraja's permanent assumption of

of the RAJ, must be deemed to be a measure entirely his own, and covering no legality of confirmation from the renunciation of the Rani.

The Governor-General-in-Council, having in March I809 referred to the consideration of this Government the question of guaranteeing the order of succession proposed by the late Raja who also wrote to the Governor-General on the subject------On the 3rd April I809, the Governor-General signified his opinion that the confirmation and support of the arrangement for the succession proposed by the Raja, ought to depend upon its conformity to local law and usage and his Lordship is disposed to think that the same rule is applicable to the present case. The general assurance affords to the late Raja at times when Government was anxious to soothe his mind recovering from the invitation of a temporaray derangement-------by the approach of death. of a disposition to maintain the arrangement which he proposed to the future Government of his country, cannot be considered of a nature to impose on the British an obligation to support an order of succession adverse to the laws, the prejudices and wishes of the people, and probably under the charge, in convenience and odium, of employing a military force in the prosecution of the subject.

The Governor-General, therefore, suggests to the consideration of the Governor, the expediency of adopting measures with a view to ascertain the degree of claim to the succession which Lingaraja may be understood to possess, according to the laws and usages of the country, as contra-distinguished from that of the Rani, and her off-spring, under the will of her father and the general sentiments and wishes of the body of the people, and the chiefs of Kodagu, before a determination is taken on the question now brought under notice by the Rani and the Regent.

"------The Resident in his letter of the I8th July I809 said that Lingaraja is entertaining the design of placing himself on the throne, and, therefore, he was directed to inform Lingaraja that the British Government would be ready to consider his pretensions, it being an established maxim of the Government to maintain in countries under its protection, the order of succession established by the laws and usages------To countenance his permanent assumption of the RAJ, however exceptionable his conduct may be considered to have been in assuming, on the fictitious ground stated in his letter, and without the previous sanction of the British Government. Sd) N.B.Edmonstone, Chief Secretary, Fort William (Calcutta) I4-I2-I8I0."

"An Ancient Custom":

The letters that were conveyed to the Madras Governor through the representatives sent from Kodagu, were mainly on the subject of Lingaraja's ascendency to the throne. He got many letters written by himself as well as Devammaji, and one such letter of the 9th October I8I0, and signed by Devammaji, was as below:

"To Sir George Barlow-------I have------invested him (Lingaraja) with the administration of the Government, that he may undertake under his affectionate care and protection that he may watch over the interests of my subjects and that he may establish on a permanent foundation the prosperity of my country.

"It is my incessant prayer to the Almighty that my respected uncle may long continue to govern us with honour and glory------. Sd) Devammaji."

Together with the above letter, Lingaraja himself addressed a letter to the Governor, after the arrival of his emissaries back in Kodagu. The Raja wrote that:

"------Received Vakils- Harjie Parsee, Subedar Muthanna and Sardar Ponnappa, (and) the gracious expressions contained in your letter. You are pleased to state the fatherly conduct towards my brother's children is extremely satisfactory to you-----You ------complied with my request for English dress which you forwarded to me------.

"It is an ancient custom of our House to consider our brother's children as our own and to take them under our particular care-------Devammaji is as a daughter to me and by your directions and her express desire, I accepted the administration of the Govern-

Government of Kodagu-------I felt peculiar satisfaction in putting on the English dress which you had the goodness to send me. You were pleased to intimate that when the ships should arrive from England, you would forward a hat to me, and I indulge the hope that you will confer this favour to me.

The Vakil Parsee Harjie who has been a good friend and adherent of the Government from the time of the late Raja, will communicate to you other information respecting the affairs of this state; and also Laxmana Rao with letters under seal and signature of the said Raja. Sd) Lingaraja."

With this, Lingaraja has been able to please the British, and with his English dress and the expected new hat, he was preparing himself to take the best advantage possible of the circumstances of the time.

"Permanent Assumption":-

The English Government had to finally heed to Lingaraja's manouevres, and confirmed him as the ruler of Kodagu. Thus Devammaji's chance was by-passed and this action was the cause for a series of tragic incidents during the next twenty years of Kodagu history. The Governor of Madras wrote to the Resident of Mysore on the 15th January 1811, that:

"I am directed to transmit the copy of a despatch from the chief secretary, Fort William (Calcutta), upon the subject of the permanent assumption of the Government of Kodagu by Lingaraja------As the Governor received no intimation from you of the abdication of the Rani and the permanent assumption of the Government by Lingaraja, and as the letters from the Rani and Lingaraja addressed to the Governor do not distinctly state this-------the Governor-General had not inferred from those letters that it was the intention of Lingaraja to alter the order of succession as established by the will of Viraraja-------Lingaraja concurs entirely with the Governor-General------as to the propriety and expediency of confirming Lingaraja in the succession, if his claims to it should be found to be consistent with the laws and usages of the country and agreeable to the people-------.

"The Governor, therefore, desires that measures should be adopted as suggested by the supreme Government to ascertain the degree of claim to the succession which Lingaraja may possess as to the laws and usages of the country-------The Governor directs that you will state your opinion as to the course which you may pursue------He conceives that your repairing in person to Kodagu will accord you the most likely means of procuring that information-----." 15th January 1811. Sd) W.Thackeray, Chief Sec."

Thus the whole trend of events went in favour of Lingaraja from the day Dr.Ingledew recommended his case on the 4th July 1809, saying that he was 'a peaceable man'. Moreover, an element of democratic spirit was also displayed in choosing the successor to the late Raja. The British relied mostly upon the verdict of the people of the place, and among whom Chowrira Appanna played an important role in finding out a consensus. While laying aside Devammaji's claim, Appanna and other headmen decided that if Lingaraja had no son, a son of Devammaji and Sode Raja, would be the heir.

Chowrira Appanna:

It was not clear on how they decided on the above terms stating that "if Lingaraja had no son", when, in fact, Lingaraja had a son called Virappa who later became Viraraja the Younger. However, the role of Chowrira Appanna in bringing Lingaraja to the position of a ruler, was already said. Appanna, as days passed on, and taking advantage of his friendship with Lingaraja, seemed to have been moving around as almost equal to the Raja who, of course, did not like. As headman of the people, Appanna weilded considerable influence in the royal court. However, on one occasion, Lingaraja and Appanna, who was

was also called Dewan, had to differ seriously on a point. The Raja seemed to have been ignoring the minor scuffles that were taking place between them when especially the ruler wanted to assert his power before the people, but Appanna, as an officer of some standing, tried to force his opinion on the Raja. However, it so happened on one occasion, the crisis between them reached to a climax. The episode was described by Rev. Moegling, George Richtor and others, as stated below:

"Dewan Appanna was told by the Raja, "Confess your guilt", when the Dewan was seized and charged with treason. It was Appanna who had placed him on the throne in preference to the rule of a stranger, Sode Raja. Appanna relying on the Raja's gratitude continued to exhort, to warn, and at times, to resist his master. He had mistaken his man (the Raja whom he installed on the throne).

"In reply, the Dewan said, "I am guilty indeed, of one crime, of having made a wretch like you, the Raja of Kodagu."

"Lingaraja was mad with rage. Appanna with several other accomplices were carried into a jungle and were nailed to some large trees. The victims died after nine or ten days with curses on their lips."

Rev. Moegling's version of Lingaraja's character was as below:

"He was the incarnation of the worst elements of the Coorg (Kodagu) spirit. Greediness after gold, a bottomless depth of cunning, the most brazen hypocrisy, cowardice as abject as cruel and a strong dose of sensuality, were united in his character."

George Richtor was told about the atrocities of these Rajas that:

"Viraraja the Elder might have killed 5,000 men and Lingaraja from 3,000 to 3,500....."

"The peaceable Lingaraja" said Richtor, "however, was not quite unworldly minded as he appeared to the honest doctor (Ingledew). He (Lingaraja) was much at the palace and was busy among the principal Kodavas. They certainly did not much approve of the rule of a foreigner, the Sode Raja-------."

George Richtor proceeded to say that:

"One day there had been a gathering of the chiefs. It was proposed to displace the Sode Raja by Lingaraja but the proposition was thrown out. Lingaraja mounted his horse and rode away to his Haleri residence. At the market, Karyakar Appanna Dewan met the weeping Lingaraja.

Dr. Ingledew knew nothing of Appanna's help to Lingaraja. On the 9th July 1909, weeks after the death of Viraraja, during which period his reports had been full of Lingaraja's praises, the little Rani sent for him (Dr. Ingledew) and told him that she had reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the Sode Raja and that she wished to have her uncle as guardian administrator or the Regent."

The Sode Raja went to Dr. Ingledew and told his intention to return but the doctor would not agree to such a hasty step. He found that he had been duped, and protested against Lingaraja's usurpation. Anyway, Dr. Ingledew was also outwitted by Lingaraja, and two years later in 1811, he wrote to the Company Government that the Raja "had assumed power permanently."

GEN. Walsh's Report:

During the time of Viraraja the Elder and Lingaraja, many Europeans visited Kodagu, and outstanding among them was Col. Arthur Wellesley, later the Duke of Wellington, in the year 1800. Among the many other officials of the Company Government, General Walsh of the British Indian Army paid a visit to Lingaraja in 1811. The full account of his impressions of his travels were found in his books, "Military Reminiscences", and the

the below account is given from his articles in the 'Madras Herald' of the 20th March 1834, published on the eve of the annexation of Kodagu in April 1834. He began saying that:

"The kingdom of Coorg (Kodagu), situated to the westward of Mysore, is------surrounded by lofty mountains-----They have divided the whole country into squares-----there are wild rugged hills and highly cultivated valleys. Those squares (wetlands) where no streams or marshes are contained, being generally about a mile in width, with an enormous ditch and high mound------and covered inside and out, with deep jungle, in which are included many enormous forest trees. Some of these enclosures have four apertures for ingress and egress, one in each face; particularly those through which the principal roads pass, and which consequently present so many strong barriers against an approaching enemy. Every hill and mountain is also covered with jungle; the finest teak, jack, mango and other large trees, growing spontaneously in a country watered by numerous streams, and continual fogs and misty clouds, which from its great height, even above Mysore, are attracted by the hills, and cover them during the night. In such a country, no town or village meets the eye until you are close upon it; but though I have traversed nearly the whole, at different times, I do not remember to have seen above six or eight villages throughout; and I am indeed inclined to pronounce the majority of its inhabitants to be wild elephants, tigers, bears, bisons, buffaloes, hyenas, civets, elks, deer, antelopes and minor game. With such resources, it is easy to ensure a day's sport, by opening the barriers of one or more enclosures-----to secure them simultaneously.

"In the days of Hyder's successful occupation of the Musnad of Mysore, the reigning Raja of Kodagu was defeated and taken prisoner by this Muslim prince, and carried to Mysore, where he was kindly treated from policy and persuaded the usurper that if he would send him back to his own country, he would prevail on all his subjects to submit to the Muslim yoke; they having previously betaken themselves to their hills and fastnesses, from whence he could neither drive nor recall them. This man's name was Virarajendra. It is said that he took an oath of fidelity to Hyder before he was released and that in after times, he boasted of this breach of faith. Be that as it may, he proved himself as an able statesman, if such a term be applicable to a mountain chief, since he improved the natural fortifications of his kingdom, built towns, formed an armed militia, and successfully defied his former conquerer."

Walsh's Revelations:

General Walsh's narrative reveals a good amount of hitherto untold information of the time. He proceeds saying that:

"After the death of Tipoo, this extraordinary man (Viraraja) went suddenly mad, and in one day destroyed 1,200 of his relatives and principal nobles, leaving under an erroneous idea of his imbecility- only one younger brother alive of all the males of his family. Viraraja did not long survive this act, and most likely, such a man was assisted out of this world by some of the trembling slaves by whom he was attended. I had however nearly omitted to mention the act of all others which stamped his conduct with the most indelible character of insanity. There was an old woman who ~~was~~ confidentially attended him for years, cooked his victuals and frequented the interior of his palace, and a child- only a few years old, who was born there, a relation of this woman. After completing the work of destruction in which he had played a conspicuous part, assisted by several elephants and soldiers in the courtyard, he retired into his study; the old woman came in to offer her services, followed by the child, ~~laid it upon his table and deliberately dissected~~ when he immediately stabbed the woman, and seizing the child, laid it upon his table and deliberately dissected it with a pen-knife.

"He was succeeded by the boy (Lingaraja), whom his blindness had spared, and left his immense wealth as well as most absolute power over all his subjects, and every kind of property in his little kingdom; indeed, I blush to write it, the absolute deity of his ignorant and misguided people. As such in March 1811, was Lingaraja Wodeyar, to whom I carried

an introduction from the hon'ble Arthur Cole, Resident in Mysore, who was also the nominal Resident in Coorg (Kodagu).

"On the 19th of the same month, having heard much in praise of the sport in Kodagu, and being at leisure for such a trip, I set out from Bangalore in company with Lieut. Williamson, a young man of my own corps, both a keen and hardy sportsman as well as a very agreeable person. We travelled post in palanquins to Virarajendrapet, a distance of 150 miles, and, of course, could not make many observations on the road; but from my journal there I shall now make regular extracts- this country being little known even to the residents in India.

"On the 22nd of March (1811), after a hearty breakfast provided for us by the Raja's people, we mounted two large elephants at day break and proceeded over hills and through vales, up and down, zig-zag now at the bottom of deep ravines, then at the top of precipices, till at last, after 18 hours' fagging, we reached the palace, but for the accommodation of Europeans outside the stone fort of Merkharah (Madikeri), the capital. This place is delightfully situated on an eminence near the summit of a range of lofty and difficult mountains, but is nevertheless commanded by them. The pass up these mountains are fortified and defended, however, would make it very strong place, for it completely commands every approach on the other side. The distance we estimated at 24 miles. The Raja's own palace is inside the fort but his horse and elephant stables are outside, on the slopes of the glacis."

Walsh in Madikeri:

General Walsh continued to describe about his stay in Madikeri (Mercara) as the guest of Lingaraja. He added that:

"The town (Madikeri) is remarkably clean and well-built, about half a mile off, by an excellent high road; and at the further extremity there is a rising ground, with a strong mud barrier, after entering which, you come upon a small plain with a magnificent tomb, erected by the present Raja, to the memory of his late brother and his wife. The people invite Europeans in and show them every part of the building, and I really think it surpasses both Hyder and Tippu's as well as that erected by Aurangzib over his favourite wife at Aurangabad. It is much in the style of Muslim edifices, being a wide square with a handsome dome in the centre and four turrets at the angles. On the top of the dome is a gold ball with a weathercock above it and all the window bars are made of solid brass.

"On this spot, by appointment, we met the Mahaswami (the Raja) at half-past three in the evening. He was dressed in a major-general's uniform, appeared to be about thirty years of age, with handsome features, and a person in which were joined both activity and strength. He immediately shook hands with us and desired us to be seated; after a short conversation in Hindustani, which he at first addressed to an interpreter until he found that I could speak and understand him in that language. He then produced several rifles, ready loaded, ordered cocoanuts to be hoisted on the tops of spears, fifty yards off, and then desired us to fire. Suffice it to say, he beat us both most completely splitting every nut he fired in at the centre, while we, either struck the sides or missed entirely. After this, he asked us to take a ride with him, a beautiful English horse was brought to me, an Arabian to Lieut. Williamson, and he himself also rode a fine Arabian. We rattled about in the square for half an hour when he desired us to alight and rest ourselves, and taking a long spear, performed several feats with it still on horse-back with great grace and dexterity. Our horses being brought again, we remounted and proceeded with him to the fort, the Raja insisting on our riding one on each side of him all the way. On entering his palace, we were amused by a set of dancing girls, keeping time to reels and country dances played on two fiddles; and the Mahaswami showed us various portraits of himself, the king, the prince of Wales, Gen.Wellesley and others. He then took us into another apartment and showed us a dozen of highly finished single and double rifles, by Manton and Jover, fowling pieces, pistols, etc, then an air gun, which he desired us to try. It was now seven p.m. and torch light had succeeded the day-light in his courtyard, we took aim out of the window, at various things, and hit them, and I even knocked down a lime, a species of small lemon, off the top of a cocoanut, so uncommonly true did it carry."

"An Affable Treatment":

Lingaraja went out of the way to please those European visitors, and it seemed that the latter had come to see what sort of the man who enthroned himself after laying aside the claim of his neice, Devammaji. Lingaraja, perhaps, having had known of the fact, treated his guests to the best extent possible and with that he seemed to have been trying to get himself confirmed in his position as Raja. Gen. Walsh further stated that:

"His (the Raja's) son and several relations were next introduced to us, all fine looking boys; and the heir-apparent, being about 7 or 8 years old, dressed in a general's uniform, with a sword by his side, put me in mind of some old French prints, in which the girls are dressed in hoops and farthingales, and boys with big wigs and small swords. Ram-fights etc were going on all this time in the yard, as it were to amuse the attendants; and the two of the rams had four horns each. Then a lion made his appearence, led by a dozen men, with a strong rope. He appeared very tame, played with his leaders, and suffered me to go up to him and pat him on the back. I acknowledge that this was a bit of bravado on my part, and I was by no means sure how it would be received. Thank God! It turned out well, though there was more folly than judgments in the attempt. Next came a large royal tiger and two panthers, the former having his claws pared but very savage, trying every instant to break loose. We took leave at half-past seven, quite pleased with the kind and affable treatment of this prince, who, I am inclined to believe, is adored by his people.

"I must now describe our own habitation built on a small island, surrounded by paddy ground, now dry for the sole accommodation of Europeans; it is a large square, having a hall in the centre, a large covered-in verandha all round it, and four bed rooms projecting at the angles of the verandha; all on an upper storey, the lower room serving for the guards, attendants, store rooms etc. It stands on a square of 70 feet, the verandha having 38 glass windows with Venetian blinds outside. The bedrooms have sixteen windows, and the hall eight glass doors, every part being neatly furnished, in the English style, with beds, tables, card-tables, writing boxes, chairs etc etc. And there is an old butler of my early Vellore friend, Col. Ridgeway Mealy, and a dozen active servants, who very specially produce an English breakfast or dinner, served up on handsome Queen's-ware, with every kind of European liquor, and what is even still more extraordinary, the cook bakes a good bread.

"After all our exertions of this day, it may be readily be supposed we slept soundly and on the morning of the 23rd rose betimes as usual, a custom which I most strenously recommend to all young men doomed to spend any time in the East, and went to visit the Raja's stud and elephants, and amongst the latter found a young white one about two years old, most perfectly formed, with flaxen hair, light eyes and fair skin. Of these animals, as his country abounds in them, he has great abundance."

"The Mahaswami Shows Up:

Lingaraja took his English guests seriously and tried to please them by every means possible, and his admiring guests seemed to have appreciated the gesture. Gen. Walsh continued to state that:

"After breakfast we were astonished by a visit from the Mahaswami in state. No longer disguised in an European dress, he appeared in his native robes, richly decorated with jewels, and CERTES in my eyes, he appeared a much handsomer man. He sat a few minutes, and then told us that he had received intelligence of a wild elephant, and would, if we pleased, accompany us to go and shoot him. To us this was the most acceptable offer he could have made. We retired to prepare ourselves, and out-shooting apparatus; and on our return from our own rooms, found his Highness ready, with elephants and attendants. Away we set, the Raja himself driving the one I rode, sitting across its neck with a hook in the right hand, and a knife on the other, to cut down any small branches of trees likely to incommode me in the excursion. "Such a man", thought I, "at the head of his followers, must be invincible". So perfectly different from the

the effiminate grandeur of most Eastern potentates. Arrived at the spot which was only about a mile off, we dismounted, and while the people were preparing seats on trees for our reception, amused ourselves shooting arrows at a mark, in which, as usual, the Raja beat us hollow. When all was ready, each climbed his own tree, the Raja between us, and sat in a snug little wicker-box with three guns of the Raja's each, and two of his servants to load our pieces. The Raja had a single rifle carrying a twelve ounce ball, and two double ones, of one ounce each------The Raja explained to us where to take aim etc, which in an elephant, is a projecting spot immediately over each eye------.

"After four hours' watching while toms-toms were beating, collery horns blowing, and English drums sounding the general, the monster made his appearence, strutting in all the pride and wantonness of his enormous strength, and laying down every obstacle that came in his way. He came closer under Williamson's gun, who fired and killed him in the spot. The creature rolled over instantaneously, carrying away several small trees, as he extended his enormous bulk on the ground. For a minute afterwards the successful sportsmen unused to such game, sat with his mouth open, gazing in utter amazement, at the descending by our wicker ladders, were on the top of the carcase in a moment. It stood three feet long when extracted, and the length of the body was very nearly the same as its height. He had been very violent all the morning, being what the natives call MUST, and had demolished the huts and plantations of several of the ryots-----At such season, the elephant is very dangerous and blindly rushes on every thing that opposes him; at other times, though very furious when wounded, he is rather timid, and will not be the aggressor in a fray."

"We Paid Parting Visit":

General Walsh's report on his visit to Lingaraja in Madikeri in March 1811, is very lucid, and it affords an insight into the state of affairs of the time and the way the things were carried out. In continuation, he said that:

"Here, supposing our day's work was concluded, we proposed to take leave, but we were yet to learn something further of the kind attentions of this excellent prince. He told us that having kept us so long from our own tiffin, it being then 3'0 clock, he had ordered a dinner to be brought out for us; and, to our surprise, we found a small house built of leaves, a table and chairs, a dinner consisting of pillave, mutton cutlets, curry etc- all ready for us. Now was this all; the Raja followed us in, and begged us to excuse him as he was not very well, but left his servants with guns, powder, shot etc and four elephants, desiring us to amuse ourselves after dinner as we pleased. We accordingly dined and then beat a thick jungle for game, though without success, it being the dry season, when they retire into the most inaccessible parts of the mountains. At 5 p.m. we returned to our lodge well-satisfied with the adventure of the day.

"On the 24th (March) we took a pedestrian stroll in the evening in search of common game but returned unsuccessful; the jungle being every way impenetrable ten yards from the road. This day I beat the Raja in firing, and as he seemed busy, we took leave early though he would not hint so to us. We then visited his pets. The lioness has a capital house in the fort with a boarded floor and glass windows, very common in the East, and seems to be his great favourite------A large mortar is mounted in the same place. This is the only piece of ordnance I have seen in Coorg (Kodagu), and, indeed, this prince seems to trust more to the affections of his subjects, and the justice of the English than to the strength of his fortification and the multitude of his guns.

"On the 25th March, we paid our parting visit to the Mahaswami and received from him the following presents: two gold-handed Kodagu knives, two panther skin packs; two sandal wood sticks, one royal tiger and two panther skins, and parted from him with mutual expressions of esteem and regard. The Raja informed us that the present indifferent state of his health, and not being certain of finding game immediately, had alone prevented his taking us into the country to shoot but promised, if we should return at the same season next year, we should be amply gratified with field sports."

Walsh's Second Visit:

This was the first visit of General Walsh, but in I8I2, he travelled again through Kodagu to Cannanore, and here, he said his experience of his travel as below:

"Thus ended my first trip to Coorg (Kodagu), but as I trust what I have already stated will render my readers willing to know what remains to be told on this subject-----Having been ordered to form a light corps from both battalions of the regiment-----at Cannanore, I availed myself of the opportunity to pay a second visit to this interesting prince, and Mr. Arthur Cole was good enough to write and entreat he would be so kind as gratify my wishes although that was not a favourable time. Accompanied by Lieut. Meredith, a very fine young man of the regiment, also a keen sportsman-----I accordingly set out, and on the I7th October I8I2, reached Sedaseer (Siddapur), the first village in his country- after which my diary proceeds to say as follows:

"Here we were regaled with a cuddoo, agourd or pumpkin, curry and rice, by the Raja's guards who refused any pecuniary remuneration. The stockades seems newly furnished. We had some unpleasant heavy rain in the evening and saw many wild fowls in the tank. The whole road from Peryapatna is extremely bad and would require such repair to fit it for the passage of guns. There was more rain in the night.

"On the I8th October, we set forward, still in our palanquins, in a dense fog, and the roads bad, impassable for wheel carriages. At 9 a,m. we arrived at an open choultry in a small bazaar at Siddapur, distance ten miles, the barrier strong with a dry ditch, got a curry and egg for breakfast, and at II.30 mounted two elephants.

"At one mile, a barrier with a dry ditch, at one and a half miles- a small tank and swamp, and then another barrier, a large swamp on the right, a house on the right, another barrier with paddy field to the left, a nice tank and the village of Ammootnoor (Ammathi-Nad), beyond the paddy field, a small hill beyond, a barrier, a paddy field and a small village, houses on both sides and paddy field, a barrier, several houses as we ascended the small hill, Virarajendrapet- the road throughout was very bad. The last four miles had swamps and paddy fields intersected by deep water courses." (This is the description of the travel of Gen. Walsh between Siddapur and Virarajpet).

Walsh in Virarajpet:

General Walsh spent a considerable time in Virarajpet, and, of course, as a guest of the Kodagu Government, who looked after his needs and comforts. His diary proceeds to say that:

"We arrived at 20 minutes past 3 p.m. and took a walk to look at a Christian church building at the western extremity of the village; it is about half-finished, and will be a grand edifice for the Roman Christians to erect in a Pagean country. It is built from the foundation of a porous stone, called soap stone on the Malabar coast, cemented with light clay, very thick; and from a distance resembles an old Gothic ruin in England. It will be fully sufficient for 200 communicants, and this, I understand, is the number of these mongrel Christians, exclusive of their children, the whole population of the village being 2,000- also exclusive of children.

"We afterwards visited the native place of worship in the village which is like a common choultry outside, but a door opening within discovers in the back part a stone bull, or cow, covered with flowers, and immediately behind it, a full length portrait of the late Raja, set in gold recess in the wall. The Raja's subedar who is an obliging handsome man, unlike the superstitious bigots of other countries, seemed anxious that we should look at it. He afterwards gave us a curry, rice, fruit, vegetables etc and even sent us two China plates and one copper spoon to eat with, or rather, I fancy, to dole out each man's portion of the country, for finding us conversant in his own language, he probably never dreamed we were such Goths, as not to be able to eat with our fingers. He had previously furnished us with a table and two chairs-----and here we slept in our palanquins.

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"On the I9th we set out at 3 a.m. and proceeded to the Kaveri river, which we reached at 7 a.m., and crossed in boats; the stream being about six feet deep. The banks are exceedingly high and steep, and a strong barrier is placed on the left bank called 'Angree'. I reckon this I2 miles from Virarajpet. We crossed a deep Nullah at I5, and another at I8, where there is a strong barrier called Mootal Mooroo (Muthamudi) and another a little further on. We also called the Bojarie Nullah at I9 (miles) and came to another barrier at 20 (20th mile), where there is a tappal hut. After this we proceeded through swamps, over hills etc and at length passed through a strong barrier at 24 (24th mile ?) after which we ascended the mountain and found the fort of Merekhara (Madikeri) completely repaired, and, passing it, took up our abode in the old place, at quarter past I2, having been nine hours and a quarter on the road- the last five(hours) on elephants.

"We then had our breakfast and took a sleep after which we mounted two fine horses, and paid our respects to the Mahaswami. He received us in his usual manner------No general officers' uniform this time but he looked well and was very kind and attentive. He showed us two lions, two tigers-----After sitting nearly for two hours with him, we took our leave, and when our dinner was served, two of his fiddlers made their appearence and regaled us with English tunes; in short, everything apes England in this most extraordinary fashion. We two------sat down to a roasted goose and twenty other dishes----- all of which they expected us to swallow."

Walsh Again in Madikeri:

General Walsh's second visit to Madikeri took him around along the familiar course of the schedule like excursions, hunting of the wild game etc with some of his fellow-officers joining him there. His article proceeds to say as below:

"On the 20th October (I9I2), we rose with the lark, and took a walk, first to the mousoleum, and a later to the horse and elephant stables------Lieut. Davies joined us here from Mysore-----At One p.m. the Raja arrived in his military uniform on horseback. He dismounted and sat with us for sometime showing us some of the guns------We pursued our journey. We found six tents pitched in a clean compound about five miles off----- Here was also an immense well-finished mud building with a thatched roof, called "Cuggore Punug' (or Kaggod Panya), made as a kind of depot, in which things are kept for the Raja's use and also his occasional hunting residence. Here we found three good cots in one tent, three writing tables in another, a set of dining tables, chairs etc-----We had scarcely retired to rest, after eating a hearty dinner before Lieut. Pridham also joined us from Merkarah, with another cot etc; this officer and Lieut. Davies having followed us from Mysore with a letter from Resident Cole.

"On the 2Ist October, after breakfast, we mounted our elephants and proceeded over nullahs, swamps, hills etc about five miles further where we found our trees prepared, and all the jungle beset by some hundreds of beaters, when we forthwith climbed our respective ladders in the centre of a deep jungle called Chowndy Kaad. After three hours' beating we collected our game within shot of our post and marched home with eight elks, a monkey, squirrel and jungle fowl------On our return to Kaggod, we found a capital English tiffin waiting for us-----We had heavy shower of rain in the evening.

"On the 22nd, we set out a little after 6 a.m. it was impossible to tell the direction, but through rivers, jungle, etc-----our empty palanquins could not even be carried from the bottom, we gained a beautiful plan on the summit (of a hill) covered with trees and deep jungle all round it; the distance about eight miles; it is called Perumboo Kaad, on a range designated as Pannya Maut Kundu, at 9 a.m. we set to work-----We took our tiffin------had heavy rain on our return but were well-sheltered by umbrellas, so attentive to our every want were these people-----A midnight a large elk was brought in by fifty men. I never saw so immense an animal of the kind in my life----.

"On the 23rd, we started at half-past six-----We passed the mountain-----and went hunting-----deers, elks etc------We started to return at about four in the afternoon----- the Raja's people are the most orderly, obliging and willing persons I have ever met in

in my life. And all this without the slightest hope of reward which in general will go a great way with the natives of India, but these people reject with apparent horror every present even when alone. There is certainly very uncommon, indeed, unfathomable, is this.

"On the 24th October, we tried another spot, a little out of our way back to Merkarah (Madikeri), but had no sport, killing one elk only, and returned home in the evening. I have observed that every square league or mile is marked out into a kind of fortification, having a high bank, deep ditch, hedge and barrier. This renders the country extremely strong in military point of view, every man being a good marksman and famous for sporting------".

Some More Observations:

General Walsh's account of his observations of things in Kodagu during his two two visits in 1811 and 1812, makes a fascinating reading. Continuing his narrative, He proceeded saying that:

"Rising very early on the 25th, we took a quiet walk in the garden, and returning upstairs, were followed by Muhammad Saheb, the butler, who entreated to speak with me in private and to request Lieut. Meredith to remain in the verandha to prevent anyone from listening------No sooner were we alone in the bed-chamber then he threw himself at my feet and entreated me by the memory of his old master to save his life. I-----raised him up and desired to explain himself, when he told me a tale which harrowed my soul. The four Bengalis whom I had left fat and happy had become dissatisfied with promises and wages protracted and never paid; they had demanded their dismissal, and had in consequence been inhumanly murdered. He himself had applied for leave, and was immediately seized of all that he had, and his thumbs squeezed in screws-------his body flagellated, and a threat held out that the next offence would be punished with death. That the Raja being acknowledged as the god of the country, exercised the supposed right without remorse and without control------He told me the fate of a Parsee interpreter whom I had seen at my last visit, who having built a house and amassed some wealth, was beheaded and his property seized for the State and this, he also assured me, was the fate of every man who entered the country if he ever attempted to quit it again------.

"He (Muhammad) entreated me to take him with me out of the country which, he said, could be easily accomplished, because he must accompany me to the barrier; but I could not listen to such a proposal, and at once told him se. To connive at the escape of one of the Raja's servants while I was his guest, would have been a direct breach of hospitality which I could not consent to practice. But learning on some further conversation, that the native officer, under the appearence of an honorary guard, was placed there as a spy over every word and action of every gentleman who lived in that palace.

"I proposed to enter into such conversation with him in Hindustani, as being reported, might induce the Raja to grant him leave. He also told me that the Raja fearing some attack from the English, was building new forts and repairing all the old ones, and then retired, I believe, unobserved. The signal being made for breakfast, we sat down attended as usual. I entered into conversation with Muhammad Saheb, talked of his mistress now at Madras and about his late Master's will, and asked if he had received the thousand Pagodas legacy his master had left him. He replied, it was the first time he had heard of it. I had, however, actually heard something of the kind, and advised him to get four months' leave of absence to go and see his old mistress before she embarked for England. He told me that he would certainly would like to go and see her but he could not bear to leave so good, so kind a master as the Mahaswami, to which I replied that I was sure that the Raja would allow him to go with pleasure, and said that I would immediately ask his Highness, but he begged me not to do so as he was sure the Raja would allow him to go. Here the conversation dropped."

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CHAPTER V.

Abdication in Favour of the Son.

The Most Curious Aspect:

The most curious aspect of the British power in India was the way the Indian chiefs themselves behaved. They were all out on wooing the British, and there was a keen competition among them to out-beat the other in the art. The local chiefs found that their safety rested on the grace bestowed by the East India Company Government, and, as a result, all of them one by one fell into the trap laid by the British just like the flies dropping dead in the flame. Lingaraja of Kodagu was one such man and so also his late brother. Moreover, the insecure elevation of Lingaraja on the throne after usurping the rights of his neice, Devammaji, made him all the more a stooge of the British, and he tried hard to meet the needs of the Englishmen who used to visit his court almost frequently. General Walsh's report in conclusion said of the lavish gifts made to him and other Englishmen in the party by the Raja, and added that:

"We took leave of the Raja who received us in his palace where he was amusing himself shooting blunt------arrows at men armed with spear and shield; whose business was to guard themselves, and receive the blow on the shields. He afterwards fired at marks, rode several horses in a ring, and lastly managed two elephants, one of which he requested me to mount, and drove me for a short time and then dismounted. I had been informed that in consequence of my high rank since I was last there, he had prepared an elephant as a present------He gave Lieut. Meredith a bird's head, called Malerappa, a gold mounted Kodagu knife and sandal-wood sticks, and to me, two spears, a gold mounted knife, sandal stick and bird's head, and wished us a pleasant journey.

"With all this kindness, I could not help remarking that his Highness had lost some of his affability, so easily are we led by circumstances, or by previous opinion, to fancy what, perhaps has no existence. His conduct to us throughout had been kind and condescending, beyond that of any native prince I ever knew, and was never equalled, in after times, but by the Raja of Nepaunee (Nipani? or Nepal?). He was particularly fond of flower------sweet beyond any flower in the East, as the finest flowers of their garden are appropriated solely to the decoration of their temples------.

"A few months after, in my house in Bangalore, I was surprised by the sudden appearence of Muhammad Saheb, extremely emaciated, ill-dressed and with a picture in his hand. He threw himself at my feet and told me that I had saved his life, that the Raja had given him four months' leave, and desired him to carry his picture to me in proof thereof. I refused it, however, when he told me he had returned a beggar, being stripped of everything at the last barrier but that he would never return. I saw him in a good place shortly afterwards, well and happy-------I had seen the Raja's son as an infant in 1810------The English had little contact with that country, and a road is being opened through Wynad to Malabar coast, and Ghat made by our own pioneers."

Lingaraja's Administration:

In those days, most of the Indian chiefs never knew the art of administration nor were they well-versed in statecraft. Lingaraja was one such man. That he was cunning amd astute was indisputable. He succeeded in getting the people's verdict in his favour and saw that Devammaji was cleverly elbowed out in course of time. The administrative orders of Lingaraja were called SISTs, and those were collected in a book called HUKUM-NAAMAH, and some of those HUKUMs were followed by the subsequent Governments, also.

During his time a refined and reformed revenue system was introduced, and a survey of lands was undertaken, but it should be noted that all this was done under the direction of the English officers. Lieut. Connor went about the district on his survey work and it could be said that he was the pioneer surveyor of Kodagu. His book, "A Manual of Kodagu Survey" was prepared in 1817, and that was the first printed book about Kodagu. In another book of 1857, written by an English official, in support of the last Raja of Kodagu, it was said that:

> "Lingaraja tried to stop the Company's interference, prevented all communication between Kodagu and the surrounding territory of the Company. The frontiers were guarded and nobody was allowed to pass in or out without the Raja's permission. The European visitors were treated with profuse hospitality, and overwhelmed with civilities, but all communication between them and the natives of the country, was carefully prevented."

The country was free from invasion. The parpattigars were entrusted with every branch of Nad administration and the Subedars in charge of the larger divisions. The lower officials proved themselves to be efficient and there were unofficial heads like Nad Thakkas and village Patels. There were a large number of Jama ryots and the natives enjoyed all the ancient privileges. There was no oppression in the collection of taxes and the land-tax was extremely light. Foot-paths and roads increased and there was freedom of movement for all commercial men. The ryots, both the Jama and Sagu holders, had to assemble in the palace for festive occasions. It is said that the Raja treated all visitors well.

In the back of the glory that was built around these Rajas, there were British officers, both military and civil, who used to visit Kodagu frequently and guide the Rajas on some of these developmental projects which in fact were no projects till the British actually took charge of the affairs of the ~~district~~ Province in 1834.

Some Construction Works:

Lingaraja II is credited with building some monumental works. The fort of Madikeri was originally built by Mudduraja I in 1680, but that was just a mud fort. It was rebuilt with stone in 1788-89 by Tippu's men, and that was called Jaffarabad. When Jafar Ali Baig evacuated it in 1790, a good lot of guns and ammunitions were found inside the fort. After that the fort and the house inside that, were not improved because Viraraja the Elder built another palace in Nalknad and he lived there for considerably a long time. It was left to Lingaraja, however, to turn the house within the fort into a palace with additional rooms and in the style of the ancient Kodava family houses with square-shaped sky-space inside and in the centre.

Soon after the death of his brother, the late Raja, Lingaraja built a tomb at the burial place of the late Raja and his wife at the northern end of the town- Madikeri. This construction was in a way politically motivated because with that Lingaraja desired to win Devammaji and the people over to his side. Nevertheless, these tombs appeared to impressive structures. General Walsh, speaking about the tomb said, that:

"There is a rising ground with a strong mud barrier after entering which one will come upon a small plain with a magnificent tomb erected by the present Raja to the memory of his brother and wife. It is much in the style of the Muslim edifice, being made square with a handsome dome in the centre and four turrets at the angles-----".

By the side of these elegant tombs there is also a small structure over the remains of an honoured Guru of the Rajas, Rudrappa, and that was built by a stooge of the Rajas, one Cheppudira Ponnappa. The construction of the Omkareshwara temple in the Islamic and Gothic style was the biggest achievement of Lingaraja II. The idol of the temple of the temple was brought from Kashi and the installation ceremony was performed in the Vikrama year 4,922 or the 26th March I820, by a priest especially brought for the purpose from Nileshwar. An inscription at the temple said that:

"-----Linga Rajendra Wodeyar, by the performance in this world, of good deeds----- must be obtained the perfection of fruit in both this world and next and with that object he should cause to set up a Shiva Linga as an act ensuring the acquisition of the highest merit------".

Lingaraja, in his last days, got another tomb built for himself and his wife by the side of that of his brother's, and both these structures stand since last I65 years as an impressive piece of architecture. After the completion of the work of the palace inside the fort, an inscription was placed there which says that:

"The pious who prays Almighty, by whose grace the magnificent palace was constructed after the removal of the rugged hill-top, shall enjoy eternal happiness in this world and in the world to come. (I2I2-Vikram Era).

The British Pattern:

Apart from the benefit that Lingaraja had in getting advice and support of the English officers stationed in Coorg at that time, the entire administrative structure seemed to have been taking shape in the British pattern without the Raja or the people being aware of that. The codified SISTs on the land revenue, the so-called HUKUM-NAMAH, was only one of the many instances for that though things were carried out in the name of the Raja.

The Coorg administration was stage-managed by the East India Company since I790 or I792. Viraraja the Elder was virtually a subordinate of the Company who called him 'a friend'. Coorg was already a native state and the English prevented the Raja from becoming a prisoner of Tipu Sultan once again. When Tippu ravaged Coorg in the I780-s, the Kodavas sought the British help to oust the Muslims who had called Mercara as Jafarabad and Talekaveri as Abzullabad, and all this had a demoralizing effect on the people of Coorg who had brought back the imprisoned Raja and his family from Peryapatna and restored order in the jungle district of the time.

The Elder Viraraja saw that the British were his saviours, and, therefore, he offered all possible help both in I79I and I799 to the Bombay troops that marched through Coorg to Srirangapatna with men, cattle and elephants. As already said, the elder Viraraja was helped by several English officers in surveying and administering the territory.

Major Mackenzie, the Superintendant of Mysore Survey, surveyed some parts of Coorg. Among those several English officers who visited Coorg in those days, Alexander Bell, a commercial resident in Malabar, was one. He was present at the wedding of Viraraja the Elder.

With all this the Esat India Company Government were sensible enough to keep themselves at a respectable distance from the Raja's internal affairs. For instance, a Secret Proceedings of the time said, that:

> Although in I799, the Company's claim to the Raja's allegiance became more distinctly marked by documents, the Raja's services had been so much increased and had risen so much in public estimation since I793 that it was not probable-----to interfere in the Raja's interior management of the country-----The actual interference exercised by the British Government in the interior management from I793 to I833, has been apparently very little."

But this did not mean that the British kept aloof from the internal affairs of Coorg. All sorts of complaints were taken to them by the aggrieved people of Coorg. Revenue, public works and postal departments were already set up on the British pattern and several roads were opened. Land revenue system was modernised. Thus the Governments of both Mysore and Coorg, which were under the native rulers, especially after Tipu's fall, had the benevolent touch of the British influence. Writing to Lord William Bentinck, the Governor of Fort St.George, Madras, the Marquess of Wellesley, the Governor-General, said on the 5th October I904, from Fort William, that:

> "In a minute which the Governor-General recorded at Fort St. George on the 4th September I799, His Excellency declared his intention that the whole Civil and Military authorities of the Company's Government in Mysore should be subject to the immediate control of the Government of Fort St. George for the purpose of more effectually preserving the union between them, and of giving them the greatest degree of efficiency; observing however at the same time that the important change which had been produced in the political state of India by the conquest of Mysore should be brought under the close and constant attention of the G.G., and the G.-G. therefore, expresses a desire that the Supreme Government should be regularly apprized of every proceeding in Mysore, and that no measure of importance should be adopted by the Government of Fort St. George with respect to Mysore, without the previous approbation of the Governor-General."

This same addict influenced the Coorg administration also right from I800 to I834. They allowed the Rajas to carry on the administration in a way suited to the needs and practises of the people but the Rajas of both Mysore and Coorg kingdoms failed to rise up to the expectations of the British Government.

The Succession Issue:

The Marquess of Hastings, then an official in the Company Government, acknowledged Devammaji as the Rani of Coorg, in his letter dated the 2nd April I809. As was already seen, she did not retain the dignity long, for, Lingaraja had made himself the Regent of Coorg and guardian of his neice by I8I0, and a year after he announced to the Government of Fort St. George that he had assumed the Government of Coorg in his own name. Arthur Cole, Resident of Mysore was ordered to make inquiry in Coorg as to the lawfulness of Lingaraja's claims to the throne. After the inquiry Arthur Cole came to the conclusion that female succession in Coorg was contrary to laws and SHASTRAs. The Company Govern-

Government put off the decision until the Rani attained majority when she can prove her claims. They did not protest Lingaraja's assumption of power.

But Lingaraja was not actually a guardian. He was, in fact, a usurper of the throne. When the Governor-General sent the badge and amulet to the late Viraraja the Elder, the latter was no more, but Devammaji replied. There was no question at all of a young girl of not even eight years old replying to the Governor-General. What happened was that in her name the reply was sent and that seemed to have been dictated and prompted by Lingaraja II, the usurper of the throne.

The British approved Devammaji's renunciation of the throne till she "attained majority", but Lingaraja prompted in the letter to say that Devammaji, on attaining majority "propose to lead a life of retirement". She seemed to have written (although dictated by her cunning uncle) that, "I have therefore resigned to him for ever the MUSNAD and the Government of this country (Coorg), and, that he (Lingaraja) may take me under the wing of his protection and watching over the welfare of all my subjects."

Thus Lingaraja had already manouvred to deprive Devammaji of the throne for ever and see that his own progeny succeed him. The entire letter that was alleged to have been written by Devammaji, dated the 9th September 1810, was already quoted in the previous chapters, but in parts, it said that:

> ------Indeed, there is no one who is calculated to have charge of my interest and those of my family and dependants who is qualified to conduct the affairs of the Government or worthy of filling the MUSNAD (throne) excepting Lingaraja Wodeyar when, therefore, I attain my full age, I propose to lead a life of retirement. It would then be impossible that the administration, maintenance of the army, the wants of the people or my own comfort should be provided for without the assistance of my respected uncle who in fact supplies the place of my father. I have therefore resigned to him for ever the MUSNAD and Government of this country (Coorg), that he may take under the wing of his protection and watching over the welfare of all my subjects, may preserve inviolate dignity and prosperity of this kingdom------" Sd) Devammaji.

Writing in the above terms in the name of the minor girl, Devammaji, that crafty Lingaraja paved the way not only to his own elevation but also of his son's. But it should be noted that he was not unaware of the East India Company writing to the young Rani that after she attained majority she "can prove her claims". Therefore, the Raja was in constant alarm that one day the Company Government would place Devammaji on the throne and that he and his son would be deprived of the privilege.

The Raja Abdicated:

Lingaraja, in fact, ruled from July 1809 till about the middle of 1819, when he abdicated in his son's favour, but a decade's rule of Lingaraja was a time of unrest to him as he knew that he was only an usurper of the throne. It was because of that reason the Raja was all the time working towards the direction of making his son successor.

In the process, Lingaraja committed a mistake though he had never foreseen that it would end disastrously. The Raja had married a Kodava woman, a daughter of Palanganda Appanna of Murnad. They in turn gave their elder daughter Muddammaji in marriage to

to Mukkatira Iypanna who had by then become a Lingayat with the name Chennabasappa. The Raja had left ample property to his son-in-law and daughter at Appangala where the latter lived.

The Raja did not anticipate any trouble from his son-in-law, but, on the other hand, he was worried about his son's claim to the throne being disputed by Devammaji whose guardian he was before he had usurped the throne. At that time, Lingaraja brought up one menial worker of his horse stables, a lame man called Kunta Basava as his confidant, and appointed him as a chief of the palace guards. The Raja was not afraid of Devammaji putting her claims but of the East India Company who, he thought, might put forth her claims and on her behalf. In order to side-track all this, Lingaraja announced his retirement in favour of his son.

His ten-year rule was of little achievement. A lot of cruelties were perpetrated and cruel men flourished, and Basava the Lame, was one such man. The Raja had told this Basava to have an eye on his son Virappa and also against Devammaji who might put her claims to become the Rani. All this was done in a most vicious manner and as a result the stable boy Basava rose up to prominence in the royal court. All this sounded also as a death-knell to the entire system that was functioning in a shabby and shaky way, and in about ten years' time a stage was set to put an end to the entire dubious set up that was created by a bunch of rascals headed by Lingaraja himself.

The Raja abdicated on health grounds and thus saw that his son Virappa of about twenty years old, installed on throne in his life-time lest there would be trouble about the succession after his death. By that time, he had already given a finishing touch to the Omkareshawara temple and the tomb where it was stipulated that he and his wife to be burried after their death. He was about 45 when he died, and his brother Viraraja the Elder was also the same age when he died in 1809. It was suspected that Lingaraja also might have been poisoned, for, many people hated him secretly, and poison was freely used as sorcery in those days. After his death his widow committed suicide or SATI though there was no such custom in Kodagu or among the Kodavas.

A period of Tense Secrecy:

What exactly is the date of accession to the throne of Viraraja the Younger, how his installation ceremony was held, how many people were there, who represented the East India Company for the function and many such facts still did not come to light. It is still in doubt if there was any such ceremony at all. The whole drama of Lingaraja's abdication, his son's enthronement and many events that happened between the years 1820 to 1825 were as mysterious as Kunta Basava's coming to prominence. Nothing was known about the gallant Kodavas from the time the wicked Lingaraja put to death several Kodavas early in his reign. Nothing was known as to what was happening during the ten years from 1815 to 1825, and, except Lieut. Connor's survey reports on Coorg there were no other reliable records to give some information of the time.

On the whole, one could safely conclude that the last five years of Lingaraja from 1815 to 1820 were spent by him on scheming as to how to bypass Devammaji's claim and install his own son on the throne, while his son, after he became the ruler, spent his first five years till 1825 eliminating all his potential rivals, enemies and seemingly imaginary opponents, and these included his aunt, Devammaji and several others of the royal family.

Under such tense atmosphere, nothing could be known openly to the people on things happening in the royal kitchen. Many things were done secretly and horrible crimes and murders were perpetrated in the darkest dungeons, within the dark rooms of the Mercara and Nalknad palaces. In that way Kunta Basava was practically a butcher.

It is not known when exactly the two Kodava Dewans, Cheppudira Ponnappa and Apparanda Bopanna were appointed. The date of the brahmin minister, Laxminarayana's emergence, was also not known. These three names came to the forefront only after 1830 or so, but who were the leading headmen and ministers among the local people during 1815 and 1825, is still a mystery.

The British were just the distant observers. They kept away from the internal affairs of the district for over twelve years, and that was certainly unfair on their part. They thought that these three Rajas who ruled from 1790 to 1834 were ruling the country. They did not know that those were not rulers but only glorified criminals and butchers. All the three Rajas were murderers and no one counted all those heads that were chopped off by them in hundreds at that time on even flimsy grounds.

Except a few brahmins and a few Munshis who came from outside, none of the local people knew to read and write any language though a few local officials knew Hindustani language. In fact, how much those munshis and clerks who included a few Kodavas knew any of the language was itself a question because in those days except those non-Kodavas who were outsiders none of the local people knew anything of Kannada either to read, write or speak.

However, no history of the time was recorded by the local men or the European chroniclers. As a result of that the affairs between the years 1815 and 1825 is still a mystery.

News Started Leaking:

When that was the situation in those days, one thing was clear and that was about the crimes committed by Viraraja the Younger and his men. Those men too were not many in number. Only two or three, all Lingayats, decided the whole thing. The Raja and Kunta Basava would decide on whom to be beheaded and then order the Kaplas or Kudiyas to take the victims to the nearby jungle in the dead of the night. Very often Kunta Basava himself commit the atrocious acts of killing the opponents of the Raja. Those close to the royal family were killed in the dark rooms and then let out the story saying that they died out of cholere.

However, how many people were thus killed, no one knows, but a couple of important cases came to light in I823 and I824, and the full information of such killings were known to the people only after the British started a court of inquiry in late I834. In the meantime in I825, confirmed and unconfirmed rumours of the new Raja's atrocities reached the Mysore residency. The true versions about the killings of the daughters of Viraraja the Elder, came to light only after a long time. After Lingaraja's death in I820, his son, the young Virappa or Viraraja the Younger, together with Kunta Basava, had already begun to see that none of the daughters of Viraraja the Elder or their kith and kin who posed as a threat to the position of the new Raja, are kept alive. The early casualties, therefore, included Muddammaji, the first daughter of the elder Viraraja by his second wife, and married to one Kodava convert, Palanganda Chennavira of Kanta-Murnad, who were killed, but the rumours were that they died a natural death.

The elder Viraraja's second daughter, Rajammaji, was married to Hulibailu Nanjappa of Horur-Nuroklu Nad and they too disappeared after some time, and the rumours that all these people died a natural death were spread by the killers themselves, the young Raja and Kunta Basava who had risen to some position of status by this time. Some people began to call Kunta Basava as a Dewan in the royal court. There were another two daughters of the elder Viraraja, and they were living away from Mercara with their families. They were Devammaji and Mahadevammaji, and their safety too became insecure in about a few years.

When rumours were afloat that the new Raja's relations were disappearing one after the other, the news reached the Mysore Residency, which was in fact looking after the Coorg affairs right from I792, but the British never interfered in the internal affairs. However, when the atmosphere became tense by about I825, the Residency officials in Mysore took a serious view of the entire situation, and, as a result, one Mr. Casamajor, said in November I826, as stated by Rev. Moegling in his 'Memoirs', that:

> "-----I have not been able to obtain any satisfactory information from the Raja respecting his family. Having heard that he had a brother, eight years of age, a son of five years old and a daughter- a year and half old, I mentioned to him that I had heard so. He said it was a mistake, that he was quite alone and the only male of the family. 'Devammaji and Mahadevammaji, Dodda Viraraja's daughters, were not' he said, 'in the palace but in distant villages-----".

Postal Communications Opened:

After the survey of Coorg borders in the I790-s, no significant work was turned out in the district during the next twenty years. Lieut. Connor and some other Europeans were there but very little was achieved in the administrative sphere because they left things to be done by the Rajas who had never known anything about the art of administration. However, in I820-s, a new system of communication developed and that was the postal system. Till then the messages were transmitted by means of messengers but now the modern dawk system was introduced for the first time. J.A.Dalzell, the post-master-general, Madras, wrote on the I6th May I827, to the Resident of Mysore, stating that:

"------My own inclination leaves towards the route through Wynad, but at the same time, it does not appear to me that the experience we have yet had of the route through Coorg ~~from~~ forms an adequate reason for reverting to the other at the expense of any material advantage resulting or likely to result from the use of Coorg route as a means of promoting intercourse between the natives of Coorg and those of the British territories, the opening of the Dawk communication between the two countries, has, however, so far as I am aware been quite successful for it does not seem that more than one private letter to a native address was put into the post office at Virarajapet in the five months from November to March------.

"Government would not object to the employment of a larger means than heretofore for the expulsion or destruction of the elephants and the purpose of freeing the tract from them might perhaps be greatly advanced through your instrumentality in gaining over the Raja of Coorg to cooperate vigorously for its accomplishment."

A new line of communication was sought to be opened from Srirangapatna to Cannanore through Coorg, and this line was in addition to the line which was already in operation through Manantody. The Resident of Mysore had also a suggestion that letters from Coorg should be carried without any payment by the senders, and he propsed that the postage be levied from the parties to whom the letters were addressed. The post-master-general, J.A.Dalzell, Madras, wrote to the Governor-General of India on the 8th September I826, stating that:

"With reference to the letter of the I0th August I826 of the Post-Master-General to resume the former route of the post from Srirangapatna to Cannanore through Coorg, it is found that the present route through Manantody appears to answer well for transmitting tappals and that it would be scarcely inadmissible to make a change-----".

The Ghat Roads Opened:

Till about I826, people travelling from Malabar and west coast, were mostly using the Manantody route through Coorg to get into the plains of Mysore. But when this new postal route from Mysore to Cannanore was opened, the Resident of Mysore and Coorg, thought to improve this route through the Makut ~~route~~ Ghats instead of the dense jungles of Wynad. The post-master-general wrote to the Resident of Mysore on the 6th January I827, as follows:

"I beg to transmit for your information the copy of the letter to me by the Collector of Malabar-----to solicit the favour of yours to endeavour to obtain for the runner of Malabar a more gracious treatment from the peons of the Raja of Coorg-----.

"The time has not yet perhaps arrived for estimating the advantage of the new route from Mysore to Cannanore through Coorg, but since the change took place, the mails have been longer in travelling from the Coromondal to the Malabar coast and vice-versa, than they were at this period last year when the route was via Manantody----".

But all measures were taken to develop the Malabar-Mysore highway through Coorg, and that was the first so-called highway that was opened across Coorg during the Raja's time without the Raja himself being not aware of the kind of inter-district project that was under construction. This highway was helpful not only to convey letters and messengers but also to carry out an active commercial contacts between the people. There was a dire necessity of modern roadways, and the East India Company Government saw that this project was completed by the end of the year I830.

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After this road was opened, the East India Company Government arranged for the flow of mail from the west coast to the East and vice versa, and the mail-runners began moving from post to post all along the route between Mysore and Cannanore. With the increased use of this highway, the Manantody route fell in its position of being a public highway. This Malabar-Mysore road also helped to increase trade and communications between the districts concerned. Referring to this new postal highway, the Post-Master General wrote to the Collector of Malabar on the 6th January I827, stating that:

"-----Letters------by the Resident of Mysore-----of the 29th August (I826)------his intention to employ the subjects of Mysore, not of Coorg, as (mail) runners in Coorg, would apprehend inconvenience------to your charge of the runners between Stony river (on the Coorg and Malabar border) and Virarajpet. His situation may likely, I think, enable him to exercise an influence in Coorg which no other authority could exert though if the people of Malabar were not averse to be employed in Coorg and if an hospitable reception could be procured for them in the country, there could, I conceive, be no want of favour on your part to manage the runners between the present boundary of your range and the first post office in Mr. Casamajor's------he observes-that hereafter the highroad for all travellers will be through Coorg, troops, travellers and merchants will use this road------thus avoiding the deadly atmosphere by the Wynad jungle which have for years past had its daily victims-----".

An Active Intervention:

There are no relevant records to say that Viraraja the Younger ruled at all during his regime of fourteen years. Much of his time was taken away in involving himself in intrigues, fighting against his real or potential or imaginary enemies or opponents, and listening to those evil characters like Kunta Basava. These kinds of things hastened the fall of a dubious system. It was at this stage the British actively intervened. The Mysore Residency which was also looking after the Coorg affairs repeatedly received complaints against the Raja, about the murders and about the mysterious disappearence of the members of his (Raja's) own family. In this intervention of the Company Government, the names of two members of the Residency in Mysore who took a prominent part in making inquiries, are significant and those are J.Casamajor and Henry Graeme.

Casamajor began his service in Fort St.George in I802. Lord Bentinck, the Governor of Madras, made him an officer of the Board of Revenue, and in I807, as an acting Collector of Coimabtore, but soon after that in I808, Casamajor was back in the head-office. In March I809, George Barlow made him the Registrar to the Court of Srirangapatna. Casamajor acted as Judge and Collector while one de Silva, a Portuguese, was his assistant. In I8I3 he was appointed Judge and Collector of Srirangapatna.

Casamajor took leave in I8I7 and returned to duties in February I8I8. In I820, he went to Mangalore and Tellicherry on special duties, and also inspected sandalwood provided for the Company. He was a member of the Committee to search for treasure in Srirangapatna, which search was unsuccessful. In I825, Casamajor was an acting Resident of Mysore and confirmed in the post in I827. In I828 he was ~~both~~ the Resident of both Mysore and Coorg. In I829 he negotiated an agreement with the Coorg Raja by which the chief undertook at his own expense to open a road through his territory and to which the Comp-

Company consented to give the assistance of the British Engineers. This highway, as already said, was very much helpful to "facilitate in the character of the inhabitants of the Coorg territory". Casamajor continued to be the Resident of Mysore and Coorg till those crucial days of Coorg expedition of 1834, and his role in the annexation of Coorg after the war was commendable.

Henry Sulivan Graeme began his career as a writer in Fort St. George in 1796, and then rose up to the position of Secretary of the Board of Revenue. In 1803 he was posted in Ceded districts and later as Collector of Coimbatore in 1803, of North Arcot in 1804, and so on. When the negotiations between the Raja and Casamajor took place in 1833, H.S.Graeme was deputed from Madras to make a last attempt at a peaceable settlement of the question, but the Raja was unwilling to meet a British representative, and this actually resulted in the war and downfall of the Raja himself.

William Jafferson's Experience:

There was no proof for saying that Viraraja the Younger's succession was acknowledged by the British. The Raja, the observers said, had 10,000 Infantry, 1,000 irregulars and 100 pieces of cannons distributed among different forts and passes. In 1826, when the Raja was 26 years old, he was seized with a violent illness and it was then the Company Government sent Dr. William Jafferson from Bombay to attend to him. The surgeon set out to Mercara with Capt. Hill. They found the Raja, on their arrival, much recovered and later they enjoyed his hospitality. The doctor's experiences were as below:

"Upon our arrival at the palace, we were received in the most cordial manner, assuring us that like his ancestors he entertained a particular regard and esteem for Englishmen.

"The interview concluded, we were conducted to a garden outside in which the wildness of the Indian mountain scenery was agreeably contrasted with the elegancies of modern horticulture. There we found a splendid bungalow, fitted for our accommodation, with every possible convenience-----Near this bungalow was a tank, made of black marble of the highest polish and most elaborate workmanship, in the centre of which rose a fountain, throwing up jets of water so clear and pellucid-----This tank was the favourite resort of the Raja-----.

"The Raja was about the middle size------seemed formed by nature to excell in athletic sports-----His physiognomy was prepossessing and intelligent, his nose acquiline, his eyes large and expressive-----Before leaving Bombay, many received intelligence there that some of their relatives in Coorg had been unjustly and most cruelly put to death by the Raja, desired me to make inquiries as to the truth of such reports. This I did, and it was with greatest pleasure I obtained the surest proof of the falsehood of such allegation, by the appearance before me in flesh and blood, of the very parties who were said to have been so unceremoniously disposed of. (But the murder of Devammaji and others took place after this date in 1832 or so and not as early as in 1826 when this doctor was in Mercara).

"Shortly after our arrival, I was suddenly awakened at midnight by my servant who told me that the Raja had sent for me. Apprehensive that His Highness have been seized with sudden indisposition, I proceeded in all haste to the palace, and found to my astonishment that the Raja had sent for Capt. Hill and me to accaompany him upon a hunting excursion. Mounting a tall Shikari elephant, without a howdah, the Raja himself performed the task of a Mahout, desired Capt. Hill and myself to place ourselves behind him-----and traversed a distance of not less than twenty miles- the place of hunting rendezvous. Arrived at 6'0 Clock in the morning at the appointed spot, we found several tents had been pitched and an excellent breakfast prepared for us.

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A Repetition of the Old Game:

This hunting rendezvous arranged for the British guests of the Raja was the ~~repetitions~~ repetition of what Viraraja the Elder and Lingaraja II had already done many a time to entertain their European guests. All this kind of thing was not a spontaneous hospitality but a carefully stage-managed show to give a good impression of themselves to the Company Government. Viraraja the Elder conducted such hunting sport many a time with his English guests and so did his brother and successor, Lingaraja II, and now Viraraja the Younger too followed suit. It seems that this cooked up sport of entertainment was specially arranged in order to show his guests that he was not at fault and the rumours about him were false, and, in fact, that was the reason for ~~what he did after~~ his showing this mock hospitality after posing as though he was sick and he needed medical attendance and so on. Anyway, Dr. Jafferson's testimony goes on to say as below:

"We were to be duly summoned when all was prepared-----over 500 men and hunters were employed in clearing the thick entangled jungle from an area more than one square mile----- The anxiously expected signal was at length given- all was ready.------Two enormous trees were selected from which a kind of ~~capacious~~ capacious cradle made of wickerwork, was suspended, well-secured by strong ropes, at the height of about 25 feet from the ground, and into which, by means of a rope ladder, the Raja, Capt. Hill and I, deposited ourselves, accompanied by several attendants wearing green hunting uniforms, who had loaded rifles of every kind. The Raja, an excellent marksman, courteously declined taking any part in the sport than that of a spectator------Soon the report of volleys of musketry, intermingled with the sounds of trumpets and beating of the drums, the yells and hootings of hunters and the roaring of the beats, announced that hunting had commenced. It was indeed a most exciting moment------Hundreds of wild animals of every kind appeared but we were advised to reserve our fire for our expected guests who soon made their appearence in the shape of twelve elephants, one of them being immense size "to be taken alive as a present for the Governor-General." We assured His Highness that his wish should be complied with, and then commenced our attack-----leaving the twelfth elephant in question- our prize.

"------Thus secured, we escorted him to prison, preceded by a band of music, and followed by the Raja's numerous retainers, and in this way ended a hunt-----I am perfectly aware of the absolute necessity that there is for the destruction of these magnificent animals- the ravages they commit in the plantations, being to an enormous and ruinous extent-----I shot the largest royal tiger I ever beheld, which was brought home and exhibited by torchlight in the palace courtyard-----the Raja's wives peeping at the royal show from the windows of the herem-----The sports were frequently varied and on occasions the Raja took us on moonlight nights to different concealed retreats in the dense jungles-----At a given signal we all fired simultaneously at such animals as we had selected for our sport----- After 22 days' stay- time replete with amusement, pleasure and interest and which I shall ever remember with satisfaction, the time came for our leaving Coorg.

"-----Capt. Hill and myself proceeded to the palace to take our leave of His Highness, the Captain being in full regimentals. The Raja's bodyguard, a guard of honour and a band were all drawn out on the occasion. On our arrival, the soldiers presented arms, the bands playing GOD SAVE THE KING in a very good style-----When we bade the Raja farewell, His Highness was visibly affected, a dead silence ensued for some minutes, while sorrow was imprinted on every brow. It seemed as if we had a presentiment that our next meeting would not be a happy one, and, so it proved, for the very next year, the Raja's trouble commenced------In fact, the circumstances led to the many unhappy differences between the Company and the Raja, and things ended in a war being declared against him." (~~94~~) Dr. William Jafferson, quoted by "An English Officer" in a publication of 1856 on the last Last Rajas of Coorg.).

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CHAPTER VI.

DARK CLOUDS OVER COORG SKIES.

The Interest On Bonds:

As reports of the Raja's mismanagement and misrule reached the British more and more from 1827 onwards, the latter thought that it was time for them to deal with this small native state firmly. To begin with there was the question of recognition of Viraraja the Younger as a lawful heir to the throne. This was necessitated because his father Lingaraja, as was welknown, was a usurper, and that was the reason he abdicated in favour of his son and wrote to the British requesting them to recognise his son as the ruler. But the British would not recognise his claim so easily. They took a long time to do so, and in about 1821-22, they wrote a short note stating that:

> "We approve of your Resident's with the Raja's wish that his son (Viraraja the Younger) should receive from him a similar assurance of protection and favour to that which he had received from the Governor-General."

Even then things did not go on well with the young Raja. The interest for the money deposited by the Elder Viraraja was continued to be paid all those years without interruption by the Company Government but somehow on the 8th August 1830, the Raja had to write to the Governor of Madras stating that:

> "The sum of Rs. 1,86,840 (Star pagodas) belonging to the Sarkar has been lost under bond to the hon'ble English Government at Madras, and I have transmitted to my agents, M/S Binny & Co., a letter enclosing the Bond and a power of Attorney empowering them to receive the interest due upon it. I request that you will honour the goodness to issue orders for the payment of the interest in question from the treasury whereby you will confer a great favour upon me-----" Sd) Viraraja."

The answer to this letter was short and crisp, and that did not lead to anything. That showed also that the British had determined to act against this small ruler on the basis of the complaints that they were receiving. In reply to the above letter they wrote just these two or three lines, as below:

> "I am favoured with your letter of the 8th inst., and have to assure your Highness that due attention will be paid to by the officers of the Government to your wish regarding the discharge of the interest on the bond therein referred to. What more? Sd) S.R.Lushington, for/ the Governor of Madras, dated the 25th August 1830."

Reports on Atrocities:

From the above letter it could be seem that the Company Government was beginning to take a serious view of the situation that was prevailing in Coorg all those four to six years from 1825 or so. As a first step they seemed to have suspended payment of the interest on the deposited money by the Raja's ancestors. Secondly, the Company Government, on receipt of the fresh rumours of murders and atrocities in Coorg, started sending some messengers to find out the exact situation. For instance, when they knew that the Raja even forgot his constitutional limitations as a ruler, they sent one Manuel Pereira to Coorg but the man never returned to Mysore. The British had in their possession the reports on many murders beginning from the days of the killings of Palanganda Chennavira and others. However, the Mysore Residency again sent one Samuel Joseph, a Jew, to Coorg.

but nothing came out of this mission also. It was then apprehensions were entertained for the safety of Devammaji, the heiress of Viraraja the Elder.

The acting Resident of Mysore & Coorg, Mr. Casamajor, had already seen the Raja once in connection with the building of the Mysore-Cannanore highway through Coorg. At that time they had talked on the reports received by the Residency and the Resident returned to Mysore with his own suspicions. But then, it was said, that his account of the Raja, was, on the whole, rather favourable. This, however, did not seem to be quite correct because of the subsequent events that clouded the entire Coorg horizon. Rev. Moegling recounts the exact position of the day as below:

"Rumours of frequent executions continued to reach Mysore, and Mr. Casamajor received instructions to demand of the Raja a regular report of every case of capital punishment ordered by him. Some correspondence ensued; Viraraja protested against this demand but his protest was of no avail; the order was repeated. However, the Raja never complied with it and matters went asleep again.

"News came that the Raja had raised a regiment of female cavalry, who accompanied the Raja on his rides and who were drilled like soldiers. Mr. Casamajor thought that the Raja was mad.

"Several men of influence, including some Dewans, dared to protest. They were dreadfully flogged or had their ears cropped or were thrown into prison. Rumours of these doings reached Mr. Casamajor-----Coorg was kept heremetically sealed. Only a few passes were open. Those were guarded by strong posts. Travellers were often detained. Without a passport no one could enter the country. On slight pretences persons were fined, maltreated, imprisoned. Some who had gone to Coorg (Manuel Pereira and others) disappeared altogether-----."

Chennabasappa Escaped:

This Chennabasappa is none other than Mukkatira Iypanna who was the brother-in-law of the Raja. Much about this man has already been said. He acted as a potential rival to Viraraja, and the latter therefore thought of liquidating him from the scene along with other men and women of the royal links. The man who master-minded all this was Kunta Basava. Thus a very important development was taking place in and around the Raja himself.

Chennabasappa ALIAS Iypanna, with his wife Devammaji, the second daughter of the late Lingaraja II and his wife Palanganda Devakka, escaped from their Appangala house in the midnight and reached Siddapur by horseback in the early hours of the nextday morning. They gallopped along the borders where they were encountered by the border guards and in the scuffle that ensued between the two groups, Chennabasappa and his wife escaped leaving their child behind in the confusion. They hastened to Mysore and took refuge at the Residency buildings and reported the entire state of affairs in Coorg to the British authorities who had plenty of reasons to believe all that he said.

This happened in 1832. After Chennabasappa's escape, the Raja and the Dewan Basava, became more infuriated and they began treating the rest of the local suspects very badly. Chennabasappa's brother, Mukatira Muddayya, was a quiet going Munshy. He was arrested because Basava thought that Muddayya helped his brother to escape. A few days later, Devammaji, the lawful heiress to the Coorg throne, and her children were all killed by Kunta

Kunta Basava himself inside the dark rooms of the Mercara palace, and then the news were afloat saying that they died out of cholera.

When exactly they were murdered, is not clear, but the affairs in Coorg were going from bad to worse in the later half of the year 1832. The Resident Casamajor took all these cases seriously and reported the matter to the higher quarters. He also set out on a trip to Coorg to make a personal enquiry of the entire terrorous situation.

Tried to Woo the British:

Thus, the whole thing was in a state of confusion. Terrorism had reigned for quite a few years, and the Raja had lost control of the situation. Kunta Basava seemed to have been manouvering the gruesome scene from behind in the name of the Raja who must have known that he might have to encounter trouble with the Company Government. George Richtor wrote that:

> "He (the Raja) appeared anxious to please the British Government, was inquisitive, showed a good deal of intelligence, and there was some hope of improvement, as he was a young man."

Yes, the Raja was only 30 years old at that time but he was mature enough to evaluate things and restore order. Indiscriminate murders, arrests, terrorist activities and hunting after potential rivals certainly cast a gloom over the then small kingdom and even the outsiders who were in Coorg at that time lived with great fear. This tense atmosphere prevailed when the Raja hunted after his 'enemies' most of whom were the members of his own family circle. However, by the end of the year 1832, it was almost certain that some members of the royal connection were put to death. It was also known that Devammaji, his aunt and heiress, and her children, were also brought to Mercara from their Appangala house and were put to death. Among others who were thus killed at the instigation of Basawa, was Mukatira Muddayya, brother of Iypanna ALIAS Chennabasappa. These kinds of things aggravated and intensified problems of the killers themselves, and the Raja knew very well that he was courting trouble for himself. He tried in vain to woo the Governor of Madras although the British officials of the Mysore Residency knew who and what of Coorg. However, in a letter to Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, the Governor-General of India, the Raja wrote (the letter not dated), that:

> "After the due expression of respect and attachment, I have the honour to represent that not having received accounts of your health and welfare for a long time, I beg to your remembrance that I pass my time night and day in fidelity and devotedness to the hon'ble and powerful British Government and enjoy all manner of ease and contentment under the shadow and that I am very deserved of the honour of a letter informing me your health and happiness which I should value most highly and be exceedingly grateful for, certainly by the grace of God, your Lordship's mind is peculiarly disposed to protect your Indian servants. I continually offer up prayers to him who gives without recompense that your shadow may long continue over us, your welwishers- my ancestors- obtained honour and advancement for the British Government. and I hope to be in like manner favoured by it. I have no other patron. May the sun of your life and prosperity shine. Sd.) Viraraja." (Translated by J.M.Macleod- No date.)

Resident Casamajor's Visit:

Viraraja the Younger was fast paving the way to his own downfall. He had entertained a palace servant of the Raja of Mysore, and that man had been to Coorg on a secret mission of treason against the Company Government. He tried to engage the services of a merchant of Mysore for the murder of Chenabasappa who had taken refuge in Mysore. That secret emissary also had a plan for contacting Ranjit Singh of the Punjab, and to do so he found one Sikh man, one Lahore Singh. Perhaps, poor in the knowledge of geography, these men did not realise the distance between Mercara and Lahore being so vast that it would be difficult for Ranjit Singh to avail himself of the friendly offices of the Raja of Coorg.

Apart from the above sinister moves, the servant from Mysore had encouraged a rebellious Palegar of Nagara, one Suryappa, who was also in trouble with the English, to rise against them along with the Coorg Raja who had at the same time talked about the feasibility of contacting the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Raja had also sent his men to the Nizam also. All these secret manouvres came out later on in greater detail when the British instituted a court of inquiry after the annexation of the state.

Having come to know all this through the secret agents, the British authorities had decided on the I8th January I833 that Chenabasappa and other refugees should not be restored to the Raja. Later they removed Chenabasappa and his wife from Mysore to the Bangalore residency when the Raja persistently demanded that the fugutives should be delivered to him. It was at this time, early in I833, the Resident Casamajor visited Coorg with a bundle of papers of complaints against the Raja saying that the Raja had put to death several people, men and women, those Kodavas and non-Kodavas. who were believed to have been privy to the plans of Chenabasava, or to have assisted him in his escape." It was said that many were killed, mutilated or starved to death. Rev.Moegling recollects that:

"Coorg was an independent country", said the Raja who did not even know his own limitations. Casamajor replied that Coorg had been a subject to Tipu Sultan and was now subject to the Company as was proved by the annual tribute of an elephant in lieu of the former payment of Rs. 24,000. When the Resident requested the Raja to treat Devammaji and other members of his family kindly he answered that he required no such monitions, but as far as Devammaji and her family they were all dead long since. This was the most bare-faced lie. Devammaji, indeed, her sister Mahadevammaji had been murdered probably before the end of I832, a month or two before Casamajor's visit....."

The Raja Became Adament:

Casamajor's personal conference with the Raja of Coorg was fruitless, wrote Moegling. From then on the Raja became more reckless. He harboured rebels who had troubles of their own in Mysore and round about districts. Mr. Casamajor did not even succeed in obtaining a sight of Manuel Periera who was also presumed to have been imprisoned and then killed. The Resident returned to Mysore 'little satisfied'. He knew that shortly after the flight of Chenabasava and his wife, Devammaji and her children were taken by the Raja's orders and by his Sepoys to Appangala Panya, and then brought to Mercara where they were cruelly murdered.

Resident Casamajor returned to Mysore and then gathered more information about Coorg while the Raja kept writing to the East India Company Government asking them to return the fugitives, Chennabasappa, Devammaji and others, and, in this the Raja became adament. In the meantime, the British Government dug out the antecedents of this Raja and his father with some retrospective effect, and they began to look to the things from the days of Viraraja the Elder when the dying old man wrote to the Company on the 27th May 1809 stating that:

"-----I too will die (like my wife). Death sensibly creeps over my bed-----The marriage of my daughter Devammaji must be celebrated with great pomp and splendour in the same manner as my own wedding was-----My name and seal are now used by my daughter and son-in-law-----If and when I die my people will create disturbance during the reign of my daughter. I therefore begged to appoint an English Vakil to superint- and the care of the Government-----I entrust to Soonda Raja the charge of the country--- He must arrange all the affairs of my house and Government as I have directed-----Soonda must not quit my tomb. He must finish that building because it may be useful to many--- ---The Governor-General in Bengal is my father and mother. Write to him through Mr. Cole and he will forward all your wishes. Mr. Peele formerly marked with stones the boundary of my country. There is therefore no dispute on this point, but should any occur you must write to Mr. Cole------."

The elder Viraraja died on the 9th June 1809. In his will drawn on the 23rd May 1809, he explained about the succession of his daughter but it was already seen how his brother sabotaged all those arrangements and came to power himself. The elder Viraraja's property in the Company's paper, then at Bombay, amounted to Rs. four lakhs. He desired that one lakh of that should be invested in bonds in the name of his two grand-sons, sons of Rajammaji and Sode Raja, and the annual interest be paid to them. The other Rs, three lakhs, he said, be kept in the treasury of Devammaji, his ten-year old successor. Later, of course, on this a compromise was made between Lingaraja and Sode Raja, the latter accepting one lakh of rupees in ready money.

Thus in 1811, there was Rs, three lakhs in Bombay while in Mysore treasury there was Rs. 6,53,940 or 1,86,000 pagodas, deposited in March 1809 by the elder Viraraja. Now after twenty years, the British began to have a second look over the whole transactions.

The Account Over the Years:

In the year 1811, the Forbes & Company, Bombay, purchased from Lingaraja the 8 per-cent promissory note for Rs. three lakhs, the property of the late Raja invested in the Company funds at Bombay. The amount was demanded by bills on the Court of Directors. In May 1812, the money that Lingaraja had received from M/S Forbes & Co., was invested at Bombay and a six per cent promissory note made out in favour of Devammaji for Rs. 2,78,000- that being the amount paid by the Raja to the Company's treasury.

In 1822, under the regime of the last Raja, a new loan was opened. and the Raja wished that the interest which had accumulated, might be added to the principal, and accordingly five per cent promissory note of the Supreme Government for Rs. 2,91,300 was received and lodged in the Presidency treasury.

In 1824, the Accountant-General of Madras forwarded to the Resident in Mysore a new

new five per cent pro-note for Rs. 2,03,900 stating that the original amount of the former bond was Rs. 2,9I,300 but that of this amount Rs. 87,400 was not accepted according to the tenor of the new five per cent loan. The last mentioned sum was order by the Government to be returned to the Raja but when the Raja was deposed after sometime, the Resident of Mysore observed that:

"If this property should be ultimately adjudicated as the property of Devammaji and her heirs, there would arise a just claim to expect the repayment of this sum from the Coorg Government."

In June I83I, the above account was transferred from the Madras five per cent loan to the four per cent loan of the Bengal Government in the name of Viraraja the Younger. Both Lingaraja and this younger Viraraja had regularly drawn the interest on this promissory note through their agents, M/S Binny & Co. The other six per cent promissory note for Rs. 6,53,940 that was in Devammaji's name, seemed to have been negotiated by M/S Binny & Co., and the payment of interest on that sum was suspended under instructions from the Government due to the misbehaviour of the last Raja. The last two Rajas had drawn interest on this sum from the I2th November I8I2 when it came to the name of Lingaraja, but after I834 the affairs concerning these took a different turn.

How Devammaji was Killed:

The story of the Indian rulers of the earlier days do not make a good reading, and so also of the Rajas of Coorg. What sort of man Viraraja the Elder was in his later ten years as a ruler, has already been said. No one counted the heads of many hundreds of people he killed. After his death, and in I8II, the English opened the road through Manantody to the Malabar coast and with that the contacts among the peoples of the neighbouring districts increased. Lingaraja must have killed, it is said. about 3500 people, and his son, the last Raja about 2,000. This last Raja, "was a greater curse upon Coorg than his predecessors," a report said.

This Viraraja the Younger was described as "monster of sensuality. He kept his father's youngest wives-----He used to take breast milk daily of young mothers while they fed their babies, to be used as medicinal ingredient." The report about him was::

"That once he demanded the choice of all unmarried girls. When hearing this outrageous resolution, the Coorgs (Kodavas) at once and in one night, married all their grown-up daughters. Rumours of these things reached the ears of the Resident Casamajor who reported to the Imperial Government. The Raja therefore sealed the Coorg borders and no one could enter without passport."

When Casamajor visited Mercara in November I826, he found the people of Coorg dumb and terror-stricken. He found the Raja denying the accusations that were made against him. He pleaded innocence on the rumour of Palanganda Chenavira's murder. After an engagement of eight years, of Chenabasappa to Devammaji, the second daughter of Lingaraja, she was permitted to join her spouse. Because of the continued repression, Chenabasappa managed to escape from Coorg placing his wife behind him on horse-back, followed by a few attendants. Once it was said that the Raja was on a hunting expedition and shot at one Narayana Nayak, a Hoblidar, with blunt arrows, which killed him in presence of all his retinue.

Of course, such episodes were common. On the 18th January 1833, Sir Fred. Adams, Governor of Madras, wrote a long letter to the Raja advising him on the principles of good government, and warning him to report all capital punishments, as communicated to him 1827. He also informed that the Resident Casamajor would again proceed to Coorg. All this kind of gestures of advice were of no avail. The cruel man and his courtiers had already murdered a good many people, and those included his rival to the throne and aunt, Devammaji and her children. It was said that Devammaji and others were brought from Appangala house and put in Mercara palace. One Kalingayya of Yedavanad and Kunta Basava dug up the wall adjoining Devammaji's bed-room where they discovered a brass vessel of wealth. After that Devammaji and her sister Mahadevammaji, were brought from their confinement into a dark room and were hanged. They were burried in a nearby jungle. "Thus ended two daughters of Viraraja the Elder and his beloved Rani". Their children, and the families of Appaji Raja and of Lingaraja, were taken to Nalknad palace in about February 1834, and all of them were killed by the Kaplas at the express orders of the Raja and Kunta Basava.

Chennavira Episode Recalled:

Long before the above incident, the British had already come to know about the Raja's atrocities in respect of the murder of Palanganda Chennavira— a convert to the Lingayat caste, and also a kin of the Raja's family. Some correspondence went on even about that as early as in 1823, and recollecting the incident, Mr. Casamajor wrote to the Raja on the 23rd August 1826, that:

"----Your Highness wrote to Mr. B.Cole on the 1st September 1823, stating that a ryot named Palanganda Chennavira of Kantamurnad had absconded with his family, and that you were informed that they had taken refuge in Mysore and therefore requested that this person and his family might be apprehended and sent to Coorg. Mr. Cole in reply, on the 24th Sept. 1823 said that he would cause search to be made for Chennavira and should he be discovered he would let your Highness know. You wrote on the 27th Oct. 1823 that peons of the Mysore Government searched for him but was not found. On the 22nd December 1823 you wrote to Mr. Cole that the two ryots you sent were acquainted with Chennavira's person, returned to Coorg without him and stated that they had discovered Chennavira in a village near Peryapatna. There was a scuffle between the two ryots and Chennavira. Your people reported the matter to Killedar of Peryapatna and you then sent seven men to Mr. Cole requesting him to apprehend Chennavira. Mr. Cole informed you on the 3rd January 1824 that he had given RAHADARI (passport) to your people to apprehend Chennavira. On the 15th March 1825 you informed that Chennavira and his family were seized and brought to Coorg. Mr. Cole informed you on the 3rd June 1824 that your subjects suffered under severe and rigorous punishments such as were not sanctioned in the Company's territories and that many acts of tyranny were committed in Coorg and Chennavira who fled from Coorg and who was sent back to you was reported to be apprehensive of losing his life-----.

"Mr. Cole wrote to you with the view of rescuing your character of rumours of your harshness and other imputations, to send Chennavira to Mysore. You acknowledged this letter on the 19th June 1824-----I am now informed that Chennavira is not a common ryot but a relation of your family and he has been treated with fresh severities-----I hope you will give Capt. Monk's deputation a full report------I hope you will allow Capt. Monk to confer with Chennavira-----The road through your country having been completed the usual through Wynad which is unhealthy, will probably be discontinued by the troops on marching from Cannanore-----".

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From this letter it was clear that the last Raja had begun his reign with an idea of liquidating his kith and kin so that his position to the throne became secure. However, replying to the above letter of Mr. Casamajor, the Raja wrote on the 8th September 1826, that:

"-----Capt. Monk has delivered me your letter-----You desire me to furnish a fresh statement about the Coorg ruling family. You also mention that Naranappa, a Daffedar of Rayadoorg, was put to death and Sthanik Subbarao and others as well.

"I may state that Chennavira was a ryot of Kantanurnad and absconded from there to Mysore. At my request Mr. Cole sent him back. I kept him in confinement so that he would not continue his "bad practices"-----Later, he became submissive and well-disposed, and, therefore, I released him and sent him home. It is probable that you must have heard that cholera had been raging in my country and by which about 150 men died daily, and it is still prevalent. Chennavira, his wife and family were carried away about two months back by this disease. I will tell everything to Capt. Monk------.

"I have a great desire to see you, and I am happy to hear that it is your intention to come here-----When I went for elephant hunting to Kaggod-nad, I took ten people with me and also some servants. When I was going through the jungle, I fired at an elephant. Suddenly the animal rushed at the people and the Daffedar Naranappa stumbled and fell, and the elephant killed him. I am very sorry for his loss. As he was faithful, I gave ready cash etc to his funeral and a Jaghir to his family. The Stahnik Subbarao was not punished. He was also carried off by cholera.

"About ill-treating others, as you say, as in every place there are good as well as bad people. When a person committed a crime the Company Government administers justice and the same rules which were established by my ancestors have been observed by me and no one was punished unjustly. If I had exercised force the people would have revolted----".

The Bogey of Cholera:

In those days all cruel people and Governments used to come with an excuse that cholera raged over their land and as a result of that so many people were carried away by the disease. Likewise, Viraraja the Younger too and men before his time and many others gave this reason as an excuse for their atrocious and murderous acts. The above statement of the Raja was an evidence to that. He was also clever in concealing his motives and plans, and that could be seen from an account of Capt. Monk who wrote to the Resident of Mysore, on the 7th September 1826. He said:

"-----The Raja instanced the flourishing state of his country as proof that his people were not harshly and unjustly treated. He acknowledged the fact that during the times of his uncle Viraraja and father Lingaraja, there had been much oppression and cruelty but he disclaimed ever having had even a wish to imitate them-----.

"Young and alone as he was, without anyone to guide, it had been his aim rather to reward than punish-------As to Chennavira, he says the man was a ryot; he had left the country without any cause-----The Raja now informs that for sometime he was kept in confinement and as he was submissive he was released and later died of cholera..... About his family, he was not communicative. In reply to my question, he said, "I am alone; I have no one about me" and then told he had two younger sisters-----."

Capt. Monk wrote another letter to his Government on the 10th September 1826, explaining that the Raja had the capacity "to be naturally well-disposed", and then added that "from the seclusion and ignorance in which he was brought up and lived, almost everything European is a novelty to him and strongly excites his curiosity and inquiry." Resident Casamajor, however, would not think that the Raja was that good. He wrote back on the 10th October 1826, as below:

"It will be seen that his Highness has denied the relationship of Chennavira but I have information that Chennavira married one of the sisters of the present Raja but he had no children. After the death of the first wife, Chennavira married again and had several children but this family is said to have all died by cholera, according to the Raja who evaded to reply to Mr. Cole's inquiries. I am also informed that this Raja has both a son and a daughter but this is also now denied and the chronology of the family is not supplied to us--------.

"The Raja is suspicious of his subjects and from frequent summary executions the people are governed by their fears and that he has of late years been rigorous-----To effect changes should be gradual------the measures now proposed to be taken of reopening the road and establishing a tappal within his dominion and calling upon him to withdraw the restraints upon native travellers entering his country-------I would advice that an European officer may be detached with any party of pioneers------and instruct the Coorg workmen on remaking the Poodacherrum (Makut) Pass-----".

Casamajor's Coorg Visit:

Writing to the Government of the Fort St. George, Madras, the Resident Casamajor of Mysore, explained about his visit to Coorg in 1826, in his letter dated the 20th November 1826, that:

"-----I have been for three days-----in Mercara-------I have not seen his Highness since 1818 when his father was alive, and who solicited the Government to be allowed from his ill health to retire in favour of his son------I was deputed to ascertain the age of his son who was then 17, and to report whether there were any local objections of the people (and, there was no objection)-----On many questions his (the young Raja's) replies are always cautious, suspicious and evasive------He informed me that the details of his Government were conducted by two old servants of his father, i.e. Bopu (Bopanna) and Ponnappa, and said that expenses of his Government were within his revenues-----His Highness denied the continued vigilance and espionage over all strangers but he admitted that passports exacted at his frontier CHOWKIs without which he asserted that he could feel no security against smugglers and thieves and thought that precautions are essential------.

"The Raja said that he had no objection for opening the road------I said that this road (Mysore- Virarajpet- Cannanore) is healthier and shorter than that through Wynad ------I stated under the recent commercial change with reference to the port of Tellichery which was now open for all merchandize direct from England------that it was expected that the general trade with the interior would increase-----I said that that his servants would not admit any person to present a letter to the tappal office recently established in Coorg unless its contents were first read at the CHOWKI at Virarajpet and which order precluded freedom of communication between the merchants and people writing to their relations on family affairs, and it would be considered by our Government as a regulation totally unworthy of his SAMSTHAAN and begged him to stop it which he promised should be done------.

"I have been able to collect information that induces me to doubt on opinion expressed and entertained that the disposition of the Raja is cruel and oppressive. I am rather led to believe that such executions as have lately taken place have been advised by the old servants who were brought up under the old despotic reigns------I am now confirmed in the belief that Chennavira and Daffedar Naranappa-----were both beheaded on some flimsy reasons, and it is difficult to arrive at truth on matters like these under this arbitrary system of Government------.

"His Highness denied the exercise of a too rigid control over strangers-----The Government of Coorg is more arbitrary and less tolerant to its people and inflictions upon travellers have of late been too frequent-----The roads have been improved-----Considerably big town is Virarajpet where a large Christian population has been long established and where a fair of merchandize is weekly held.------The only recreation of his Highness is elephant hunting in which he is an expert----."

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A Reprehensible Conduct:

After his return from Coorg, Resident Casamajor got many reports on Coorg and all that confirmed his impressions on the Raja's cruelty. The old servants who inherited the cruel legacy from the times of Lingaraja, must have been Kunta Basawa who was the evil genius all along during the reign of the last Raja. In that was Bopanna and Ponnappa were in the background and those Kodavas never bothered about the inner politics amongst the Lingayats themselves. In that way, these two co-brothers and sons-in-law of Lingaraja II- the above mentioned Chennavira and Chennabasappa too contributed a lot to worsen the situation. While Chennavira was killed, Chennabasappa managed to escape. Both these men were bastard converts, one belonged to Palanganda family and the other to Mukkatira family. Both these must have had an eye on the Coorg throne. Both men had married for the second time- and both the times to the daughters of Lingaraja. All this showed that they had very little character in them. The behaviour of these two men must have roused anger and resentment in the Raja, and Kunta Basava who hated Kodavas must have succeeded in prejudicing the Raja against these men. However, Casamajor's letter to the Madras Government, dated the 22nd May I827, was as below:

"The hon'ble Mr. Cole, in previous correspondence brought to the observation of the Government the despotic character of Government of Coorg and fears generally entertained by the natives as a result of the impediments offered to their passing through his Highness's dominions and which has recently led to the extermination of Government to restore the old road through the country for troops and European travellers------ There are four main roads leading into Coorg------where a traveller when called upon to state the exact term of his visit-----to the PAHARA or watchman- with a passport in writing which is to be examined at other stations------.

"This practice to a much less extent has for many years past existed in Coorg but has been more rigidly enforced since the road was abolished------From the intelligence I obtained that public executions had been most frequent and that certain individuals had been imprisoned and subjected to great sufferings-----ON Chennavira, the Raja's uncle, the latter's conduct is reprehensible-----As I was not in good health to go to Coorg, I requested Capt. Monk to go and inspect the road going to Coorg and to present a letter to the Raja-----who admits the death of Chennavira and Naranappa, which excite considerable suspicion. They have said to have been died of cholera- the entire family in the space of two months-----."

The Raja Was Warned:

Thus it could be seen that during the years I823 to I830, there have been a good deal of personal contacts and correspondence between the Raja and the East India Company Officials. The Raja was cruel and that was proved beyond doubt, and the Resident Casamajor's visit in I826 was in response to those reports they had received. At the same time, the British hastened the Mysore-Malabar highway through Coorg and by the year I832 that road work was also over. There was a free flow of mail service and interception of the letters by the Raja's men was also minimised. It would seem that by the year I832 the Company Government had already laid the foundation for their future rule without the Raja himself being unaware of the whole developments.

As to the Raja's conduct, the Residency officials continued to send reports to the supreme Government periodically. The Raja surrounded by men like Kunta Basava and

and others who had no education nor any knowledge of the constitutional limitations that had reduced their much bragged SAMSTHAANA into a tiny native state under the East India Company Government. They were still thinking that the Raja was a lord and that there was no one above him. It was this kind of misconception that brought the fall of the out-dated system of Coorg, nay of this such states in the whole of India of the eighteenth century. In that way the British were the actual saviours of the poor people from the hands of the wretched tyrants. The British warned the Raja in severe terms and such warnings went to him more than ones. The Governor of Madras wrote to Mr. Casamajor on the 22nd May 1827 from Fort St. George, stating that:

"-----The Governor is of opinion that all capital punishments should be reported to the Resident, but does not think that the established system under which passports are furnished to strangers on entering Coorg calls for the interference of this Government-----The Governor has great pleasure in acceding to the Raja's wishes to be allowed to pursue his elephant hunts in Malabar and Kanara------It is necessary that private property should be scrupulously respected----.

"The Governor hopes that the Raja would behave in a way confirming the belief of the Resident as the Raja was not very oppressive-------.

"The repairing of the road from Coorg boundary to Tellicherry and Cannanore should continue and the pioneers should be allowed to assist in effecting the repair of the road through Coorg------as suggested by the Resident."

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CHAPTER VII.

A Period ~~An Era~~ of Tense Investigation.

A Series of Inquiries:

A series of inquiries- both personal and by correspondence- went on all through from 1827 to 1833, and the efforts of the Company Government in this direction, was relentless. They wanted to get to the depth of the accusations made against the Raja, and those incidents concerned were not only to Chennavira and Chennabasappa but also to many others including, of course, of Devammaji and her children. Chennabasappa who was safe and secure by now at the Bangalore Residency, was there to prevail on them to pursue the matter against his enemies in Coorg, particularly the Raja and the minister Kunta Basava. Casamajor recommended to the Government to provide Rs. 500 to Chenabasappa and suggested that Bangalore would be a suitable place for them to live. The Governor of Madras, however, sanctioned Rs.100/- for their immediate expense.

When Manuel Pereira was still in confinement, Mr. Casamajor wrote to the Government on the 6th December 1831, referring to a communique of December 1829, and requesting to write to the Raja to release Pereira as per the letter of officer commanding Malabar who had informed that Pereira was still under detention. The Raja did not seem to have responded favourably and that really intensified the enquiry of the Company Government. On the 17th September 1832, Mr. Casamajor wrote to the Governor of Madras, that:

"It is with much regret that I have to report------to take precautionary measures to ensure to the people as well as the Raja of Coorg's family, protection from the oppressive treatment and conduct of the present Raja. I beg leave to refer to my letters of the 10th October 1826 and 12th December 1829 and the truth of intelligence stated in my former letter as to the severities practised in Coorg, are confirmed by the information I have now derived from the present fugitives and their followers-----.

"It will be recollected by the Governor that mental insanity is common in the Raja's family that the Elder Viraraja died insane and the father of the present Raja was supposed to have been deranged at times.

"On the morning of the 13th September (1832), I was informed of the sudden arrival at the Residency of the sister of the Raja, Devammaji, and her husband with twenty-one followers and with their earnest entreaty to be admitted immediately into my presence and receive protection, that they had been pursued by the Coorgs, several of their followers killed and many imprisoned and an infant child of Devammaji taken away by the Raja's Sepoys with their property, and they had themselves with great risk escaped to the fort of Peryapatna where the Amildar and Killedar afforded them protection----.

A Romantic Episode:

Mr. Casamajor continued to state in his letter the entire background story of the episode concerning Chenabasappa and Devammaji. He said, that:

"The story told by these persons has been expressed with a distinctness and simplicity of truth that has removed from my mind all doubts of its authenticity-----Chenabasappa, in Lingaraja's time, married the eldest sister of Devammaji and he had a child who died later along with the mother. During the present Raja's time he married Devammaji, who was 14. For eight years the Raja resisted all solicitation and would not permit his sister to visit her husband------On her resolute refusal to his proposals made to her through a female confidential servant, Buddree, she incurred much severity of treatment while residing within the palace. At the end of the said eighth year the Raja perform-

performed the marriage with one of his five Ranis, and on that occasion requiring the room of Devammaji for the new bride, he directed his sister to be removed to her husband's house. Later when she became pregnant, the Raja got her back to the palace according to the custom. After the birth of the male child (now missing), Devammaji was again approached by Buddree to consent to the Raja's wishes and to conspire to effect her husband s death; but she refused to agree to such plans.

Devammaji was again told that if she did not consent to the plan before the Dassara, her husband would be murdered. She was sent to her husband but kept under watch of two spies. Later when Devammaji informed her husband about the vicious plans, he planned to escape on the plea of seeing his house and lands at a village near Ammathi. Devammaji was concealed in a box and left Appangala through a jungle tract. The next day Raja's people pursued them and in the scuffle ensued at the border Chennabasappa was slightly wounded on the right arm-----.

Viraraja has five wives, but no sons. He had a son by a concubine of his father but died. Devammaji's ypunger sister, Rajammaji, of 22 years, is in the palace and about her Devammaji expresses fears. These sisters and the missing mail child of Devammaji are the heirs to the throne. The Raja ordered that Chennabasappa be killed and his head be brought to Mercara. This was confirmed by the Killedar of Peryapatna. Till this time no fugitive who was returned to the Raja escaped death, therefore, they feared that this party will also share the same fate."

After writing in these terms, Casamajor wrote a letter to the Raja informing him of the arrival of the fugitives and about the missing child of Chennabasappa. "I have given your brother-in-law and sister a house and guard and I am happy to report that they are both well----", said Mr. Casamajor. Further he wrote, that:

"Upon the infant child living at the breast of your sister there can be no reproach or enmity, and I, therefore, earnestly solicit that you will immediately have it restored and sent to its mother under appropriate care. Unless this act of mercy and justice is attended without hesitation, I shall be constrained to believe the information I have received, and your Highness will lose the confidence of my Government-----."

"A Girl and Much Favour":

Even before Mr. Casamajor wrote the above letter to the Raja, the latter had already complained to the Company Government stating that:

"-----One Chennabasappa received from the SARKAAR a girl and much favour, a house and land at Appangala. He with the girl gathered some men with arms and made a tumult and left their house on the night of the 10th September. On their way they killed two men and wounded another and then fled. I have sent orders to inquire in what direction they have escaped------I request that you will have them seized and placed in confinement-----I have written to Mr. Cameron, Collector of Kanara also-----".

But Mr. Casamajor wrote in continuation in the above said letter of his to the Raja saying that:

"-----Chennabasappa and Devammaji were attacked by your Sepoys at the borders under your orders. Some were made prisoners and some put to death. At this time 45 persons and about 2,000 pagodas in gold in a box with jewels etc fell into their hands, including the male child of your sister------.

"I request you will state me the circumstances under which your brother-in-law and sister were induced to fly, or why they were assaulted and attacked in their journey to Mysore by your order, and report the number of prisoners or persons involved, etc----A force of 300 men have been sent by you to seize Chenabasava-----with orders to kill him---".

But the Raja, as already said, was adament. He once wrote to Casamajor the things that he had already told many times. He said:

"I am very sorry when I see the trouble you take in writing to me so often respecting my SARKAR people just because you place implicit confidence on the words of that offender-----."

In another letter, the Raja said that:

"Upon my enquiry even though he (Chenabasappa) proved guilty, yet for the sake of God would I excuse him------would protect him, and, therefore, you should send the said person (Chenabasappa) to me considering our friendship-----."

At this stage, Mr. Casamajor reminded the Raja of Mr. Cole sending Chennavira who was not found alive after some time and whose children and others died of 'cholera'. On this point, however, the Raja was silent.

Mr. Casamajor on Chennavira:

When the Raja kept on denying or concealing the facts from the British officials, his troubles seemed to have increased with more facts concerning his cruelties being revealed through different quarters. Mr. Casamajor, therefore, wrote another letter on the 18th October 1832, to the Government stating that:

"-----Chennabasava is a retired inoffensive man------by caste a Coorg but on marrying the Raja's sister became a lingayat-----His brother Muddayya in the Raja's service, was placed in confinement in irons and also his mother who has since died in restraint. The whole of his property estimated at about 4,000 Pagodas and 2,000 pagodas in gold, has fallen into the hands of the Raja-----.

"Dara Shaw, a Vakil and a Parsee of Tellichery, was asked to visit the Raja who demanded Chenabasappa back. I asked him to tell the Raja to restore the child to Chenabasappa "and to send those followers of his, who were captured, to me to enable me to pursue further enquiry, that is such advice is attended to, that I would visit the Raja-----But Dara Shaw has failed in making any impression upon the Raja who does not even encourage my visit representing that the season is unhealthy and illness prevalent.

"For two or three years before the departure of my predecessor, Mr. Cole, he declined to comply with the Raja's wishes for the return of the fugitives-----The present Raja's uncle Chennavira, his father's brother, (this is a different version about Raja's relationship with Chennavira), fled to Peryapatna, but Mr. Cole sent him back when the Raja put him in chains. Mr. Cole then asked Chennavira be sent back but the Raja did not do so. I repeated the request after Mr. Cole left. But I was informed that Chenavira and his family "had fallen victims to cholera". It is since known that they died in a dungeon from the effect of confinement-----and was suspected that they were put to death.

"It will rest with the Governor-General to decide whether they will no longer admit such an injurious example of misrule to exist in the territory of a chief who is under British protection surrounded by our possessions or whether his asserted claims to the restoration of fugitives under such a system can be sanctioned.....There are many natives of Mysore who have entered his service, who are unable to obtain their discharge-----The inhabitants of Coorg are a quiet peaceable people; the assessment of their land is moderate and they produce abundant crop-----."

Raja- In a State of Defence:

Mr. Casamajor's role during this crucial period of the history of Coorg, was very significant. He informed the Government stating that:

"The Government of Madras decided in a letter of the 22nd May 1827 that the Raja should report all public executions to the Resident of Mysore but which has never been attended to by the Raja, a road through Coorg had already been made by negotiation and at present the only obstruction to communication with Kanara by this route is owing to a delay in the repair of the road for about thirty miles, within the Collectorate

of Malabar-----Unless the abrogation of the present system of restraint on the inhabitants of Coorg is not only insisted upon, but temporarily supported by the presence of a military post of the Company's troops within the Raja's territory, I beg to report in support of what was said by Mr. Cole that it is futile to expect amendments or to obtain accurate intelligence of events in Coorg.

I have made temporary provision for the security of princess Devammaji and her husband in Mysore and have furnished them with a guard------I shall supply funds for their subsistence until the Governor-General shall decide on their future destination-----." Sd) Casamajor, the I8th October I832.

By this time things were becoming clear that the Raja was up to create some problems. He was suspecting everyone around him, and he was certainly in a state of defence. The Shirestedar of Tellichery, K.K.Menon, wrote to the Government of Madras, on the I6th December I832, as below:

"------The Raja is reported to be in a very uneasy state from a consciousness that he is disliked by most of his subjects who would abandon him in the event of any rupture; hence his reason for entertaining as many Muslims as he can find and his attempts to raise a body of men from the adjoining districts------I attempted to send into Coorg some confidential persons in disguise with the view of procuring intelligence but the terror which the cruel and arbitrary acts of the Raja has inspired is such that I could not prevail upon any person to undertake the enterprise-----."

This Menon had also collected news through men who had been to get paddy from Coorg via Erkur. On the 22nd December I832, he wrote that:

"It is said that the difference arose in consequence of the Raja's having refused compliance with a requisition made to him that the country should be given to the son of the Raja's sister (Chenabasava's wife) and as a result of a quarrel they fled. The Raja, it is said, will employ Dara Shaw as his Vakil."

Some More Testimonies:

There were many evidences forthcoming to say that the Raja was not at all that good as he used to claim. Apart from the reports that the Company Government had already procured, many citizens of Coorg and the round about districts testified to some gruesome facts about the Raja. One Shantayya, a late Amildar of Heggadadevanakote, said on the I4th December I832, stating that:

"I was informed by Muddayya (Chenabasava's brother) that Kunta Basava represented to the Raja some false accusation against him that he and Chenabasava, were in the former days on very intimate terms, and it was not proper to allow him to go out of the country, or to keep him there, that therefore it was determined to behead him. When they were about to chop his head, he exclaimed that he was of the caste of Shiva and Coorg was a state of Shivachar. Was it proper to deprive him of his life without being guilty? He had many brothers; would they not complain? When he thus exclaimed beating his hand on his mouth, they gave him liberty. (This was the time when Chenabasava had left Coorg and the Raja had sent letters to the Residency at Yelwal.)

And yet another testimony was from one James Wilson (maybe an Indian Christian) a native of Ganjam, gave this information in greater detail. He said on the 29th December I832, stating that:

"In I827 I left for Coorg hoping to get more pay than I used to get at Arcot. I was employed on seven Pagodas a month. Now when I left Coorg, the Dewan gave me a passport and said that not to mention anyone as to what was going on here. I was in Coorg

Coorg when Chenabasappa fled. It is said that the Raja intended to harm him due to differences between them. Chenabasappa, accompanied by two of his own brothers, left and they were interrupted by wild elephants and that made them to take a different route where they were detained by the Raja's guards. Chenabasava shot twice or thrice and cut one of them and then escaped with his wife and some followers, but his two brothers were seized as also a couple of children who were all brought back to Coorg.

"It was reported that the elder brother was put to death soon after and the younger brother with the children are confined. The Raja was so much enraged by the flight that he sent spies to all the Company's territories-----His soldiers are mostly those who are discharged from the Company's regiments. The cavalry is commanded by an European, named James. He is a deserter from the Company's regiment and is in Coorg for the last ten years. The Raja has about 300 muskets, powder, bullets etc. His artificers are 32 Portuguese who formerly worked in the arsenal at Mysore. They came to Coorg about eight months back.

"The Raja has a good band. His band master is Robert Martin who was in Mysore. He has been in Coorg for four years. There are two trumpeteers- one is an European- McLocklan, the other a native born James Francis. McLocklan came from Calcutta and he has been in Coorg for seven years. All these men don't get their pay regularly. When these foreigners were employed they were given a good pay but gradually it was reduced- sometimes not paid at all-----The Dewans who mislead the Raja cause him sanction various acts of oppression and cruelty-----.

"The Raja kept all my tools: he did not pay my way expense. He wanted me to go back but I would never go; the restrictions are too much that we cannot associate among ourselves. We cannot speak to one another. If two persons are found speaking together on the road they are seized and punished with eleven stripes inflicted with a thick lash called KORADHA. We must ourselves go every day with a basket in our hands to receive our daily ration-----."

More Acts of Oppression:

This was the type of the situation that existed in those days, and an outsider like James Wilson alone can say things more clearly and lucidly. He continued to state some more of the unbelievable things that had come to his knowledge. He said that:

"-----There is one called Manuel Pereira, the English Munshi of Cannanore. He has been there for nine years. He could not visit his family all the time and he was not allowed to go. A large amount of his pay is due to him. With Dara Shaw he sent Rs. 500 to his family but later on he heard that his family did not receive that. Pereira knows every secret of the Raja and hence he was not allowed to go out of Coorg. Many times he was punished by the Raja's men for crossing with the Raja.

"There was a Parsee called Harjee- a merchant. He too could never leave Coorg. He was poisoned by a Jew called Joseph a year back. That Jew was from Cochin. They were friends but Joseph succeeded in seducing Harji's mistress which led him to kill Harjee with poison. Joseph was arrested for eight months but being useful to the Raja he was released. He worked as Pereira's assistant in English department. Harjee's property of Rs. 2500 or so was taken possession of by the Raja.

"It was Dara Shaw who supplied the Raja articles like guns, pistols, powder, etc, including liquor, musical instruments, cloth and other things. Last time he brought a bullock load of balls or grape shots------I have actually seen Manuel Pereira beaten with sticks------Dara Shaw brought thirty bullock loads of things out of which six loads were grape shots-----".

The above facts was given out at Calicut on the 29th December 1832 in the presence of Mr. Clementson, Collector. In the meantime, the Governor of Madras told the Resident of Mysore to proceed to Coorg and find out for himself the facts about the foreign-

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foreigners in the Coorg service, on how they got into Coorg, how they were treated, the conditions of their service, etc etc. The Governor also said in his letter of the 8th January 1833, that the officers of the Government in the districts adjoining Coorg have been accustomed to deliver up fugitives and supposed offenders on the requisition of the Raja. "I am now directed to desire", wrote the Chief Secretary, "that the practice may be discontinued, and that all similar requisitions for the Raja or his officers be referred to the Resident at Mysore who will submit each case for the orders of the Government.'

Efforts to Contact Ranjit Singh:

As the enquiries were going on, the Chief Secretary of Madras Government wrote on the 7th December 1832, to the Resident of Mysore, that:

"-----The Governor desires me to state that he has no hesitation in forming an opinion which is, that the refugees from Coorg who have sought asylum in the Residency should not be delivered up by our Government-----".

With this it was clear that the Company Government would not compromise with the Raja on sending back Chenabasappa, his wife and other refugees back to Coorg as long as the Raja persisted in his oppressive policy. At the other end the Raja was preparing for his military defence in the event of a war with the British. He went round sounding various quarters for support, and here is a statement of one Lahore Singh, a Sikh from Lahore, who stated on the 11th March 1833, as under:

"----I am 25 years old. The Raja sent for me, and later he twice came to me while I was in Mercara. The Raja was in his palanquin and the servants were at a distance. He asked, "What are the habits and character of Ranjit Singh?" I replied that he enjoys sovereignty, and he is well."

"The Raja asked: "The Lord Saheb (Governor-General) visited Ranjit Singh. What were the ceremonies observed on the occasion." I said the Governor-General made presents and they received each other in state formalities and exchanged gifts. "Would it be well for me to maintain friendship with Ranjit Singh?" the Raja asked.

"Both of you are rulers. But where are you? and where is he? What is the distance? Will your friendship avail to him at such distance? The Raja asked if I could go to him and have an interview. I said that I am a trader. How can I go there? He asked if there are a ny Sikhs in Hyderabad. I said that there are about 4,000 Sikhs. 'How many Arabs are there in Hyderabad?' he asked. I didn't know. He asked whether the Sikhs or the Arabs were most valiant in war!"

The above facts were collected by Mr. Casamajor and sent to the Fort St. George. He informed that all people in Coorg are armed with bows, arrows and knives. The Raja purchased jewels and came as far as Bettadpur. When the Raja wrote again to the Reside ent asking him to send back Chenabasava, Mr. Casamajor wrote:

"I am not the person to decide on the case of Chenabasava. I must act according to the directions I receive from the Governor who entertains every feeling of friendship towards you."

The Outside Influence:

From all accounts it was clear that the Raja of Coorg was preparing for a battle against the British mainly on account of the latter not releasing the fugitive Chenabasappa and others, and in this the Raja tried to contact many outsiders in the way he tried

he tried to contact Ranjit Singh. There were many people- some Muslims, some Parsees and some Christians, moving around the Raja, and therefore the British were very cautious to know what was all that about. When the Governor of Madras directed Mr. Casamajor to see the Raja personally, the latter said on the 12th January 1833, that:

"-----I am personally prepared to make every endeavour to fulfil these instructions, but I consider it my duty to point out for information that I foresee no hope of influencing the Raja-----Both my predecessor and myself have found that our visits to Coorg have never effected any useful purpose unless authorised to speak with decision as from the Government-----My information is that the Raja, soon after Chenabasava flight to Mysore, has placed his country in a state of defence apprehending that from the disturbances at Bangalore that were exaggerated to him, that he would be suspected of some coalition with the diseffected there, and about the dangerous Persian Syed Ibrahim who stated himself to be a delegate from Col. Briggs-----.

"It is believed that Syed Ibrahim, with the hope of getting employed by the Raja, encouraged him to expect an attack and to extend defensive operations in his country and these have been done by renewing some old bamboo stckades on high roads, digging ditches around Mercara fort, etc.

"I have heard one Karim Khan is in Raja's service, and one Abbas Sahib as an active conspirator in the Bangalore plot, has also supposed to have escaped to Coorg where he has relations and adherents-----".

Some of these people who sneaked into Coorg seemed to have been great adventurers. Syed Ibrahim was said to have been in Baroda in a starving condition. He was picked up by Sir John Malcolm in 1817 at Hyderabad and was taken to Malwa. In 1829 he left for Hyderabad and the next year for Surat. To a letter of Casamajor about the fugitives and other allied matters, the Raja wrote that:

"I cannot break the rules and customs which I have received from my ancestors. I am unwilling to make the slightest change in them. You need not give yourself anymore trouble in the matter."

In reply to another letter, the Raja wrote that:

"I beg to inform you that I cannot consent to make any change in the long established rules and customs of the country."

But Casamajor wrote that it was not proper that Abbas Ali, the Bangalore conspirator, and a Persian Rahim employed by the Raja, should have been given protection as those men were traitors. Thus it was clear that the Raja was giving shelter to the fugitives from outside, and the British had to take a serious action about that.

The Governor Wrote to the Raja:

Mr. Fred Adam, Governor of Madras, saw the developments in Coorg taking place to a dangerous extent, and, therefore, wrote to the Raja on the 18th January 1833, that:

"I am concerned to learn from reports which have been addressed to me from various quarters that your Highness, apprehensive of some hostile measures on the part of the British Government against Coorg is making preparations for the defence of your country which are attended with expense to your Government and inconvenience to your people who are compelled to leave their homes and cultivation to aid in carrying them on-----.

"In September (1832), Mr. Casamajor informed that your sister and her husband had fled from Coorg and sought his protection-----Your Highness is too well read in the history of the British nation and too well acquainted with the generous spirit and humane policy of their Government to expect that persons taking refuge in their territories against unmerited persecution will be given up on the requisition of those from whose

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whose authority they fled. The law of the Nations and the dictates of humanity forbid; and the commission of heinous crimes can alone justify such a proceeding-----even if all that has been urged against Chenabasava were established by satisfactory evidence, it would only appear that in self defence he had fired upon those who had attacked him while peacefully leaving the country-----.

"The British Government will not therefore consent to his surrender or that of his wife-----while I notify this determination to your Highness-----I can assure you that the Government has no intention of taking any hostile steps whatever against your Highness unless they shall be provoked by acts of aggression-----I shall now advert to the more important subject of your Highness's administrative and the unfavourable disposition which its acts have engendered in the minds of your subjects.

"Amongst the most important duties of a ruler is that of providing for the due administration of justice and for the protection of their subjects against the oppression of promoting their welfare by the extension and the removal of unnecessary restriction upon trade and commerce-------To the neglect of these important considerations is to be ascribed the oppressed condition of your Highness's subjects and the insecurity which always attends the alienation of the affections of a people towards a sovereign-----."

Raja Inflicted Executions:

Many people testified to the cruelty of the Raja and in that there was no difference of opinion at all . One Dannaya Naik of Rayadoorg was in Coorg service for twenty years as Daffedar. He fled from Coorg and said that he witnessed the dread of the punishments meted out to the people. In a letter he said that he saw the Raja punishing people with his own hands even for the slightest offences. He also saw the Raja inflicting executions in the presence of all his retinue. The terror among his people was such, the Naik said that combination to resist his authority would be attended with risk and they dare not even complain in the absence of some authority-----. He added that:

"Three days after Chenabasava's flight, the Raja ordered Hoblidar Booma Naik, Subba, a ryot and myself to go to Bangalore to buy brass articles for a bungalow. We started and as we reached Siddapur Ghat, we were over-taken by Dewan Bopu (Apparanda), Syrkaryakar Somayya (Biddanda), and twenty others, with orders from the Raja to cut off Chennabasava's head wherever he might be found. We joined these people and travelled with them up to Bilikeri. From Kampalapur twelve men returned, and we heard that Chenabasava was at Yelwal residency with Casamajor.

"While in Coorg I saw that great oppression was carried by punishing small faults with hard labour, flogging, etc. Muddayya, a twin brother of Chenabasava, was placed in confinement. The four dewans do not make any divisions of the affairs but transact every sort of business in conjunction with each other at Mercara. The four Subedars were Muddayya, Achanna, Biddayya and Iyappa. These people go on circuit to different villages. There were local subedars also. Kalingayya was in charge of revenue of Yelusavirasime."

On the 30th January 1833, the Governor of Madras, asked the Raja to send Manuel Pereira to him for the purpose of conversing with him. "I trust that you will kindly send him without delay", wrote the Governor, and said that "I have been informed from many quarters that Abbas Saheb is in Coorg".

On the 13th March 1833, Casamajor wrote a letter to the Governor about a meeting between Coorg and Mysore Rajas. One Arapur Basappa Urs was an intriguing relation of the Raja of Mysore and he was receiving several Muslims who were engaged in Coorg intrigues. One Rudrayya, an employee of the Raja of Mysore, was associated with Surjappa, and Rudra-

Rudrayya seemed to have been to Coorg and offered the Raja help of armed people. The Raja in return offered him more people and rewards to kill the Resident and Chenabasava both! The Raja engaged one Syed Ibrahim by a promise of a reward of Rs. 10,000 to murder Chenabasava, and this information was given out by a Turk, a companion of Syed Ibrahim. The Raja was in touch with other Muslims, Sheiks and Turks.

Raja Talks About Surjappa Naik:

Viraraja the Younger- a man of about thirty years of age and his unscrupulous servant-minister Kunta Basava were both trying to plunge themselves into trouble by making a mountain of a mole of their enmity to Chenabasava. Their trying to woo those vagabonds who strode from outside for their livelihood, certainly caused to aggravate the entire problem. One such man, Ghulam Muhammad Khan, spoke at the Bangalore Residency about his meeting the Raja and about their talk concerning "the ungrateful Chenabasava" in January 1833. Ghulam Muhammad said on the 27th February 1833, that:

"-----The Raja came to me on the fifth day of my stay in Mercara, on the 29th January. Both of us went to a Ghat and sat down. The Raja asked me if I had known about Surjappa Naik and his affairs. I said that I didn't know him. Then he asked one of his servants who had come from Tarikere if he had known about the Naik. Then Sheik Lahore Singh also came to us. The Raja wished to know about Ranjit Singh's country and I was an interpreter to them. The Raja asked me, "Would it not be politic to form friendship with Ranjit Singh? I replied that it would be good. Then the Raja asked if I could go to him on his behalf. I said that after Chenabasava's affair is settled I would go. Then the Raja wished both of us and left.

"Again the Raja came and took me to the same Ghat. Kunta Dewan was holding his horse and we were talking. People were sent to a considerable distance. The Raja asked why Col. Briggs was removed. He was a good Sardar and a person of rank, he said. 'Casamajor got him removed', I said-----.

"The Raja then said that insurrection should first begin at Nuggur area. When the Company's troops move to Nuggur, the insurrection should spread at Bangalore, Mysore and Coorg. Mamo Minh might return from Bangalore but then he must be informed. The Raja also added that "I remain quiet at present but the Company Government provokes me. I am prepared to resist. As you value your life, you must not mention about our conversation to anyone. I shall protect your family and as for yourself- I will provide for you.

"'Then I told the Raja', continued Ghulam Muhammad, 'why he keeps Abbas Saheb- an unreliable man. The Raja said that he knew that Abbas was not trustworthy, and then added, "If you could carry on my account murder Chenabasava and apprehend an old man who is with him and make him over to me alive, your family shall never be in want of food as long as they live. If in perpetrating the death of Chenabasava or in apprehending the old man, the Company Government should discover you, you must on no account mention my name. Be assured that I will provide you all help."

"The Raja said that he wished to go on a hunting mission to Mysore. I said that neither he nor his father had ever been to Mysore. Later we parted."

The Raja Was Vicious & Corrupt:

Here the Raja could be seen in his worst form- both as vicious and corrupt. His only aim was to grab Chenabasava alive and punish him or kill him, and the British had numerous evidences to this. The above named Ghulam Muhammad continued giving his evidence to the Residency officials in Bangalore, as below:

"-----Again for the third time after a few days the Raja stood at the gates of the house where I was staying and said that he had received a letter from the Governor-

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Governor-General. I asked him what it was. The Raja desired Laxminaranayya and Dewan Murnad Basawa and a Kodava Munshi to read Lord Saheb's letter. They read and listened. Later the Raja sent them to the fort, and then sent for Manuel Pereira and told him that Casamajor had sent for him and wishes to know if he would go if given leave. Pereira said that if given leave he would go. The Raja then used abusive language to him and said, "After being acquainted with the affairs of this place I shall not let you go. You have given me in writing that you would not go of your own accord. How can you expect to go now?

"Pereira then mumbled something; the Raja said that a guard would be placed above him. Even this conversation, the Raja told him not to tell anyone, and he and I agreed. The Raja told me that when there was trouble in Bangalore among Muslims, he had of his own sent 300 men to Bangalore and 400 to Mysore.

"Mamo Minh told the Raja sometime back concerning the English that, "What security have you? They will do to you as they have done to the Raja of Mysore." (The Rajas of Coorg and Mysore were formerly enemies, but now they are friends).

"I heard that the Coorg Raja had sent Syed Ibrahim with arms to murder Chenabasava and that he would receive an award of Rs.10,000. I live in Mysore where Basappaji Urs also resides. Manuel Pereira lived in his own house in Coorg.

"The Raja told me that Chenabasappa's child that was missing was found on the road and that he was taking care of it."

In reply to the Madras Governor's letter, the Raja of Coorg wrote concerning the release of Chenabasava and other fugitives stating that:

"Up to this time felons escaping from Mysore have always been delivered up by the Resident himself and the authorities of the other districts have never had any hesitation in giving up to my charge criminals who have been apprehended in them. Moreover, you wrote formerly that you would send me all murderers and rebels. Chenabasappa ran five months ago. When I wrote to you about him you gave the excuse that he was unwilling to return-----I shall derive much pleasure from your visit."

In another letter to the Residency, the Raja wrote that:

"During the last four or five months, I have been repeatedly writing to request that the traitor might be delivered up to me, but there appears to be no hope of getting a satisfactory answer. The said Manuel Pereira was not forced into my service. He came by himself-----I appointed him as a teacher of English to children so that they might qualify to translate English letters. Pereira is anxious to settle here. He has been here for six or seven years. You are objecting to all my public servants. Your opinions and your own acts seem to you to be right. Who can oppose you------?"

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CHAPTER VIII.

1833- A Year of Letters & Correspondence.

Casamajor's Second Visit:

In 1932 the British Government came to a definite conclusion that the Raja of Coorg was on the war path and that he was creating a situation to his own downfall, but, nevertheless, the Company Government officials tried to soften the problem by advising the Raja in as many words as possible. On the 18th January 1833, the Governor, Fort St. George, wrote to the Resident Casamajor to have a personal talk with the Raja, and, accordingly the Resident conducted his trip to Coorg for the ~~second~~ third time. The first time he visited Coorg was in 1818, and again in 1826. After having a talk with the Raja, Casamajor wrote a report on his trip on the 28th January, from his Bettadpur camp. He informed the Governor stating that:

"In obedience to the instructions of the Governor-in-Council conveyed to me-----I have visited the Raja at Mercara and have had communication with him on several subjects-----I have remarked to him------that he should have given credance to such reports to the extent of having obstructed the roads to his capital and prepared defensive operations-----which had caused alarm in the taluks of the hon'ble Company-----I assured him that unless a most systematic disregard was evinced to the advice given to him in the spirit of friendship by the hon'ble Company or disrespect shown to their Authority, that he might feel a conviction of their undeviating protection and support.

"I impressed upon his Highness that all these evils had their origin in his rejection of the counsel given him for many years past to abolish restrictions placed on his people -----I enumerated each case of vaxation so far as my information could guide me with accuracy, and I lamented that one of the consequent evils of his tenacity to preserve these rules unchanged was that the British Government were constrained to receive the statements made of despotic measure in Coorg from the want of adequate local intelligence. The Raja stated that the former monarchs of Coorg had exercised the same system -----I said that I feared that the rigours of the present Government were more severe than even in his uncle Viraraja's reign or in that of his father's------.

"During those times of wars and incursions, ~~into~~ Coorg, might have had such restrictions but that were quite unsuited to the present moment of profound tranquility in the surrounding country, protected as he was in the centre of hon'ble Company's provinces; that his father had subsequently relaxed by the advise of the Resident in many encroachments upon the liberty of his people and that it would only be creditable and becoming his dignity if he assimilated, his form of Government to that of the neighbouring and protecting state, and that if he did so, ~~that~~ his authority would certainly receive every just support."

The British- The True Saviours:

This was the kind of advice the British had given ~~in those days~~ to all those Hindu and Muslim butchers and tyrants who were ruling their own petty kingdoms that were in hundreds in those days. If the British had not come as saviours to stop the flow of the blood of some centuries, the fate of the country would have been disastrous. However, this petty chief of Coorg, too, ~~need~~ needed some homilies from the British officials but the man failed to learn his lesson of life. Anyway, Casamajor continued to say that:

"I cautioned the Raja against giving way to the advice of persons who ~~[illegible]~~ -----from their private views of advantage interested in maintaining despotic power. I begged him to consider------that his independence was likely to suffer by acting in

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in hostility to the advice of the British Government and to deliberate if their counsel and views were not unfriendly. The Raja said that he knew that he could never receive faithful advice from these people------He admitted that formerly when very young he might have been more severe on his people-----but that he had become more reflective and considerate, and denied that the mass of people were unhappy under his sovereignty, and he felt great reluctance to any change of the system.

"He wished to remind me that he held his Government under no conditions or treaty similar with that of Mysore but that Coorg had been retrieved by his ancestors by right of conquest-----He referred to a proclamation made by some public authority previous to the fall of Srirangapatna, I believe, by General Abercromby, recognising his independence and of which he promised me to give a copy, but afterwards he said that he could not find the original, and again admitted that he had found it, but as the Company must have a copy that he would not at present refer to it------.

"I reminded the Raja that Coorg had been a conquered province under Tipu Sultan and that at the time of our conquest of Mysore that authority and independence of Viraraja the Elder was very unstable, that from the friendly aid afforded by his uncle Viraraja to our Bombay detachment on the approach of our Army towards Srirangapatna in 1799 that the hon'ble Company had generously refrained from the requisition of the KIST exacted and contended for by Tipu Sultan, receiving annually an elephant only in mark of tribute to our Government and that the most cordial promises of actual friendship and cooperation were interchanged, but considered it was understood that by provision was fully made that the subjects of Coorg should derive full benefit of British protection by our conquest of Mysore as well as His Highness's family, but that on such points I had no authority to speak------."

Some Frank Revelations:

Resident Casamajor, in his letter to the Governor, Fort St. George, informed of the fact that he had told everything concerning the Raja's atrocities that had come to his knowledge, and also made clear that the British had held full authority over him and his kingdom if he erred. Proceeding, Casamajor wrote about his visit to Coorg, that:

"The Raja has denied that he has ever entertained any Europeans in his service, and I myself disbelieved that he has-----that he employs our dismissed or disbanded Sepoys is, I beleive, certain, and gives protection generally to fugitives from other countries-----About eight guns, two 12-pounders, two six pounders and four smaller ones- were mounted on the ramparts of the fort previous to my arrival but they were removed and not visible to strangers------.

"The Raja stated that the rumours that reached him that the fugitive Chenabasava was to accompany me with a large army into Coorg had alone induced him to order his troops on the alert but that he had no design to show any disrespect to the Company in such preparations, There was no use in my trying to collect information while there. Any man entering my camp was punished. Every merchant visited Coorg will attest to the restrictions placed upon them.

"While returning (from Coorg) via Kanive, we came in contact of an old Brahmin-Narasimha Bhat of sixty years. About Chenabasava, he said that after his flight, the ex-Rani Devammaji, her two sons, daughter and her husband Mallappa, were all removed from Gorgundur to Appangala-----Devammaji had property in money and jewels worth a lakh of Pagodas. This caused the subjection of Devammaji into taking an oath in oil thinking that she was a party for Chenabava's flight. Devammaji died as a result of pain and Government took all that property. Later her daughter and her husband Mallappa were released and sent to Beloor village and two sons of Devammaji are still in custody.

"The brahmin also testified to the death of the Munshi Mukatira Muddayya, and his brother and mother of Chenabasappa- are in prison. A Lingayat Chennayya was chopped to death by a hatchet on Raja's orders. The old man said that Chenabasava's son is safe in the palace. The Raja's rule of terror is due to his distrust and suspicion of his people. He employa Sepoys from Mysore and Rayadurg, Sidis and slaves from the Persian Gulf as his

his guards. The military road through Coorg from Seedeshwar (Siddapur- at borders) to the Heggala pass, has been well constructed. Some bridges and repairs are now required------.

"I had known some of these roads and distance between the places etc as I had travelled once with Lingaraja in 1818. I now recommend to take up some more road works, and labour, if needed, could be supplied.

The Raja's Evasive Replies:

Resident Casamajor had taken maximum trouble to elicit as much information as possible from the Raja. Moreover, he was a right messenger for the job because he had a thorough knowledge of Coorg affairs, he having been visited Coorg twice before, in 1818 and 1826. Here he wrote to the supreme Government some more facts about his visit:

"-----The Raja's chief concern was about the return of the fugitive Chenabasava and his wife who is Raja's sister. I see Raja's mind is intent with the most vindictive revenge upon the fugitive-----I said that this was in the hands of the Governor-----I told him to extend his kindness by returning his sister's young child. He said that he had ordered search to be made for it but without success, and even said that its father had not taken right care of the infant or had hid the child in order to accuse him of having kept it. When he was told to restrain and put an end to bad treatment of the relations, the Raja had the audacity to reply, 'that his ill treatment of them is impossible for they had all long since died."

"-----I served from more accurate intelligence than he was aware and cautioned him to be merciful to his own family or he would sacrifice our friendship and confidence entirely, that a correct list of all the living members of his family was in my possession and its truth unquestionable. His Highness was confounded by a sense of marked and ~~guilt~~ obvious guilt; but I must repeat that lives of these family members can only be saved by the cautious interposition of the British authority and that it will only be merciful to remove them as early as possible from this tyrant's custody.

"------I raised about Manuel Pereira whose subject is with the Collector of Tellichery and whose wife has written that her husband is forced to stay there. The Raja said that Pereira did not want to quit Coorg. He had sent money to his wife who had refused to come to her husband. I told him to send Pereira to my camp so that I could find out from him but the Raja said that he would enquire about that and tell in the following day. But I did not pursue the matter fearing the risk of man's life.

"------The Raja was then questioned on his sending letters to the Governor directly and without sending through the Resident. On this he was clearly evasive. A Mapilla who had ferried Chenabasava was executed after ten days. Muddayya and other relations were also killed. All these satisfy me of the Raja's incapacity for sovereignty----His mind is also insane-----One Jafar Saheb whose father had been the friend of the previous Rajas, also said that the Raja's mind occasionally wanders like that of his father and grandfather who were all known as insane- just killers and tyrants."

The Resident's Recommendation:

Mr. Casamajor, in conclusion, wrote to the supreme Government, as below:

"-----I consider that the opening of the roads and the establishment of a military post at Mercara as a chain of communication with our provinces would be attended with great advantages. It would ensure to us better information and would be a decided check upon the Raja's despotism-----He has four (or five?) wives but no children, and the child of the fugitive in his custody has a direct claim to the kingdom and succession.

"I hope my visit has not been unproductive of good------His country is now administered to in the name of four Dewans, two of whom are stated to be the persons who give the Raja most pernicious counsel and who induce him to adopt acts of despotism. One Laxminarayana, a brahmin, the other, Basawa, a man of no education, whom the Raja has lately elevated to the rank of Dewan, but formerly was a commandant of peons and whose back, I am told, bears the marks of lashes often applied by the Raja's orders.

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Hakim, a banker, Ramanujayya, a painter, Manuel Pereira and Hakim Guzafur are in custody. They are not allowed to return to their homes in Mysore and Malabar-----" Sd) Casamajor, Bettadpur Camp- 28th January 1833.

In response to this report of the Resident Casamajor, the Raja took upon himself to write a long letter of over ten pages elaborating his own grievances and grudge against Chenabasava, and in that list of his enemies he added the name of Mr. Casamajor also, and sent his letter directly to the Governor of Madras contrary to the instructions of Casamajor. The Raja wrote on the 7th February 1833, as under:

"I have received yours of the 18th January (1833). You observe that you have heard with sorrow that I am apprehensive of hostile designs on the part of the English Government, and have assembled people with a view of opposing such designs------My benefactor, you must not in any way imagine that I have any thoughts of enmity towards the English Government- both states being in perfect amity. I am well aware that as long as the sun and moon endure the British Government will never entertain hostile feelings towards me-------Mr. Casamajor did not bring your kind letter himself. He paid me a visit and conveyed personally with me on varied subjects-----.

"It occurred to me that were I send an account of Mr. Casamajor's improper conduct-----my representations would never reach your Excellency, and in order that you might be acquainted with all the circumstances and grant me redress, I resolved to send it to you direct. I have not received a satisfactory answer to this representation, and every letter I wrote against Mr. Casamajor was returned to that gentleman------.

"It has always been the custom to deliver up to this Government every criminal who might make his escape from this country------All this trouble was caused by Mr. Casamajor and not by your Excellency. A thief, a murderer who had escaped from a country will not of course return of his own accord-----If you comply with the wishes of such people how cam matters get on-----?

"You observe that it is necessary that I should report all capital punishments to the Resident as directed in 1827-------When I was informed of this at that time, I informed the Resident that I could not agree to his proposal-----that I cannot do anything against the long established customs------Casamajor has behaved in an improper way------After due consideration see fit kindly to deliver up that fugitive traitor and murderer Chenabasava according to the long established usages-----."

A Bunch of Conspirators:

There have been a net-work of agitators and saboteurs around the Raja of Coorg, who were moving between Coorg and Bangalore, and some among them were going about Mysore, Hassan, Tarikere, and the west coast. Most of them were Muslims, perhaps those men were like orphaned remnants after the death of Tipu Sultan in 1799. Resident Casamajor had done a good job in contacting most of them and finding out their plans and movements, and the Raja of Coorg, no doubt, was in the defensive. Mr. Casamajor who was shortly to relinquish his post, was busy as usual. On the 27th March 1833, he wrote to Fort St. George, that:

"------I have the honour to forward the letters purporting to have been addressed to Ghulam Muhammad------I also send letters extracted from my record to show the difference often exhibited in the mode of signatures of the Raja of Coorg, which renders it a point to decide both on his Kannada and Persian signatures------On this I examine Sheik Ali who gave them. That Ghulam Muhammad had been in intrigue with Coorg ever since 1826. Syed Husein is one of my emissaries to Coorg since one year-----.

"It will be found in the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry after the detection of the conspiracy in Bangalore and also before the court martial that Abbas Saheb is alluded to as being an active partisan in the attempt to seduce the native troops from their allegiance. He absconded from Bangalore on the first discovery of the plot-----

----known to be a very diseffected person and was dismissed from the Mysore Sarkar for insubordination------."

Thus giving an introduction of some main characters, Resident Casamajor wrote to the Commissioner, Government of Mysore, that:

"A note was sent to apprehend Syed Hussein restrict his movement, seize his papers, and should not be allowed to be at large nor allow him to return to Coorg. He has just returned from Coorg."

But when this Hussein was brought before Mr. Casamajor, he denied having gone to Coorg for the last eight years, but it was ordered to seize his papers. Ghulam Muhammad amd Mamo Minh- both underwent examination and their papers were also seized and kept in custody. Some of those papers were said to be of seditious nature.

Law & Order Below the Ghats:

When the Raja was indulging in such minor things as seeking revenge on his political opponents, the law and order broke, and especially in the districts down the Ghats, from Sulya to Puttur and Bantwal people became restive. The ancient boundaries were determined as the points up to the sounds of a horn could reach, and in that way, the Coorg boundary before 1834 had stretched up to Uppinangadi in South Kanara. However, on the 22nd March 1833, W. Lavie, Joint Magistrate wrote to his superior officer in Mangalore from his Byndur camp, stating that:

"It is with regret that I call your attention to two reports I received from the Peishgar of Uppinangadi in Bantwal taluq.

"For some time past, Coorg has been in a disturbed state and when I passed along the frontier in January (1833), I heard many reports of the discontent occasioned by the Raja sending for the people with their weapons from below the Ghats to protect him in his capital- Mercara. Many men were thus called from their regular occupations and obliged to attend upon the Raja without knowing how long they might be kept from their homes.

"By thus making the able-bodied men of below the Ghats, the Raja not only caused a very bad feeling among the people but exposed the unprotected villages to the ravages of daring saboteaurs who are to be found elsewhere-----.

"There was reason to believe that the idle and reprobate persons of both districts would take advantage of the confusion by assuming the Raja's name as their authority and thus attack the defenceless ryots. The reports from Bantwal speak in alarming terms of the extensive robberies and fires constantly taking place in Puttur and other taluks of Coorg-----.

"I passed along Coorg and South Kanara twice-----There was no fear of the Raja or about the defection of his subjects-----I have always considered that the Government of a country were bound to protect the lives and property of the people-----By prudent precautions losses and discrepancies could be saved, and in such a country as India, the prevention of crime should always be regarded as one of the chief duties of the magistrates-----".

A Move to Transfer Chenabasappa:

Due to the alarming situation that prevailed in the round-about districts and within Coorg, the Commissioner of Bangalore, Henry Stokes, suggested that Chenabasappa and others could be transferred from Bangalore to some other place like Trichinopoly. On the 3rd April 1833, he wrote that:

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"In addition to the information sent to you from Peryapatna, the Commissioners have desired me to state that they have received intelligence from one near the Coorg boundary on the side of the Bisle Ghat that the agitation in that province is understood to arise from the Raja having been informed or impressed with the belief that his brother-in-law Chenabasappa is expected to return to Coorg supported by a body of troops from Mysore. This report is totally unfounded------.

"The Commissioners have therefore directed me to suggest whether it may not be advisable to remove Chenabasava and his wife to Trichinopoly as authorised by the Madras Government on the I9th November (I832)-----This measure might have the beneficial effect of tranquillising the minds of the people in the frontier districts of Mysore-----".

Perhaps, in response to this letter, the Secretary, Fort St. George, wrote to the Resident of Bangalore, directing him to take immediate steps for the removal of Devammaji and Chenabasava through Bangalore and Salem to Trichinopoly where the civil and military authorities would be directed to make arrangements for their reception and protection. This letter was dated as the 8th April I833. But then it was reported that Devammaji was in an advanced stage of pregnancy, and because of that the Government was requested to make them stay in Bangalore since a long distance travel would effect her health. The appeal from Chenabasava also added, that:

"We are trusting that by some means you will obtain us the privilege of returning to our native land and living there in security. Our wish is that our son, our property and our people may be given up to us, that the murders going on in Coorg may be stopped and that we may reside there-----".

In the meantime, the Company Government sanctioned Rs. 694/- for expenses for their projected journey from Mysore to Trichinopoly, and for tents, palanquins, pots etc. The party of Devammaji and Chenabasappa consisted of persons with the names Subbanna, Appayya, Ganapathi, Uthayya, Mandayya, Somayya, Bhimayya, Subbakka, Kuttavva, Ummakka, Kalavva, Somakka, Ponna, Kalinga, Kanna and Amboo.

The Mysterious Surjappa Nayak:

This Surjappa Nayak was once a Paleygar at Tarikere. He was implicated in the disturbance at Nuggur, and was supposed to have been taken refuge in Coorg. The British asked the Coorg Raja to seize the Paleygar but it was found that he was not in Coorg. The Raja was not cooperative with the British because the latter had held Chenabasava and other fugitives. In the meantime, the Amildar of Peryapatna reported to Casamajor, that:

"-----One Doddegowda of Harohully and two other Gowdas of Yelusavirasime were sent to bring Surjappa Nayak, son of Rangappa Nayak of Tarikere. They went and talked to Surjappa and reported that Nayak would be at Ramaswami Ghat on a day when the Coorg Raja went there-----Surjappa stayed at a temple near Kanive and he had with him 60 armed men, three camels, three women, and about 200 horses were lined up-----."

Well, the British would not let the wandering Nayak go easily. They launched a proclamation in April I833 and notified all over the need to capture Surjappa Nayak. The proclamation was as below:

"Whereas Surjappa Nayak-----having offered his revolt and armed opposition to the SARKAR during the late insurrection, accepted terms offered to him and received pardon accordingly for his previous numerous grave offences, and having entered into an engagement with the late senior Commissioner Lieut.-Col. John Briggs, to repair to the Huzzur, did wilfully neglect to fulfil that engagement and in disobedience to repeated orders from the Commissioners did continue to evade the performance of it.

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"-----And, whereas Surjappa in defiance of that final and preemptory requisition has not only neglected to come to Bangalore but absconded and betaken himself to the jungles with armed followers-----It is therefore hereby declared by the Commissioner for the Affairs of Mysore that a reward of Rs. 300 will be given to any person who shall seize the said Surjappa and deliver him up to the Commissioner or any competent authority-----".

This proclamation was widely notified, and the Raja of Coorg was also informed. By that time it was clear that the Raja was "encouraging strangers of all kinds to enlist in his service". Mr. Casamajor had already opined that the Raja's rule of terror and his exaction of personal labour from the Coorgs had alienated the goodwill, if not the allegiance of his subjects.

The Raja Against Casamajor:

The Raja was harbouring personal hostility against the Resident Casamajor because the latter took him to task on various counts of irregularities and cruelties. Writing direct to the Gen. Frerick Adams, Governor of Madras, on the 10th April 1933, the Raja said as below:

"-----As that paper contained certain complaints against the Resident, a copy was not sent with it------Pray, write to us plainly whether in future we are to address address to your Excellency on the subject of any injustice or transgression on the part of the English gentleman after making the same known to them directly to you. What can we write more? We are always praying to God Almighty that the conquering sword of the British state may ever remain glittering like lightening over the heads of its enemies-".

On the 15th April 1833, Mr. Casamajor reported to the Governor that the Raja "has recently protected many persons of bad and suspected character and that he had denied their being in his country." All this infuriated the Raja against the Resident who had steadfastly refused to restore Chenabasava to him. Denying that one Abbas Ali was also not in Coorg, the Raja wrote to Casamajor, that:

"-----The two Governments were friendly and always refused refuge to whoever committed crime against the hon'ble Company. While this is the case you have thought fit to take into protection that fugitive, traitor and murderous Chenabasava------All I say to prevail on you is to give them up according to the long established usage. You give credance to whatever falsehood they choose to assert and persist in retaining them-----. You first break my heart by deviating from what has so long been the usage and then write to me seize and deliver up this man and that man. Well, nothing that is improper shall ever proceed from me. I must trust to your kindness to deliver up that fugitive traitor and murderous Chenabasava, his wife and others. I have made search for Abbas Saheb but not yet found him."

But the facts were not as true as the Raja put it in writing. The Amildar of Peryapatna reported the death of Chenabasava's brother, Muddayya, He was tortured and killed on suspicion that he was aware of his brother's flight. At the other end in Mysore, Chenabasava and Devammaji were shifted to Bangalore where they arrived on the 13th May 1833. They were sanctioned an allowance of Rs. 250 a month.

Friendship With Hyderabad-

There was also a new development taking place with the Raja of Coorg contacting Hyderabad, perhaps, another futile venture on his part. With these kinds of things it seemed that Viraraja the Younger was taking extreme steps to provoke the British to act

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act against him. He sent men and elephants to woo the Nizam, and all this he did, perhaps, after listening to the advice of those run-away Muslims who were going around him. On the 27th July 1833, Col. Stewart, Resident of Hyderabad wrote to one Raja Chandulal, stating that:

"Sometime ago I wrote to you about two elephants and a letter by the Raja of Coorg. I have now learnt that a person named Asif Khan brought two female elephants from the Raja of Coorg together with three of his own to Hyderabad-----.

"About seven months ago, the day before they left Coorg, one of the Raja's subedars came and gave a letter to Yemen Khan, son of Asif Khan and told him to take the letter and elephants to Hyderabad------."

But about fifteen days before that, on the 15th July, Col. Stewart had written to this same Raja Chandulal that:

"Certain persons deposed before the Commissioner for the Affairs of Mysore to the effect that the Raja of Coorg despatched about four months back two elephants to Hyderabad for sale and that these persons accompanied them to that place and carried along with them letters addressed to His Highness the Nizam to which they received written replies-----".

Raja Chandulal wrote in reply on the 22nd July, as below:

"-----On the subject of elephants and letters despatched to his Highness the Nizam, by the Raja of Coorg, I have however since been engaged in making inquiry on the subject and have at last learnt that a Brahmin Koop Chand brought and sold in the city five elephants-----He also produced a passport from the British authorities in Mysore and stated that he never brought letters or anything from his Highness and the statements made on the subject are false------.

Col. J. Stewart wrote to the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, on the 30th July 1833, from the Hyderabad Residency, that:

"I have your letter of the 9th inst. with the enclosures relating to the letter said to have been dispatched by the Raja of Coorg to H.H. the Nizam. I beg to transmit the information of the Governor-in-Council-----of the correspondence that have passed between me and the Nizam's minister on the subject- together with the deposition of Abdul Khader-----As matters now stand there can be little doubt that if Alif Khan had such a letter it must have now been destroyed------".

About Surjappa Nayak Again:

Mr. Casamajor left the Mysore Residency in May 1833. but he continued to write some important letters from Bangalore. Mr. Henry S. Graeme, the Resident of Nagpur took charge of the Mysore Residency. In the meantime, the Company Government sent an emissary to Coorg to study the situation, and he wrote his report as follows:

"I left Bangalore on the 26th May 1833 and reached Virarajpet in nine days. The females of Surjappa Nayak were actually there. I also ascertained that the Nayak himself was there with his family-----He lived in a palace by the side of the fort. There were four Dhoolis in which his family came to Coorg------I saw Abbas Ali who was writing Persian to the Raja and teaching him Persian. He is not in regular pay."

This emissary also said that Mercara was known as Haleri at that time, and the town was called Mahadevapet. Mercara was called Madikeri only since the celebration of the Raja's birth day, probably in July 1833. When the proclamation concerning Surjappa was notified to the Raja, he wrote on the 1st May 1833, that: "I have not heard anything of Surjappa Nayak coming this way." But the actual fact was that both Surjappa and his brother were there in Coorg at that time. The Raja also added, that:

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"You must certainly deliver him (Chenabasava) up with his wife-----I have already issued orders for apprehending Surjappa if found. The proclamation that you have sent is useless, but, nevertheless, I have despatched it.....I have told you several times that no trace has been found of them as yet, and I cannot but think it improper that you should trouble me in this way due to the information derived from some obscure sources------You thought proper to break the established rules by detaining the fugitive traitor contrary to my wishes------If you continue to act in this improper manner there would be a diminution in our relationship. You are the person who committed the injustice-----How, oh Shiva, am I to apprehend Surjappa Nayak------!"

In reply to this, Mr. Casamajor wrote on the I4th June I833, that:

"-----You say- I am writing constantly to you to seize and send me Surjappa Nayak- this man and that man-----But you do not understand why I decline acting in a reciprocal manner. There are reasons for my not having sent Chenabasava to you. The reasons are detailed in the letter written by the Governor-General, dated the I6th January I833, and it is therefore unnecessary that I should repeat them. I recommend now as a friend that if Surjappa Nayak is in your country you should give him up-----."

Again on the 6th July I833, Mr. Casamajor wrote to the Raja, that:

"You must consider that what I say is dictated by friendship. The Commissioners have heard from four or five quarters that Surjappa Nayak and his followers are living under your protection. I have heard the same-----".

The Raja Becomes Incorrigible:

Here is a situation where the last Raja of Coorg was seen digging his own grave. His oft-repeated denials on various subjects made the British to be more adament and persistent in the demand to know all about the mischief of this petty ruler of a junglee tract of land. The British got relevant information to say that he killed many of the relatives of Chenabasava. They also knew that ex-Rani Devammaji and her kith and kin were under house arrest. The British knew authority that he was sheltering Surjappa Nayak, his brother and ever so many undesirables who ran away from Mysore. They knew that the Raja was in communication with the round about Paleygars and also with the Nizam of Hyderabad. It was said that when Mr. Casamajor visited the Raja, apprehensive of some attack, had kept I00 large cases of gun powder, and troops were also kept in jungle ready at hand. The British knew that the Raja was brutal and cruel, and he would get anyone beaten if anyone spoke a little way out.

Everyone in Coorg knew that Syrkaryakar Somayya (Biddanda ?) was present in the interview between the Raja and Surjappa. One Syrkaryakar Muthanna (?) was accused by Kunta Basava and he was killed. The Raja's denials to say that Surjappa was not in Coorg was of no use because the current news about him was, that:

"the 6th May I833- News in Peryapatna that Surjappa Nayak was received in Coorg with public honours, had reached the English. The Raja sent palanquins and woollen cloth to him. On the Nayak's entry to Mercara, a salute of seven guns were fired. All his 200 men had swords and shields. The Nayak was supposed to have contemplated to escape to Hyderabad.

"The people of Harapanahalli, Uchengi, Chitradoorg, etc- as in many other districts had given him hopes----but later they entirely neglected to take notice of him, and the chiefs of those areas in response to the proclamation of the Company Government, sent their troops to apprehend him-----."

So when the Nayak of Tarikere was having his talk in Coorg, Major James was hunting after him in the jungles and hills of Nuggur. In the meantime, on the 20th July 1833, Mr. Casamajor got information about the rumours that Viraraja murdered the child of Chenabasava. He also reliably learnt that Surjappa Nayak was in Coorg, and the Jew- Samuel Joseph and Manuel Pereira were in custody in Mercara and the Raja was subject to periodical insanity.

From all this it was clear that Viraraja of Coorg was becoming an incorrigible case and that he would never retrace his evil and misguided steps. By the 30th July, John Casamajor knew that the Raja had given Surjappa pecuniary aid, and the Nayak was sent out of Coorg only after the Raja had received repeated warnings about sheltering him from the British. Thus the events were taking the Coorg Raja to his own disastrous end!

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CHAPTER IX.

Efforts at Reconciliation Fails.

Henry Sullivan Graeme:

It was already said about H.S.Graeme who was the Resident at Nagpur before he came to play a crucial role in the affairs of Coorg in the second half of the year 1833. In July of that year, Mr. John Casamajor had strongly recommended that a native regiment should be quartered in the vicinity of Mercara. As the Raja appeared to have had a personal dislike to John Casamajor, the latter proposed that some other person of authority should be entrusted with the Coorg negotiations, and it was then the Governor of Madras thought to depute Mr. H.S.Graeme from Madras to make a last attempt at a peaceable settlement on Coorg. The Raja of Coorg, however, had an extraordinary idea of his power and strength and he was unwilling to meet a British representative. He began to address insolent letters to the Governor, Fort St. George and even to the Governor-General at Fort William, Calcutta. These things certainly aggravated matters, and Mr. Grameme's efforts at reconciliation seemed to have ultimately failed.

Mr. Graeme actually began his work concerning Coorg from September 1833, and he was allowed to draw full allowance as Resident at Nagpur from the date of his being nominated to the Coorg mission from the 24th September of that year. But till Mr. Graeme took over, many more letters were tossed about between the Raja and the Company officials. For instance, the Raja was involved with several people and all that came to the notice of the British. Here is a deposition of one Abdul Khadar, made on the 27th July 1833, and it said that:

"-----The day before we left Coorg, a Subedar of the Raja came to Yemen Khan and said, "Here is a letter from my master which you will carry to Hyderabad along with the elephants and if there is any reply to it send it back."-----I heard Alif Khan say that his brother Hyat Khan had gone to Coorg with letters and would return soon.....Alif Khan told about his trading in elephants in Palghat, Coimbatore and other places----".

That was the time when the British were out on hunting for all sorts of rebels of all over South India, and here was an announcement from the Mysore Residency, dated the 9th August 1833, which said that:

"-----With regard to the capture of Boodi Basappa Nayak, the pretended Paleygar of Nuggur and of Narasingh Rao, his reputed Dewan, I am directed that these two men having been found guilty of murder and insurrection, were sentenced to death and were executed at Shimoga on the 4th inst.-----"

The Raja's Complicity:

Some more informations were gathered by the Mysore Residency on the Coorg Raja's complicities with all kinds of extraneous forces, and here is another deposition of one Bhadra Nayak, dated the 30th July 1833:

"From the time of Poornayya, I (Bhadra Nayak) was the Hoblidar in Mysore, till nine years ago.....About a year back I went to Coorg where I got a Daffedarship in Raja's service on Rs. 5/- a month-----I left service after four months-----Cheramana, a brother of Subedar Iyappa, gave me the job-----Samuel Joseph gave me a letter to deliver to

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to Mr. Casamajor who had then gone to Nilgiries from Yelwal. I went to Col. Morrison, the Commissioner at Bangalore, and gave him the letter. He and Mr. Chamier took my statement and told me to go and discover if Surjappa Nayak was in Coorg. I went back through Peryapatna and Bettadpur-----I learnt that Surjappa had been in Coorg and left for Nuggur eight days before I was there, and the Coorg Raja had given him two guns and some money------.

"After Chenabasava had fled, the Raja put Munshi Muddayya, the elder brother of Chenabasava, on his oath as to whether he had assisted Chenabasava to escape by making him put his hand in the boiled ghee. A ring was put into it and he was asked to put his hand and take it. This was done in Harkond (?- Is it Hakathur?). Dewan Basava, Munshi Kalinga and Syrkaryakar Somayya and some others were present at that time. I saw Muddayya's hand burnt. This was repeated two months later-----.

"Muddayya was taken to the Raja's court when the Raja exclaimed, "This man is a traitor", and immediately Sepoy Appanna came forward in obedience to the Raja's command and cut off Muddayya's head with his Coorg sword. I was present and I saw it. The corpse was carried away by a small gate at the fort. The younger brother of Muddayya was also put to oath-----They fettered him and threw him into prison. He died after two months. Syrkaryakar Muthanna was also implicated with Chenabasava. He was beaten and imprisoned and he died after two days of Casamajor's living Mercara-----.

"I saw that correspondence going on between the Raja and Surjappa Nayak. The Raja sent one Daffedar and people Hussein to the Nayak. 20 women and eight men of Nayak's group came to Mercara. They were accommodated in Chenabasava's house. The Raja sent Rs. 3000 put in six bags to the Nayak. After a month Surjappa and his brother Krishnappa and 20 followers came to Mercara (from Appangala). The Raja sent them two horses, and later met them and took them into the palace."

A Saga of Cruelties:

Bhadra Nayak continued his statement as below:

"Samuel Joseph of Cochin came to Coorg through Dara Shet of Tellichery. He wanted to get back but the Raja would not allow him- because he was a servant of the Company who in turn had detained Chenabasava and others.

"Joseph was once in a drunken stage and abused the Raja stating that he would not prosper and that he would be removed to Madras and so on. His cook reported this to the Raja who ordered that he be put into the ordeal of an oath-----When Joseph said something Kunta Basava rushed to strike Joseph with a stick. He was kept in prison without food for three days-----There are many cases of tyranny like this.

"The women of Surjappa Nayak are still at Mercara-----"; and they lived in the Haleri house. Reports received from Peryapatna, Munjrabad. Nuggur, Bettadpur and Maharajadurga confirmed that Raja was on a hunting expedition with the Nayak and his brother at the eastern borders of his state-----The river Hemavathi is subsiding and therefore, the Nayak might return by the Manjrabad route. By the 12th August 1833, news came that the Raja had blocked Kanive route in order to prevent the Company people getting into Coorg. -----The Raja has no reliance upon his own men. He has appointed about 1000 men from Mysore and another 1000 matchlock men from Harapanahally and Chitradoorg."

The reports also came that men from Raidurg and the Ceded Districts also found their way to Coorg to join Surjappa Nayak. It was said that the Raja and the Nayak separated themselves through different routes from their hunting abode in the jungle while Col. James, along with Nuggur Foujidar, was waiting to trap him the moment the Nayak returned to his place. In Coorg the Raja issued orders that Coorgs must be prepared to take to their knives and swords if the Company troops got into the country. The Raja's cruel treatment of his opponents and even of innocent people, and his preparations for war with the Company, came to know to the Collector of Bellary, Governor of Madras, and to many others.

others. They also received reports through several fugitives who had escaped from Coorg because of the Raja's atrocities.

Subbayya's Deposition:

This Subbayya was just a 17-year old boy of Arameri village, South Coorg. After escaping from Coorg, he narrated his experiences to the authorities in these words:

"——When Chenabasava escaped, my uncle was with him, and my mother and myself were then at my uncle's place in Kiggatnad. About four or five days later my mother and myself were seized and taken to Mercara where some others were also brought like that by force, Dewan Basava asked me, "Do you know that Chenabasava has left Coorg?", I said, 'No'. He had me flogged with twenty or thirty lashes, and confined me and later made me work at my village. As my father was killed by the Raja's people, I decided to escape and join Chenabasava. When the Raja had gone on hunting, guards to watch us were reduced. We left for Peryapatna through Siddapur. A killedar gave us food and Re.1/- each and then sent us to Mysore——.

"Apart from Chenabasava's brother Muddayya, many others connected to them, were also killed, including the Mapilla who ferried the fugitives. Noses and ears were cut off of the wives of the men who followed Chenabasava, and most of these were Kodava women. Some men were beaten to death and several women ill-treated. Syrkaryakar Muthanna was killed just on the charge that he knew about Chenabasappa's flight.

"The ryots in Coorg are oppressed. They are made to work without pay. They have to carry timber, mud, bricks, stone etc. Most of them are poor. They are so much discontented that many of them will flee from the country——When I went to Mercara, Dewan Basava had me seized and put me into prison. I was made to take oath in hot ghee. My hands did not boil; so they made me work. Dewans Basava and Laxminarayana were there when the oath was performed. Kaari, another Coorg boy of Arameri, and 16 years old, was sent by Basava to Kanive to bring betel leaves. But he fled to Mysore instead of coming back with betel leaves for Basava.

"——The Raja is very desirous of engaging the Nizam (of Hyderabad) to join him in taking up arms against the English. This has been told to me by the people who recently had left Coorg. They also told me that people are tired of the Raja's cruelties"

The above statement was voluntarily made by the young Subbayya before the officials of the Mysore Commission, who received similar reports from other sources as well. It was said that Surjappa Nayak had built huts for his men in a corner of Yelusavirasime taluq. It was also true that the Raja was determined to fight against the English. From the 3rd September, the day of Keilmhurtha festival, people between 12 and 60 years old were asked to gather at Mercara while Surjappa had collected 500 men from Sirangala area alone. Thus all efforts were made to muster the local forces.

Letter to the Governor-General:

Now it was time for the British officials to think seriously about these petty chiefs who were creating nuisance for their own ruin. The Commissioner of Mysore wrote to the Fort St. George Secretariat on the 19th September 1833, that:

"Surjappa Nayak is now in Coorg with his family. His spy Venkatachalayya who had been to Coorg was seized by the people at Kodlipet——The Raja has found Coorgs (the Kodavas) as treacherous and that three parts of the inhabitants are biased in favour of Chenabasava. One Appayya Gowda has been asked to keep the frontier in 'Bandobust'. ——Surjappa's son-in-law has crossed over to the jungle in Krishnaraja Katte taluq. There is confusion in Coorg and the merchants of Bettadpur are turned out of Coorg, a later report said that Surjappa and Abbas Ali have conspired to plunder Peryapatna."

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When these developments were taking place inside Coorg, the Raja indulged in a stunt, and that was in the way of writing a long letter to Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, explaining things as he saw it. On the 29th September 1833, he wrote, that:

"——I have suffered from the Resident John Casamajor. Ever since the time when firm friendship was established between the two states, it has been an invariable rule to deliver up criminals who fled from the English SARKAR and took refuge in my country——When I sent for Chenabasava be released, Mr. J.A.Casamajor referred the matter to His Excellency's decision and made the following derogatory and offensive remarks to my servants:

"——Your country is small. It is surrounded by the Company's territories. What can be done by you? It will be easy to take possession of your country——.

"Chenabasava has lands in Appangala and elsewhere. He set out from there in the night——When Mr. Casamajor visited me he proposed to establish certain new rules at variance from the practices that have been observed here from former times——. I said that I can't permit that he should thus alter and change the rules. I have always delivered up all offenders who have fled from Company's territory; similarly the officers of the Company's Government have delivered all fugitives to me——.

"He (Casamajor) wrote a false report against me that I gave shelter to Surjappa——. Under the circumstances it appears to me evident that people of your Government have fully determined and resolved treacherously to take possession of my country. You are extremely wise and know all things- both good and bad, and nothing can happen without your knowledge. This world, you should reflect, will not endure for ever; you being a pious and wise person, must be aware that evil deeds committed in this transistory world, will hereafter be divulged before the eternal tribunal of the Supreme God- Shiva Mahadeva.

"I trust that you will take the whole of the circumstances set forth in this letter, consider all treaties and engagements of the past——I request that the traitor (Chenabasava) be delivered up to me——".

Mr. Graeme's Overtures:

As already said, as far as Coorg was concerned, Mr. John Casamajor had retired to the background, and from October 1833, Henry Graeme, the ex-Resident of Nagpur, was deputed to deal with the affairs of Coorg. He had already landed in Bangalore, and a little later, he had set off on his mission to Coorg. Nevertheless, he wrote a few letters to the Raja explaining the situation as the Company Government saw, and one such letter of the 15th October 1833, was as below:

"I have had the honour to receive your Persian letter, dated the 5th Sept. You state that under instructions from the Governor of Madras, you are about to proceed to visit me. In consequence of the change of weather, I am now suffering from indisposition——At present it is not convenient that you should come here. I beg that you will excuse me——."

Later, H.S.Graeme himself undertook the trip to Coorg, and arrived in Hunsur in a few days from where he wrote as follows:

"——I have arrived in Hunsur——I regret to hear that your Highness is indisposed. I expect to receive a reply from you while I am here. I derive my powers direct from the Governor of Madras and the Governor-General, and am prepared to act in strict confirmity with the views of their Excellencies——I am very anxious to render you full justice in the matter and that's the object of my communication with you——By the grace of God, I trust that you will soon recover——".

This was the time when a tense atmosphere was prevailing in and around the Coorg borders, and, in fact, the Collector of Mangalore wrote to the local military officer

officer requesting that "a guard of 25 Sepoys may be stationed at the Katchery at Uppinangady towards the Coorg frontier to deter the Coorg and other disaffected people from making attempts to plunder the Kanara villages." This was written on the 14th October 1833. In the meantime, the Raja of Coorg replied to the above letter of Mr. Graeme, when he said in his note dated the 25th October, as below:

"----I like the English Government maintain the scale of justice equal. Mr. Casamajor who belongs to that Government has abruptly and without cause practised unjust tyrannics towards your friend, in a place where justice is done impartially.....This has caused me immense expense in the way of precaution-----Mr. Casamajor should accompany you because there have been many discussions between us. Some of my letters he has answered, some he has evaded to answer-----On these accounts be good enough to bring him also with you."

The Raja Wrote the Same Thing:

What other things the Raja wrote to Mr. Graeme in his letter of the above date, can be found from the reply of Mr. Graeme who said as below:

"----You have written that I should not bring Hindu or Mughal persons to our conference. These have accompanied me for other business-----You have written that I should appoint some Englishmen knowing Hindustani or Kannada and that you will inform me as soon as you are recovered and send for me-----There is no one among Englishmen acquainted with local languages-----My knowledge of Hindustani is sufficient to confer with my friend (the Raja)-----Mr. Casamajor is not under my control nor am I under his. I, therefore, beg that you will not postpone my coming to you-----I shall go tomorrow, being Monday, to Peryapatna and Bettadpur-----I have recollection that one K. Menon of Calicut, accompanied Mr. Baber either to Virarajpet or Mercara and visited you or your father but that your Highness will know if it was true-----".

Such wayside correspondence went on all the way and all along, but the English officials were very clever also. All their way they kept on collecting facts concerning the Raja or about the persons they were supposed to see. Mr. Graeme too came to know that Sujappa Nayak was in Coorg and that the Raja gave him shelter, and this was testified by more than fifteen persons. Therefore, Mr. Graeme kept the Raja informed that he had come to know all about the Raja's misdeeds etc, and to counter-act that the Raja wrote to him a long letter, dated the 10th November 1833, that:

"-----If I had committed any aggression or violence in your country, I am very certain that I should have been resisted or opposed-----You should have stated specifically the different acts of murder and violence I am charged with-----You have harshly written to me in an improper manner-----What answer can I give to you to such a communication?

"-----You stated that the reasons why you have given protection to that base low-born scoundrel Chenabasava, was because that humanity forbids the surrender of persons who in order to save their lives throw themselves at your feet and that it greatly detract from the dignity of your SARKAR to deliver them up. I have my sufficient reasons to urge upon this point-----There are various reports that the English are about to attack me-----

"I am fully entitled to claim the surrender of my men according to the usages and practise-----If you pursue all the correspondences I have made, those are as voluminous as the Ramayana, yet you now write as if you knew nothing of the matter-----I feel assured that your Government will not endure much longer; its enemies will increase----difficulties will overtake your Government when it is in peril- all men will unite to complete its ruin-----."

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That Karunakara Menon:

As the Raja wrote in the above terms, which was, of course, harshly worded; he got another letter from Mr. Henry Graeme stating that he liked to change his programme on his Coorg trip. That annoyed the Raja, and, therefore, he wrote another letter immediately afterwards, as below:

"——You had been very desirous to visit me, but that on receiving my letter of the 5th November, you had determined to return to Bangalore——What kind of proceeding is this? Your returning was not proper. Listen to the orders which I now give you. I was anxious to receive a visit from my friend, but due to my indisposition I was prevented from receiving you——I now write to you to visit me by the way of Siddeshwar Gaddige and attended by the same escort as was usually accompanied by Mr. Casamajor when he came to visit me——."

Here arose another point in the meantime, and that was the case of one Karunakara Menon, an emissary of the Company Government who came by the Malabar route. Mr. Graeme had made mention of this Menon, the Company's agent, in one of his letters, saying that Menon should be accommodated when he visited Coorg. Later, on the 15th November 1833, Mr. Graeme wrote to the Raja, that:

"Karunakara Menon (who visited Coorg) be permitted to return from that place whenever he wishes to do so and you will furnish him with a passport."

From this it was clear that the Raja was heading himself into another trouble. It was also evident that the Raja had prevented an emissary of the English Government who went to him on official business, from going out of his territory. This was a serious diplomatic blunder that the Raja had committed in addition to his many other mistakes. Anyway, this Karunakara Menon's case flared up afterwards and that resulted in bitterness between the Raja and the English. In a letter of the 17th November, Henry Graeme wrote to the Raja that:

"——I regret very much to find that two very material errors have been committed in making the translation of (your two) letters——The 9th Regiment of the Native Infantry is about to proceed to your country- a report is heard to that effect. But it is the bazaar report——The regiment is about to move into Nuggur and Manjrabad with the view of putting a stop to the disturbance created by Surjappa Nayak and others——The Company Government will never act treacherously or adopt any hostile measures against you——May God avert such a fate from our ancient friend——".

A Study in Retrospect:

Now it looks that as far as the Raja was concerned the entire story is taking a dangerous turn with Mr. Graeme's informing him 'the rumour' that the 9th regiment was "about to proceed to your country". This was certainly serious. In order to see the entire background of the situation, one must remember all about the correspondence that took place during the years 1832-33, and those writings were intensified from the moment Chenabasava fled to Yelwal to the arms of the Mysore residency. The Raja too invited a good deal of trouble for himself. In July 1833, the Company Government came to know of his sheltering the undesirable Nayaks and other chiefs and his trying to contact the Nizam and even Ranjit Singh. Col. Stewart informed the Raja about his sending some elephants to Hyderabad and about the Raja Chandulal's testimonies, which

which said that "it is not usual that letters that are sent here are kept secret." It was also seen that a brahmin Koop Chand taking five elephants to Hyderabad after producing a passport from the Mysore Residency. Koop Chand and Abdul Khadar had sold horses in Poona and elsewhere.

When this was the story outside Coorg, inside the situation was very gloomy. Chenabasava's old mother, Chomakka, died when being carried to Mercara, said the boy of Arameri of I7 years, Chippanda Subbayya. He said that they were confined to a cow stable in Mercara fort and the lame Dewan Basava inspected all the prisoners. That was the time when the Raja put to death Syrkaryakar Muthanna on the plea that he knew about the plans of Chenabasava. When a good number of people were thus harrassed or killed, Mr. Casamajor was evidently tough with the man who ruled Coorg with his terrorism. But when the Raja took objection to that, the Governor of Madras informed him on the 24th September I833 saying, "Mr. Graeme will communicate freely with you on all matters---- and will proceed without delay to visit you at Mercara."

Surjappa Nayak's stay in Coorg was not taken seriously by the English because none of the British officials saw him there although numerous people testified that they had seen the man along with his retinue in Coorg. However, the Governor, Sir Fredrick Adams cautioned Mr. Henry Graeme to be very polite and disrespectful to the Raja when he met him and there should be no "disrespect or impropriety in communications". In fact, the Governor wrote, that:

> "----I deem it necessary that measures should be immediately taken to terminate the irritating and offensive discussion which has been pursued by the Raja in his recent correspondence-----Casamajor observes that the Raja is offended with him in consequence of his refusal to deliver up his fugitive sister and her husband-----and it would be most acceptable to him if some other gentleman should be deputed to hold communication with his Highness-----".

Mr. Graeme Cautioned:

Apart from writing as above, the man picked up for being deputed, Mr. Henry Graeme, was cautioned by the Fort St. George, stating that:

"On the occasion of your visit to Coorg, the Governor would beg that attention be directed to the nature and extent of military establishment of the Raja and the purpose for which they are entertained, the general condition of the people and to ascertain as far as your observation will enable you, whether the conduct of the Raja is characterised by the acts of cruelty and atrocity which have been so repeatedly ascribed to him-----You will likewise be pleased to assure the Raja that no hostile steps are contemplated towards him by the British Government unless provoked by acts of aggression on his part or of disrespect to their authority-----.

"The Governor relies on your discretion in the conduct of these negotiations and trusts that by a cautious avoidance on your part-----to irritate the Raja; his Highness will be made sensible of the gross impropriety of his behaviour and that he will express his regret for the insulting language which he has permitted himself to use in his late correspondence with the representatives of the British Government-----.

"The Governor considers it desirable that you should proceed to Coorg with as little delay as possible-----The Raja's letter is herewith transmitted with a memorandum of deviations from past usage and I am directed to request that you will point out to him the necessity of substituting a letter in the usual terms of respect-----."

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The copy of the above letter was sent to the Governor-General also. By the end of September that year, the Mysore Residency received three more letters of the Raja informing them his refusal to grant passports to permit their armed parties to pursue the insurgent Paleygar of Tarikere into Coorg. The Raja also demanded that three fugitives, Karoo, Subbu and Poovanna or Tola were restored to him. He made it clear that any breach of amity did not originate from his side, and added that the Company gave "protection to murderers and criminals" of his country. The Raja wrote that the above named three men were criminals because they robbed valuables from the house of ryot, Bopanna, and then ran away with the robbed money and utensils etc.

To the Governor-General:

The Raja of Coorg had exchanged letters with the Governor-General in the past, but in September 1833, he wrote a detailed letter concerning his troubles with the British Government. In the letter of the 15th September, he began saying that he had troubles from the Resident Casamajor, and then added that:

"——Ever since the firm friendship was established between the English and Coorg, it has been an invariable rule to deliver up criminals who fled from the English territory——and vice versa——Now contrary to that long established usage, Mr. Casamajor has now given protection to certain persons who have committed serious crimes.

"A man named Chenabasava who was living under my protection, having become presumptuous through prosperity, combined for some wicked purpose, with evil persons- some Kodavas, Yeravas, Kurubas and Holeyas, and without any reasonable cause, assembled many armed men and gave himself to be the Raja of the country——This was discovered, and he fled——killed and wounded many——And now protected by Casamajor, and——the number of letters I wrote to the Resident——would fill a volume.

"——If the English Government which has hitherto been famed for its strict justice and equity, thus wrongfully sets aside a long established usage, it appears to me that it will be very difficult for me to carry on affairs hereafter——I have so far written forty letters to Mr. Casamajor, the Governor and a couple of them to the Governor-General. ——If your Excellency will have the goodness to send for and consider the whole of this correspondendence you will be convinced of the firm friendship which I entertain towards the English Government and the correctness of my conduct——".

To the Governor of Madras also the Raja wrote on the same above lines and said that those disputes and altercations originated from them and not from him. In another letter to the Governor-General, the Raja said on the 25th September 1833, that:

"——I have frequently applied to you on the subject of these traitors——On the contrary you have publicly declared that I have been guilty of undue severities towards them——What I would ask is why persons who are living in a tranquil and happy condition under the protection of your Government which is famed for justice and equity, are guilty of such treasonable acts? When I thus asked Mr. Casamajor he was unable to give me any answer and he was silent——When I heard about the treasonable conspiracy against your Government at Bangalore, I felt much grief——."

The Raja Could not be Believed:

The Raja's repeated letters showed that he was terribly vicious against Chenabasava and he wanted to seek revenge against him, and to add to that, he denied the rest of the charges against him when proofs were mounting against his denials. One Kesavayya, Amaldar of Kattemalavadi, Peryapatna, reported to Mr. Casamajor in September

1833 that the Raja of Coorg camped at Siddapur for a night and had stationed guards along the frontier. He also said that Surjappa Nayak and his family had lodged at the old palace within the Mercara fort.

Thus the evidences were collected against the Raja, and H.S.Graeme felt imperative to see the man personally and talk over things. On the 8th October 1833, arrangements were made for supplying camp equippage from Hunsur to Mercara on elephants to facilitate Mr. Graeme's trip. He wrote that:

"I propose to go to Mercara through Hunsur, Bettadpur, Surlikotah and Haranghee—— I request that an escort of infantry consisting of eighty to ninety men, may be directed to be in readiness to march on the 7th, and——I wish Capt. Chanvel of the 35th Native Infantry be selected for the command."

When these preparations were going on some papers relating to Paleygar Surjappa were found in jungles by a party of maraudars who were surprised by the Mysore troops. From that it was concluded that the letters between the Paleygar and the Haleri Raja were exchanged, and one of them bore the alleged seal and signature of the Dewan of Coorg. A report from Peryapatna said, that:

"The Raja of Coorg has collected many people with arms and kept them in the UKKDA- 'guard stations' with bows, gun powder etc. Surjappa is now with him. I heard that he will come and plunder the Company territories of Peryapatna, Bettadpur, Arkalgode, etc. Vira Nayak, a Company Daffedar, met one Chennavira of Chenankote of Coorg, who told him that within a week Surjappa will attack the Company Government. Saying so the man went away to Heggadadevanakote——.

The report also added that:

"People are also talking that the Raja is mustering his troop horses, the Bedas, Mapillas, Kodavas and others. Reports from Bettadpura says that the Raja is arming people between 14 and 50 years of age. In Kanive about 2000 men of Harapanahalli with swords are stationed. Surjappa, Abbas Ali and Karim Baig assembed about 2000 Nairs and the people of Chitradoorg. Kesava Amildar said that men are stationed at Kanive, Nanjarajapatna and Arkalgode——".

To Strengthen Ancient Friendship:

Armed with all these kinds of evidences against the Raja, Henry Graeme set out on his journey to Coorg, arriving at Hunsur on the 18th October 1833. He wrote to the Raja to send him a confidential officer to meet and said that his trip was solely to strengthen the ancient friendship between the Company Government and the Raja, and added, that:

"I am exceedingly disappointed and grieved at this inauspicious commencement of my mission, far, from all inquiries I have made, and, I have neglected no means of acquiring informations from all kinds of persons——there was some cause to disapprove—— I wish to negotiate in the spirit of one who does not forget the attachment of his family to the British Government——.

"Personal feeling(between the Raja and Mr. Casamajor) was the obstacle to the success of a negotiation with a chief under such a state of excitement, and it was most desirable that the person selected for a special mission should be kept free from being involved in it."

Mr. Graeme wrote to the Raja from Bangalore, that:

"Be so kind as to send me tappal- an answer to my letter together with accounts of your welfare while I am in Bangalore. Besides it is desirable that you should send me to Hunsur some trusted person for the purpose of seeing me there and to give me information on subjects connected with your part of the world——".

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When Henry Graeme was on his way to Coorg, John Casamajor was busy at the other end informing his Government about the Raja with whom he had crossed. Writing to the Governor of Madras on the 14th November, he said that:

"It will be seen that the Raja still urges the sanction of the Governor as well as by letter to me that I may accompany Mr. Graeme to Mercara, but when the letters from the Raja and my letters to him are placed before the Government and compared, the duplicity of the Raja's sentiments will be fully exposed------".

On the same day, Mr. Casamajor wrote to the Raja, that:

"Having referred to the Lord Saheb of your desire that I should accompany Graeme Saheb on his mission to your Highness, the Lord Saheb has not approved of my visiting you with Mr. Graeme------Your letters addressed to me will hereafter be forwarded to the Lord Saheb by Mr. H.S.Graeme------."

The Lord Saheb to the Raja:

The Raja had expressed his wish that Mr. Casamajor should accompany Mr. Graeme, and wrote that, "Unless you come nothing can be settled here," but Mr. Casamajor had already given all relevant papers to Mr. Grame. In the meantime, the Governor-General of India, Lord William Bentinck, addressed a long letter to the Raja, dated the 21st November 1833, and the main points that his Lordship had mentioned were, that:

"I have recently received through the Governor, Fort St.George, three letters from you which have grieved and astonished me more than I can express.

"Believing that you must have been labouring under some excessive mental irritation which deprived you of ~~the~~ reasoning correctly and caused you to forget the respect which is due to the Supreme power in India, I deemed it the most proper course to take no notice of your ~~two~~ first two communications hoping that your good sense would soon bring you to a right understanding of your position------However, I deem it my duty to apprize you that such communications will meet with no attention and that they probably would have called forth the severe displeasure of the British Government had they been written by an ally more powerful or less ancient than yourself.

"But the British Government has long felt a lively interest for the welfare of the principality of Coorg which has from the commencement of the British ascendency invariably experienced the powerful protection of the English nation. The Coorg state has been rescued from destruction and raised to independence by means of its alliance with the East India Company and it would distress me much to witness any interruption of the harmony which has so long and so happily subsisted.

"Your mind appears to have been irritated at the refusal of your request for the surrender of certain fugitives from your country------but how could it consistently with its honour and reputation deliver up a helpless woman and her husband who had thrown themselves on its protection?------It must rest with the paramount power to determine from the evidence adduced in each case, whether the refugees are really criminals or innocent persons who seek asylum from unmerited persecution.

"I am informed that you have been making extraordinary preparations for the defence of your country. This has probably been done under the apprehension that the refugees may invade your territory by means of assistance obtained in the Company's dominions, but on this point you may make your mind perfectly at ease so long as those individuals obtain refuge in the British territories, our Government will consider itself specially bound to prevent them from creating any disturbance.

"You will, I feel assured, rest satisfied, with what I now write to you. You will on reflection perceive the folly and uselessness of indulging in intemperate language. You will at once admit the groundlessness of your apprehensions, you will cease from making any hostile preparations, and you will disarm your men whom you may have already coll-

collected, you will dismiss from your mind all fear, not only of hostile attack, but of the existence of any unfriendly feelings towards you on the part of the British Government which could induce it to tolerate any aggression on your dominions. In a word, you will resume those friendly relations towards the British Government which have enabled your House to obtain its present prosperity."

An Excellent Letter:

This is a very extraordinary letter written with "feelings of parental kindness" to a young misguided native chief by an elderly statesman like Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General of India. Lord Bentinck had also a reason to show this great paternal kindness to the Coorg Raja because as a Governor of Madras during the last days of Tippu Sultan, he was closely watching the developments, and in fact, an architect to create the princely states of Mysore and Coorg in those fateful years of 1799-1800. In that way Lord Bentinck knew more about Coorg than this uneducated and ill-informed Coorg chief who was creating a mess inside his small territory under the vicious guidance of such men like lame Dewan Basava and others. The Lord Saheb's above letter continued to state that:

"My feelings towards you are those of parental kindness and solicitude, originating in the tried and constant friendship of that faithful ally who was your ancestor and predecessor in the Government of Coorg. I shall indeed be disappointed if this amicable admonition fails of effect. If you persevere in error, forbearence must have a limit, but if you act the part of a just ruler and an honourable ally, you will always find in the British Government a disposition to gratify your wishes, to the utmost possible extent.

"It only remains for me to acquaint you that it is my intention to proceed about the commencement of the ensuing year to the Mysore country, where I shall be happy to have the pleasure of seeing you, or should circumstance prevent your personal attendance, it will give me pleasure to afford an interview to any confidential individual whom you may be desirous of deputing to make known to many grievances which you may suppose you have sustained, as well as to furnish me with any information I may be desirous of obtaining on matters connected with the administration of your country with reference especially to the relations you bear as a friend and ally of the British Government. dated the 21st November 1833, Fort William, Calcutta, Sd) W.C.Bentinck."

The copy of the above letter with its Kannada translation was dispatched to the Raja on the 13th December 1933 from Fort St. George, Madras. But when Mr. Henry Graeme interviewed the Raja a month before that the latter produced copies of the agreement made on the 31st March 1793 between Gen. R.Abercromby and Viraraja the Elder, the agreement dated the 30th April 1799 made between Lord Mornington and Elder Viraraja announcing the Company Government's determination to relinquish tribute, and a certificate by Capt. Dennis Mahoney. Later, after his return from Coorg, Mr. Graeme asked for the copies of these old papers.

However, all efforts on the part of the Company Government seemed to have been becoming futile by the way the Raja continued to behave in the end of the year 1833, and hopes of peaceful settlement of their differences seemed to have shattered as the year 1834 emerged and the prospects of a war was imminent.

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CHAPTER X.

The Raja Prepares For War.

Mail Service Obstructed:

All the world knows that things happen as they are destined to happen, despite every effort to prevent them happening that way. The Raja of Coorg was counselled by the most powerful man of the country, H.E.Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of India, and yet such overtures did not help to calm the rough climate of the day. Events were leading the Raja to his own fall, and for an eventual change in the set up of small Coorg itself, which were all for the good of the country and of the people.

Now, as an effort to prevent external influence or force getting into Coorg, the Raja's Government seemed to have tried to obstruct the proper running of the mail across the country. From the following reports it was certainly clear that the Raja was mustering his strength in as many ways as possible. Here is what Dafedar Venkatappa who was attached to the mail by Mangalore route said on the 9th November 1833, that:

"Agreeably to the orders I made the payments to the runners for the month of September at Mullypatna, and from there I was proceeding to Yesalur by the usual ANCHEY route through Coorg for the purpose of paying the mail runners at that place.

"The people there informed me their orders were to allow the tappal only to pass and said that they would not allow me to go. I said that I was going this way since a long time and that no one has hitherto molested us. I asked them the cause for preventing me to proceed. They said that they have orders not to permit any person to go out. They advised me to go by UKKAD or an advance post on the frontier. I came back to Mullipatna where Arkalgode Amin Bhimayya was on Jamabandhi duties. I told him everything after which he sent for the patels of Madulpur. We again went but the guards told that they would not allow us-----."

Similar reports were given by Cheema Nayak of Bettadpur, Kempaya Nayak and others. In fact, Kempaya Nayak reported that the Raja was collecting troops- about 3,000 in number. Surjappa Nayak was residing at Chenabasava's house in Appangala, and that people were flocking to him from Manjrabad and other taluks. The Raja of Coorg had given Rs, 30,000 to enable him to see to the arrangements. Kempayya also said that the Raja was sure that the Company Government would capture Coorg but he wanted to "see to the very end". But the people of Coorg have had no confidence in the Raja who had entertained outsiders in his service, and BANDOBUST has been made at all the gates and bypaths of Coorg. Large trees have been cut at their stumps and their tops are tied by rattens so that the approaching enemy may be let down after getting entangled. Kempayya also added that the Raja had 18,000 crores of pagodas and resolved that he would wage a war, and added that like the Maharaja of Mysore he would not give up his country.

Some Feverish Activities:

On the 19th November 1833, from Peryapatna came the news saying that more people have been posted with stockades and ditches have been dug all over. One Mahratta was sent from Coorg to find out if Mr. Henry Graeme who was on his way to Coorg, had collected a large force. The Raja was also in close contact with the people of Manjrabad, Chikmagalur, Bettadpur and other areas while Kengal Nayak, Lingayya and others were en-

engaged in recruiting men. Kengalnayak was near the Bababudan hills with 7I seers of gun powder that he had taken from Coorg, and with six matchlocks, it was said, he escaped. Later, the news came that he was captured.

The news from Nuggur said on the 20th November that the Raja of Coorg sent for all his chiefs and gave them directions to place themselves under Surjappa Nayak and then burn the entire village on the Mysore side of the border. The Raja sent some money to Surjappa Nayak, and one Bookay Gowda's testimony was, that:

"I went to Coorg to collect some loan given to people there. I heard that Surjappa of Tarikere and his brother Kengal Nayak, their mother and families were living in Coorg. The Raja said, "The hon'ble Company has given protection to Chenabasava who is my subject, and I am justified in harbouring Surjappa", while the Paleygar told the Raja that: "You have given me protection and I pledge myself that I will conquer the hon'ble Company Government however immense their troops may be."

"The oaths were thus interchanged. Surjappa sent men to Bellary, Ratnapur, Harapanahalli, Surapur etc. They raised men- Jangama, Bairagis, Dasas etc and some Nairs from the west coast. In Coorg, however, trenches were cut on high roads. Matchlocks, swords, spears, arrows and bows are being collected. Surjappa boasted that when he was fighting against the Raja of Mysore, neither his nor the Company's troops could reduce him-----."

To add to all this, the British got information on the feverish activities of the Raja of Coorg in connection with his war preparations with Surjappa Nayak who had stayed for some time at Madapur and Somwarpet with the provisions supplied by the Raja. But then there were some bad omens also and those included i) the bees forming bee-hives in the palace ii) an owl entered the palace, and iii) a horse stable caught fire when eight horses died. Because of these bad omens the Raja decided to move to Nalknad. He had already anticipated dangers.

Henery Graeme on K.Menon:

The whole of Coorg was alerted and the people were roused of an impending war with the English Government. The four Dewans of the State were active in different departments. Dewan Cheppudira Ponappa had his office at Kanive with several minor officials around him helping in conscription and making security arrangements. Dewan Laxminarayana was in charge of the public works, drains, digging trenches etc. The lame Dewan Basava was in charge of intelligence and security, and he was in fact an evil genius by the side of the Raja. Dewan Apparanda Bopanna was looking after the revenue affairs. In what way the war preparations were carried out was made known to the British by Kasturi Rangayya, Thimmappaya and others who served as intelligence men for the British.

At the other end, in the British camp a serious development took place. Karunakara Menon, the emissary of the British, as already said, was detained by the Raja, and H.S. Graeme who was on his way to see the Raja wrote to the latter to release Menon from his detention at the Coorg frontiers, and then added that:

"-----On the I2th November (I833), I intimated that after Menon should have arrived at Mercara you might send for him into your presence and converse with him. On the I5th November I again wrote to you to give him permission to return-----The Collector of Malabar has written to me that in the absence of the said Menon, work in the revenue department of the SARKAR suffered and requesting that I will expedite his return-----".

The detention of the British envoy, Karunakara Menon, was a constitutional blunder that the Raja of Coorg committed. In fact, the Raja did not foresee the full implication of his actions and also did not correctly estimate the British strength and power. All this because the man was surrounded by a good number of disgruntled and opportunist elements and those included lame Dewan Basava and Surjappa of Tarikere. Therefore, it seemed that this crafty and ill-informed ruler was inviting troubles from all sides, and his oft-repeated arguments in so many letters of his to the British served to only aggravate his problems rather than alleviating them. Henry Graeme came as far as Bettadpur and was fully convinced that the Raja was preparing for a war and that there was no use of proceeding further just to have a talk with him.

The Raja's out-bursts:

On the 26th November 1833, the Raja wrote two letters to the British authorities, and both those letters were very bitter in contents, and it showed that the Raja was already a frustrated man. He wrote many letters in vain, and said, that:

"-----You have said that the 9th Regiment of the Native Infantry is about to march, and that I should not believe the reports that prevail in bazaars there------You have unjustly given protection to that traitor Chenabasava and others instead of delivering them to me according to MAMOOL, and, moreover, when I bear in mind the hindrances caused to the servants of the SARKAR in passing through your country, it is impossible for me to overlook such matters and not to be on guard------.

"You have written that the Company Government entertain no treacherous designs to take any hostile measures against my Government, and that if they wished to attack me they would openly declare their intention. For this length of time you have not settled my affairs to my satisfaction, and I have consequently lost all confidence in your SARKAR. Oh, Mr. Graeme, if you, thinking that your friend is not possessed of an equal degree of sagacity with yourself, through artifice address of some civil expressions, with the view of cajoling me, with what confidence can I place faith in your words. Are you not well acquainted with the ways of the world? You are not a person newly arrived in this country! You came long ago to Hindustan; you have by various artifices taken possession of different countries against those who were rich and powerful; You accomplished your object by treachery; against the poor and helpless you used force. Do you think that I have never heard of your exploits?

"Well, be it so! Are you not aware of the treachery which for some time been practised against me and which is now fully proved? When I have actually seen and heard of all these matters, upon what ground can I place any faith in your words? I have no confidence whatever in them------If you continue to write in this manner there will be no end to the correspondence-----."

On the same day, the 26th November 1833, the Raja wrote another letter to Mr. Henry Graeme, and that was much more outspoken but again bitter in tone and contents. He said that:

"I had written requesting you to come. You informed me that you were indisposed. I do not know whether your not coming is due to this or to any other cause. A short time ago you wrote to me in a friendly manner but what should I think about your present conduct? I had before acquainted you that I had lost all confidence in the English and your present conduct tends to add to my distrust. I hope, therefore, that you will kindly be pleased to come here------.

Further I have to observe that some of your gentlemen have secretly joined together and have declared that Chenabasava and others are faithful friends who will promote

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the prosperity of your Government. Under this incorrect idea they have protected him as though they had cherished a black serpent-----Puranas say, "Even kindness shown to the wicked produce unkindness in return-----Whoever affords refuge to such persons, his house will be totally ruined-----Milk drank by serpents only engenders poison----."

"Unjust & Disrespectful" Charges:

But these outbursts of the Raja of Coorg came too late after the mess that he created for himself. The letters of the Resident of Mysore showed that the facts were entirely different. For instance, Mr. H.S.Graeme wrote as early as 12th November 1833 to Dara Shet of Tellichery, also a friend of the Raja, that:

"I have given you an abstract of what has taken place. If you can dissuade this infatuated young Raja from bringing ruin for himself and his family, you will be making the most suitable return to any obligations under which you may be to that family----- The Raja has accused the English Government of treachery. This is a charge that is equally unjust and disrespectful------There is no treachery in the reception of Chenabasappa. This is merely an act of humanity towards two miserable fugitives which would have been a disgrace to the honour of the British Government to refuse."

This has been the stand of the British on that point. But some high policy matters also seemed to have ended in the personal squabbles between the Raja and the English officials. Mr. Casamajor retreated to the background because of that, and now it looks that Mr. Graeme was having similar trouble. In a letter to Mr. Graeme, the Raja wrote that:

"-----Dara Shah testified my unalterable friendship for the English. The God has shown to his old eyes very few persons in this world, who are to be compared with me for holiness of conduct------If the English people were to see my upright conduct in all matters they would feel much regret for the unjustifiable wrongs they have committed towards my SARKAR----".

After writing in this fashion, the Raja repeated his old request on returning Chenabasava to him. However, merely writing did not seem to have improved matters. The British were informed that the Raja had allowed Dara Shet to return to Tellichery but from Malabar there was no confirmation of Shet's return. When the Raja was told not to detain citizens who travelled across his territories, he wrote on the 12th December 1833, that:

"As my friend Mr. Graeme is displeased with me on account of the delay that has occurred in transmitting his letters to him-----I gave orders to forward quickly without any obstruction whatsoever....."

The Raja also blurted out saying that:

"-----What signified is whether Mr. Graeme was displeased or not! Have these disputes and quarrels originated with this Government? If the Faranghis who have themselves of their own accord created these quarrels, are now displeased, how can we help it?"

Money for Defence Purposes:

By this time it was clear that a war with the English was inevitable, although the latter tried to avoid a war with a petty chief like that, who they knew, was just a misguided and almost insane young man. However, the Raja began to work out the defence measures, and as he needed money for the purpose, he cast his eyes on the deposits in the Company's treasury, and the interests thereon. On the 2nd December 1833, he wrote concerning his transactions to Mr. Graeme, that:

"I forwarded a letter through Mr. Casamajor a letter to the Governor of Madras, and a letter to my agents, M/S. Binny & Co., in which was enclosed a Government bond for Star Pagodas I,86,840 belonging to this SARKAR, for the purpose of drawing interest due thereon. Messers Binny & Co., wrote on the I4th September I833, they have received the original bond and are about to draw the interest, and on the 5th November they said that they HAD NOT RECEIVED THE AMOUNT OF INTEREST------.

"I do not understand the reason for the delay. I beg that the original bond be returned to me without delay------."

On the 2nd December I333, the Raja wrote to Mr. Casamajor, that:

"Your letter was received on the 9th November, together with the Company's Rs.648I/- being the interest on a bond for Calcutta Sicca rupees 2,03,900."

But when his request for the original bond and interest thereon was not endorsed by the Company Government, the Raja wrote that:

"My confidence in your friendship is lessened-----Consequently for the purpose of defence great expense has been incurred, and all my affairs are thrown into confusion. I request you will be pleased to speedily settle all affairs-----.

"For the second time, I beg that you will remit to me the amount of the interest together with the original bond as soon as possible-----".

From this it seemed that the Company Government had blocked the flow of interest on the money deposited in good faith by Viraraja the Elder in the Company's treasuries. The British found that the resources of this war-mongering Raja should be curtailed, and this was one such way to teach him, they must have thought.

Graeme Explained Again:

Having been found the Raja's hectic preparations for a war and almost strained relations between him and the English, Henry Graeme, the special envoy to the Raja, had now decided to get back from half-way of his trip to Coorg. He excused himself for his cancellation of his Coorg trip saying that he was indisposed but the Raja would not easily agree to such excuses. However, Graeme wrote in some detail on various matters like the affairs of Dara Sait, Karunakara Menon and others, on the 20th December I833, from his camp somewhere between Bettadpur and Hunsur. Graeme said, that:

"I regret much that you (the Raja) are not pleased to accept my apology for the errors that occurred in my letter of the 6th November-----I hoped that when I should visit you at Mercara, I would have been able to explain this to you and that you would not refuse to return the letter thinking what I had stated was a mere invention.-----As soon as I discovered the errors in the translation, I thought it incombont immediately to acquaint you thereof-----I beg that you will be pleased to understand that the Kannada translation does not convey my sentiments-----.

Dara Shet is a faithful subject of the Company SARKAR------I deputed him as a vakil in order that he might explain to you and satisfy your mind that if you have not afforded assistance to Surjappa Nayak and other insurgents, the English Government has no hostile intentions against your Highness-----.Dara Shet is under my protection and he has a passport. If you had objection to his coming to visit you, you ought to have informed to me-----You, in allowing him to proceed to your capital, have recognised him as an ambassador and I cannot permit that you should detain him even for an hour after he wished to return-----The same observation is applicable to the case of Karunakara Menon-----In all civilized countries the lives and honour of vakils and envoys are respected-----I hope that on receipt of this letter you will permit Dara Shet and Menon to return to Tellichery-----.

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"You have written that you do not comprehend the reason why I now decline to visit you seeing that I wished to do so formerly. I was very desirous to induce you to resume your friendly relations with the English Government, and I was greatly disappointed that I was not able to do so-----I received at Hunsur your letter of the 15th November dedlining to receive my visit. I again wrote to you on the 18th and the 23rd November endeavouring to persuade you to receive my visit-----But I received no communication from you-----I returned and waited at Yelwal to hear from you.

"On the 26th November I received yours of the 25th November stating that you did not think fit to send a confidential person for the purpose of communicating with me-----I remained at Peryapatna, near your borders till the 6th December.

"I was in delicate health for the last four years. At Peryapatna fever caught me, I am about to proceed to England.

"I have already suggested that you should depute a Vakil for the purpose of communicating with the Commission here with a view to the settlement of all matters in discussion. When you reflect that since these untoward events occurred, the English Government has deputed two Residents to visit you. You must be sensible that the mission of a Vakil by you cannot in the least be derogatory to your honour-----".

Some More Anxious Letters:

A battle of words have already started, and that was exactly that. The Raja was not able to see reason and the British officials failed to bring him to sense. By the end of the year 1833, it was clear that both the sides were preparing for a war, and the Raja providing a lot of provocative cause for the unfortunate happenings. Mr. Graeme and the Raja exchanged many more letters with neither of them submitting to the other. Mr. Graeme wrote to Dara Shah who was in Tellichery on the 20th December 1833, as below:

"-----I have forwarded the letter by the Governor-General to the Raja, in which his Lordship informed him that he is to be in Mysore soon and hopes to see the Raja in person, and if that is inconvenient, by Vakil in order to hear all his grievances. I trust that the Raja will not neglect this excellent opening for an amicable adjustment of everything. I hope you will tell the Raja that it would be very civil and proper to accept his Lordship's invitation-----".

The Resident also added, that:

"I am very happy that you tell me that the Raja promised to you to permit Karunakara Menon to leave Coorg immediately. I am very anxious about him and I trust that you will persuade the Raja that he will get a bad name and much displeasure from the English SARKAR if he detained him longer-----."

On the 14th January 1834, Henry Graeme sent a letter to K.Menon who was in detention in Coorg, and that was a very frank outburst which said that:

"-----If the Raja injures a single hair of your body I will cause his state to pass away from his hand. He knows very well my reason for not coming to visit him and whatever he says to the contrary is merely an excuse-----If he wishes for war, we will satify and give him a belly full of it. He will cause his State to become vacant for the welfare of Abbas Saheb and Karim Baig-----The troops that he has assembled should be dispersed. He should come in person to Mysore to see the Lord (Governor-General). Unless he acts cautiously there is no hope for his State to remain under him. You will tell all this to him-----."

Letter from Madras Governor:

The tone of Mr. Graeme's letter to Karunakara Menon has been strong and tough. On the whole, the Raja seemed to have been losing his verbal battle also with the English, who had alerted the regional chiefs of their territories about the Coorg affairs.

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In the meantime, Sir Fredrick Adams, Governor of Madras, also wrote a letter to the Raja on the 28th January 1834, explaining the real point at issue. He said:

"-----Mr. H.S.Greame who has been deputed by this Government to conduct the communications with the Coorg SARKAR, has submitted to me your letter of the 9th January, in which you refuse to grant permission to Karunakara Menon to return to Calicut until an investigation shall have been made into his conduct.

"Karunakara Menon is not only a subject of this State but also a functionary who holds a confidential situation under the Principal Collector of Malabar. He visited your capital under the express sanction and personal guarantee of Mr. Graeme and on the faith which has been held sacred among all nations of the Earth from the earliest periods, a faith observed even amongst the savage hordes, and this Government will not permit his continued detention in Coorg territory. Unless, therefore, your Highness shall within six days from the receipt of this letter forward him and his attendants in safety to the district of the principal Collector of Malabar, all further correspondence with the British Government must cease, and your Highness will be prepared for the serious consequence which will inevitably result from a rupture with the British Government."

This letter, in fact, was an ultimatum to the obstinate Raja, coming from the very high quarters, but the man did not seem to have been yielding to all such polite or tough gestures. He harped on his own out-dated logic and grievances which had almost become stale. Henry Graeme informed the Fort St. George, that:

"The Raja's letter-----distinctly points to indemnification for the expenses which he has incurred in consequence, as he alleges, of the proceedings of the British Government towards him, and this indemnification is to be made by a cession of territory and the payment of money."

There are reasons for the English Government to get tough with the Raja. For instance, in his letter to the Governor of Madras he said that Karunakara Menon entered Coorg with a traiterous design and that there is no need for an enquiry to be made." In reply to this, Mr. Graeme informed him on the 11th January 1834, that:

"It is contrary to good sense and justice to hold my Vakil K. Menon answerable because I did not pay you a visit-----He had no control over my actions-----I will not write further on this subject, but if you detain Menon you know the consequence."

Menon' Case Flared:

As the Raja was insistent on the release of Chenabasava from the British hands, the latter now adamently sought the release of Karunakara Menon who was held up in Coorg. Thus the entire issue became a case of utmost national importance, and in this fight, of course, the weaker man should lose. Mr. Graeme wrote another letter to the Raja on the 14th January 1834, requesting him to release Menon, but with no effect.

Dara Shah, for some time, pleaded the cause of the Raja saying that the Raja had power to deal with the rebels, and that was what the British also had been doing, he said. John Casamajor replied that Lord Moira, the Governor, had ordered that there should be no execution of civilians without the prior approval while Dara Shah said it must have been so, but in Coorg the ancient custom and usages stood, and that even Gen.Abercromby and Governor of Duncan of Bombay, had conferred upon the Raja powers to inflict capital punishments in deserving cases.

When Dara Shah quoted the old British officials, Casamajor said that that those

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those orders applied to the old Viraraja the Elder and to his descendants who behaved differently. Dara Shah again supported the ~~last~~ Raja saying that the Raja was not strict or bad. He also said that there was no difference between the Mysore and Coorg Rajas although the Coorg Raja had been the master of his own country while the one in Mysore ~~is~~ was on the throne because of the grace of the British. Later, Dara Shah pleaded on behalf of the Raja for the release of Chenabasava and others. For the lame Dewan Basava's rise during Lingaraja's time, Dara Shah was also responsible, and now both these men met Mr. Casamajor on behalf of the Raja, while the English official demanded that Chenabasappa's child be returned to him and the roads to Coorg be kept opened. He also said that Chenabasappa was given protection on humanitarian grounds.

All these took place when Mr. Casamajor had initiated discussions with the Raja, but now, after six months, situation had changed. The Raja had raised a big force anticipating trouble from the English SARKAR, and ~~the Raja~~ he had started to get trenches dug. The Raja was scared of someone who might assassinate him since he knew that about 25 years before that Tipu Sultan had sent two Kodavas who were converted by force to the Islam, with instructions to kill the Elder Viraraja. Those intruders were then seized and then sent to the Governor Duncan of Bombay. Of course, the Raja had with him good many old records of the times of his father and his uncle.

Menon Pleads to be Rescued:

A serious problem had thus arisen. In the Minutes of Consultation, dated the 10th January 1834, it was notified that "the subsequent alteration in the conduct of the Raja of Coorg was brought to the notice of the hon'ble Court of Directors of the East India Company. For Dara Shah's travel and services a compensation of Rs. 500 was paid. He had travelled from Tellichery to Coorg and thence to Bangalore. On the 18th January 1834, the Raja wrote a long letter, rather in insolent terms, to Mr. Graeme, that:

"-----Surjappa Nayak is not in Coorg------The traitor Chenabasava should be returned-----You have boastingly declared that those who rebel against the English SARKAR will be apprehended in like manner as Surjappa------You should not foolishly think that the prosperity which you may have will be continued in future-----Have you heard of one Shahbad Abraham who became arrogant, didn't accomplish his purpose and he was punished by means of a bell attached to a bird, and then died-----?"

In another letter, the Raja wrote, that:

I did not receive letters from M/S Binny & Co., and, therefore, requesting you that you will be pleased to forward to me the original bond together with an order for the interest due thereon as soon as possible-----".

Perhapa, the Raja must have not realised that the British SARKAR had blocked all payments concerning to that money and bonds because of the changed circumstances. In another letter, the Raja wrote, that:

"You have stated that it is unreasonable that I should detain Karunakara Menon. It appears to my judgement that it is much more unreasonable and unjust that you should detain the traitors who have created disturbance against my authority-----You have further stated that no advantage whatever can be derived by me from detaining Menon. Future good or the reverse is preordained by the sublime presence of the God and it is impossible for man to say what may occur-----.

"You should, therefore, speedily settle matters according to my wishes-----".

All this seemed to have been a joke on the part of this petty chief and to write in that fashion to a very powerful authority of the day. Anyway, everyone on the side of the Company Government saw that the Raja's days were numbered and that was how the things worked against him. While the Raja was writing such insolent letters, Karunakara Menon, under detention in Coorg, wrote to Mr. Graeme on the 11th January 1834, as below:

"-----You did not come here-----The Raja has without any reason thrown blame upon me. Be it so! I have served you long. The people of this SARKAR asperse my character. The circumstance of your having returned to Bangalore from whence, it is said, you have determined to proceed to Europe leaving your servant here, apparently gives support to these accusations, and tends to falsify my words-----I have represented to his Highness that I will send for you-----I, therefore, humbly beg that you will kindly be pleased to come here as soon as possible-----".

The Raja's Desperate Bid:

On the 30th January 1834, the Raja of Coorg wrote two letters to Mr. Henry Graeme, and both the letters were almost abusive in contents, and much of the contents were just the repetitions. In the first letter, the Raja said, that:

"-----Moreover, for ~~[illegible]~~ two years you have been writing to me. I have explained to you my friendly feelings to the British and about my conduct, but you have not complied with my wishes-----If I detain K. Menon, I must abide by the consequence------Casamajor-----by giving protection to offenders against my Government-----commenced creating these disputes and quarrels. I then understood that by these proceedings your Government will not prosper, and I foresaw that war would result one day or the other since the whole of the English gentlemen had thus resolved ~~had thus resolved~~ in your minds-----Being the servant of the most high God, it is not fitting for me to hear or to witness with my eyes such wicked proceedings-----I hope that you will do me the favour and discontinue troubling me hereafter------The people on my side are ready to render their services-----".

This letter showed that the Raja was frustrated and depressed. He had been, perhaps thinking that he had almost lost his battle with the mighty English. In another letter to Mr. Graeme, he wrote that:

"-----When firm friendship was subsisting you have written improperly that through means of war you would take my country from my possession------If you take to war, my reputation will not suffer- you will become infamous in both sides------You English, you deem yourselves distinguished in the world for wisdom and your affairs are said to be conducted with same little wisdom. Such being the case, reflect your own mind-----The bitterness of the secret intentions of Sardar Graeme has now revealed----".

The Raja saw the letter that Mr. Graeme wrote to K. Menon, and in response to that the Raja got his Muslim clerks write a letter to Henry Graeme in the name of Karunakara Menon whose signature he got for the letter in the end. That cooked-up letter, said, that:

"-----My (Menon's) little safety and comfort that I am now enjoying is through the kindness of the Maharaja, for, all other persons here are enemies to me. Please to understand, on my protector, Graeme Saheb!------.

"You have desired Abbas Sahebs and Karim Baigs may be delivered up. I do not know whether they are here or not. I have never seen them-----You have wrongfully detained there the traiterous evil people who have rebelled against this Government. Instead of delivering them up, how is it then reasonable that you should require Abbas Saheb and Karim Baig who have rebelled against your Government?-----Have not these disputes first originated with you?------" Sd) Karunakara Menon, 30th January 1834.

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The C.-in-C.'s Proceedings:

The kind of fraud, deceit and villainy that the Raja perpetrated in the way as was seen above by getting other's signature for what he had to say, and many such things had already known to the English who had now taken to the business. All sorts of overtures and cajolings and good words were all exhausted and the British had no alternative but resolve in favour of a total war against this petty chief. The Minutes of the Governor of Madras and Commander-in-Chief, dated the 7th February I834, said that:

"The conduct of the Raja of Coorg and the hostile feelings towards this Government evinced by that chief in the style of his recent correspondence with it having rendered it highly probable that it may shortly become necessary to send an armed force into his territories. I propose as a preliminary step to that measure to employ an officer of experience to gain all the information previously to the force being assembled which may be essential to the success of its operations, and with this view, H.E. the Commander-in-Chief may be requested to place the services of Major Steele of the 5Ist Regiment, Native Infantry at the disposal of the Government and that Major Steele should be permitted to draw the same salary while employed in the staff in the Quarter-Master-General's department during the Burmese war. Sd) Fredrick Adams, Governor."

RESOLUTIONS: i) Resolved with reference to the probable necessity for the employment at an early period, of an armed force against the Raja of Coorg that an officer of experience be deputed as a preliminary measure to procure all the information previously to the assembling of the Force which may be essential to the success of its operations and that with this view H.E. the Commander-in-Chief be requested to place the services of Major Steele of the 5Ist Regiment, Native Infantry at the disposal of the Government.

ii) Resolved that the Commissioners for the Government of Mysore, the Resident at Mysore and the Officer-in-Charge of the Farm at Hunsur be apprised of the object of Major Steele's mission and requested to promote it by furnishing that officer with all the information which they may have the means of supplying relative to Coorg, its defences, resources, climate, routes, accessible points and all other matters requiring attention preparatory to the prosecution of military operations.

iii) Resolved that the map of Coorg received from the Deputy Surveyor-General on the I8th January I833, be transmitted to the Commander-in-Chief with a request that His Excellency will cause two or three sketches to be prepared from it in the Quarter-Master-General's office in sufficient detail to exhibit the principal passage roads, towns, rivers, fortified places and other points of importance in military operations together with two or three copies of the table of routes through Coorg-----.

iv) Major Steele will be permitted to draw while employed in the manner now ordered the same allowances which he drew while employed on the Staff in the Quarter-Master-General's department during the Burmese war, and he will proceed without delay to Mysore for the purpose of entering upon the discharge of the duty confided to him at the earliest practicable moment."

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CHAPTER XI.

The Sounds of War Drums- Heard!

The Raja Given an Ultimatum:

The British Government kept the several army units alert and some of them began taking positions. On the 24th January 1834, it was reported that Capt. Sargeant's 9th Native Regiment proceeded towards Coorg frontiers instead of to Tarikere, and encamped at the Banavara village in North Coorg. In the meantime, Henry Graeme wrote a last-minute letter to the obstinate Raja of Coorg, on the 9th February 1834 to see if he could try once again to bring the Coorg chief into his senses. He said, that:

"You know that I assured your Highness sometime ago that it was not the practice of the British Government to act treacherously by their allies, that there was no design at that period of commencing hostilities with you if you refrained from making military preparations and from giving protection and assistance------to the rebels.

"You have since forcibly detained Karunakara Menon, a public servant of the Government and a special agent of mine. You first of all brought forward an unfortunate charge against him-------and, you have now attempted to justify his detention by the assylum given by us to Chenabasava and his wife. You will not see the difference between the protection afforded to persons in distress at their own entreaties and the detention of a person against his will who came to negotiate with you in a friendly manner. You have neglected the advice and request I have so frequently given you to release my agent, and NOW THE TIME IS ARRIVED WHEN IT IS NECESSARY TO CONVEY TO YOUR HIGHNESS OPENLY AS I SAID BEFORE THAT IT IS THE CONDITION OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT TO MAKE A WAR AGAINST YOU unless you release Karunakara Menon and his attendants. I enclose a letter to your Highness from General Sir Fredrick Adams, Governor of Madras, stating that this must be done in six days from the receipt of the letter.

"I request to be informed on what day this letter reaches your Highness. I shall know when it arrives at your border near Peryapatna and it is welknown that it does not require a day after that to be conveyed to Mercara. It will be necessary that your Highness should acquaint me that you have actually released Karunakara Menon and caused him to be conveyed in safety beyond the Coorg border in such a day otherwise there may be a doubt, and I cannot be answerable that active measures will not be taken against you after the expiration of six days.

"Although the British Government will not suffer the lowest individual in their service to be ill-treated by you, the deprivation of the services of many distinguished persons would not diminish materially their power to punish those who ill-treated them, while this act of yours can serve only to gratify your temporary anger and cannot be of any use in upholding your cause. Is it with your Highness while to stake your personal safety and the integrity of your state, for the gratification of this passion? It is like committing an act of suicide, for, if anything happened to K. Menon, the possession of your State will pass away from your hands like a shadow-------."

Six Days for Reflection:

The above letter of ultimatum that was written by an experienced British diplomat like Henry Graeme, was one of the toughest letters that the Raja ever received. It was an outspoken letter and there was no polish or politeness in that. By that it was clear that the British had seriously meant to do their business with the Raja. Continuing to write in the above tone, Henry Graeme said in the same letter, that:

"If you persist in your present course you will destroy by your own rashness and disloyalty to the British Government the State which had been raised by the valour, the wisdom and the fidelity of your ancestors.

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"But the time for your returning to friendship with the British Government is not yet quite gone. Six days are given to your for reflection. The Governor-General Lord William Bentinck will have left Calcutta on the 1st of this month and his arrival here is expected in six or seven days. In the meantime, let me entreat you as a welwisher to you and to your family to release Karunakara Menon and his attendants and carry on negotiations as usual. I shall embark shortly for England but if this difficulty is removed, your representations will be received with kindness by the Governor-General-----."

Together with this kind of letters, the Chief Secretary, Fort St.George, Madras, addressed letters to the Collector of Malabar stating that he should direct and report to them if Karunakara Menon had returned to his district after having been released in Coorg. On the same day, the 11th February 1834, the Collector of Malabar directed that until further orders he would take measures to prevent the conveyance into Coorg of munitions of war. Henry Gramme informed the Madras Government, the same day, that:

"Magdele Pereira, wife of Manuel Pereira complained the detention of her husband by the Raja contrary to an engagement made with him, and, later a short time ago, of his having been murdered by the Raja's people. The case of this unfortunate man has formed a good deal of correspondence between the Government and Mr. Casamajor. I have written to Dara Shah regarding the case of Pereira."

Mrs. Pereira's letter from Cannanore on the 6th February 1834, stating that Dara Shah was the man who had engaged Pereira in July 1825 to serve under Coorg Raja as an English interpreter on a salary of Rs, 100 per month with full understanding that he was to be allowed to leave Raja's service and to visit his family at Cannanore. On the 9th January 1830, Mrs. Pereira wrote that her husband was closely confined to his house with strong injunction from the Raja not to stir out for any purpose. At that time, Mr. Thompson, assistant Resident was in Mercara. A report of the 6th February 1834 said, that:

"That in breach of the promise of allowing Pereira to go back home, he has not even been allowed to visit his family, and had received only a small portion of salary stipulated by Dara Shah Cowsaji. A few years ago he tried to escape from Coorg but was overtaken by the Raja's armed peons-----It was with grief that Mrs.Pereira was informed by one Jockey who returned from Coorg, that her husband was no more- having barbarously been murdered by Raja's people and his body wrapped up in a blanket and thrown into a NULLA thereby depriving her and her two children of their own support."

Payment of Interest- Suspended:

From all accounts the Raja of Coorg did not carry out the state affairs well and to the satisfaction of his own people. Much of what he was saying and writing was not true, either. For instance, Manuel Pereira was paid only Rs. 25 as salary although Rs. 100 was promised to him. Such cases were numerous, and now with the change of circumstances and the possibility of a war with him, the British Government took drastic action against him in all fronts. Henry Graeme informed to the Commissioner of Mysore to put a stop to levies in Mysore for the service of the Coorg Raja and to the entrance of the offensive weapons into Coorg. On the 14th February 1834, Mr. Casamajor wrote to Madras Government, stating that:

"It may perhaps be considered expedient during the present state of our relations with Coorg TO SUSPEND PAYMENT OF INTEREST ON THE PROMISSORY NOTE and to desire M/S.

Messers Binny & Co., to keep the bond in deposit until further instructions from Government as the bond is in the name and in favour of Devammaji------who, it is supposed, is at present in confinement in Coorg and the objects for which the amount of the Bond was deposited in Company's paper by the old Raja of Coorg, Viraraja the Elder, was for his daughter's support and protection-----".

At the same time, a letter from the British to the Raja said, that:

"I have received your several letters requesting that the interest of the Company's bond may be paid to you and the bond itself may be sent to you. (Accountant-General's letter- Bond No. 1733- dated the 1st May 1832 for SICCA Rs. 2,03,900 invested in the name of Viraraja the Elder, the Raja of Coorg.)

"I had been directed by the Governor of Madras, to explain to you in person that your first letter asking the interest was wanting in terms of respect that had been usual and to persuade you to withdraw it. I waited a long time in the hopes of seeing your Highness at Mercara but was disappointed. I had therefore no opportunity to speak to you-----.

"But you have now advanced a claim to the possession of the Bond itself and this has led me (Mr. Casamajor) to search among the records of the Government to ascertain in whose name the bond is entered and whose property it is and who is authorised to draw the interest. I find that the bond is in the name of Devammaji, the daughter of your uncle------and that the property is considered as hers.

"The interest upon this bond was allowed to be drawn by your father Lingaraja on her account till she came of age to receive it on her own account and to prosecute her claim to the principal and upon your accession to the state you were allowed to receive the interest on her account but your right to touch the principal has not been recognised. Devammaji must herself communicate her wishes on this subject and the Madras Government must be satisfied that she act by her own free will-----.

"Upon referring to the records of your State, ypu will find that in 1811 or about 22 years ago, your father Lingaraja disposed of a bond held in the name of Devammaji which had been purchased by your uncle by money paid into the Treasury of the Bombay Government, and that the Supreme Government did not acknowledge your father's competency to dispose of this bond and disapproved of this transaction-----(Vide- the letter of the 7th February 1812, by Sir George Hilaro Barlow.)

"It is known to you that Government of India are extremely circumspect in their transaction with their public creditors and are, like individuals, amenable for their acts to the courts of judicature established at the several Presidencies, whose decisions are regulated with strict adherence to the forms of law and principles of equity. Adverting therefore to the legal difficulties which attend a determination of the proprietory title to the paper in question, the Governor-General has recommended a course of proceeding which shall leave that determination to depend upon the issue of a suit at law.

"As I have already stated it appears from the papers received from Bombay that the House of M/S. Forbes & Co., have purchased the eight per cent pro-note for Rs.301,100 the property of the late Raja for a valuable consideration of you and that the note having come in course of payment at Bombay they demand the amount of bills on the hon'ble Court of Directors------when the House of Forbes & Co., will be at liberty to institute a suit against the Company for the recovery of it, the issue of that suit will then decide the proprietory right to the paper in question-------."

Only Goodness Pays:

The above letter to the Raja covered the entire history of the deposit made by Viraraja the Elder, and the explanation on that goes to a very lengthy extent. Why this subject arose now when the sounds of war drums are heard was because the Raja's enemies, the British, wanted to withhold the payment of the money- either principal or interest, because the Raja had gone wrong. If he had been good, the goodness obviously would have

have paid enough and more dividends. However, now it was proved that the Raja was not good in his dealings with everyone around him. Therefore, the British brought forth this issue of the Bonds and the payment thereof. It was said that:

"Bond No. 1733- dated the 1st May 1832 for SICCA Rs. 2,03,900, came to be invested in the name of Viraraja Wodeyar, Raja of Coorg and to state that in the register of the loan of 1811/12- a promissory note No. 16120, dated the 30th June 1811 for SICCA Rs. 2,78,800 appears in favour of Lingaraja Wodeyar, on account of such heirs and representatives of the late Raja as may hereafter be found entitled thereto, the interest being payable to the order of the present Raja as guardian to the minor Rani, Devammaji until she be of an age to receive the interest on her own account or to prosecute her claim to the principal-----."

This too happened to have been a long note about the money deposited and on the rightful heirs to the amount. The whole issue came up because of the announced war against the supposed owner of the money, and the British definitely wanted to withhold payment of that to the Raja whose legal right was still doubtful. On the 19th February 1834, Henry Graeme wrote to the Fort St. George Government, that:

"-----Enclosed------correspondence that took place in 1811 and 1812 between the Madras Government and the Supreme Government (at Fort William, Calcutta) and the Bombay Government about the bond standing in the name of Devammaji, which was disposed off by the late Lingaraja II.

"In that correspondence the proprietory right to the Bond on the part of the Raja was not admitted by the Supreme Government and the Raja was authorised only to draw the interest on account of Devammaji until she had become of age to draw it on her own account-----.

"The Accountant-General returned to the Raja's Agents Messers Binny & Co., the Bond for Star pagodas 1,86,000 or Madras Rs. 6,53,940 which stands in the name of Devammaji ------It will be for the Government to determine whether it may not be advisable to acquaint Messers Binny & Co., that it does not acknowledge the proprietory right to the Raja to the Bond."

Lord William Bentinck's Letter:

As serious and strict actions were taken against the Raja of Coorg both in respect of the money and also army, the Governor-General of India, Lord William Bentinck thought to give another try and see if the Raja could be brought to his senses. Not minding his high place of authority, the Governor-General wrote a long letter to the Raja, dated the 17th February 1834, and that said that:

"The unfortunate circumstances which led to the assumption of Government of Mysore, and the embarrassment which more or less has since continued, determined to take the earliest opportunity of personally enlisting those territories. Having now arrived in Madras, I find in addition to this object of solicitude our relations with the Raja of Coorg at a crisis, which seems to render inevitable a recourse to military operations. I feel most anxious, if possible to avoid, this extremity, We have with one of the Company's most ancient and faithful allies whose uncle rendered us excellent service-----The possibility of another effort and forbearence should be carried to the utmost possible limits-----With reference to the extreme course-----I may have at Bangalore the assistance of Governor and Commander-in-Chief----".

The above note was sent as the minutes of the Governor-General, but in a personal letter to the Raja of Coorg of the same date, 17th February 1834, Lord Bentinck said, that:

"In my letter of the 21st November to Fort St. George, I announced my intention of proceeding to Mysore shortly, and I expressed the pleasure it would afford me to meet

meet your Highness on that occasion, or if circumstances should prevent your personal attendance to afford an interview to any confidential individual whom you might desirous of deputing to make known to me-----.

"I have been grieved and astonished to perceive that in violation of the laws of Nations you have ventured forcibly to detain Karunakara Menon, a British subject who had been deputed by Mr. Graeme on a special mission to your capital; You must be aware that a proceeding of this nature will not be tolerated by the British Government, and you have already been apprized by the letter addressed to you by hon'ble Sir Fred. Adams-----.

"But the deep interest which the British Government has long felt in the welfare of Coorg, the kind of friendship and excellent services rendered by your ancestor and predecessor-----still leads me to carry forbearence to the utmost limit. My feelings towards you are those of parental kindness and solicitude and I still venture to entertain an expectation of your return to better feelings and that recourse to hostile operations may yet be averted.

"It is my intention to proceed in a few days on my projected visit to Mysore, and I hope to reach Bangalore about the 25th instant. It will afford me sincere pleasure, if on my arrival there, I shall receive a friendly answer to my letter. I trust that you will be enabled to acquaint me of your having released Karunakara Menon and forwarded him and his attendants in safety to the Company's territories. If this difficulty be removed and satisfactory explanation on other points afforded, negotiations may again be commenced, and that harmony which during a long period has so happily subsisted between the two States may continue uninterrupted." Sd) W.C.Bentinck.

C.-in-C.'s Memorandum:

All these letters did not help to mend matters. The Raja was adament as ever because his fall was destined, and his days were almost numbered. On the 2Ist February I834, Col. James Fraser was appointed as an emissary to communicate with the Raja. But till the 20th February, there was no sign of the release of Karunakara Menon from his detention, and the reports were that even his cook was not allowed to go near him. Mr. Baber sent a Mopla with a letter to Mr Karunakara Menon but as the Mapla passed the Stony river, the Coorgs seized him, beat and sent him back. This was the state of affairs in Coorg. The Commander-in-Chief's memorandum of the I8th February I834, said that:

"Assuming the absence of any political or topographical information, that the Raja of Coorg, if he provokes the hostility of the British Government will render his formidable fortresses as impervious as practicable and assemble all the discontented freebooters from the north-west frontiers of Mysore, and, perhaps, from the southern Maharashtra districts, it is proper that the force should be of a commanding strength and assembled with as few reductions of the military positions in Mysore as practicable for the unsettled state of that country.

"With this view, I am of opinion that a force of 5,000 Infantry, with cavalry, artillery and sappers and miners, should be assembled in Mysore and be so organized as related to Ordnance medical staff and as to divide at least into three columns of cooperation.

"The main column to enter by the south-west or Peryapatna Pass and the other from the west and north-east- an officer of experience to command the whole with the Assistant Adjutant or Quarter-Master-General of the Army as Staff to the force and a Brigade-major to each of the western and north-eastern columns- a medical staff consisting of one Superintendant, two Adjutant-Surgeons and warrant and non-Commissioned subordinates with a depot of medical stores and comforts, with the means of forming two field hospital- one for Europeans and one for the natives------".

Preparations were made on these lines to muster and march troops towards Coorg, and "a large body of troops- 6,000 men ordered for service against the Coorg Raja," were

were taken into account in the Auditor-General's office, Fort St. George. Lord Bentinck, the Governor-General, sent a note to say that:

"To prevent however any unnecessary loss of time in the event of the letter now ordered to be despatched to the Raja proving fruitless, H.E. the Commander-in-Chief is requested to submit for the consideration of the Board the details of the arrangements which in his judgment will be proper if it shall be resolved to have recourse to hostile measures."

The Troop Movements:

The Raja of Coorg did not seem to have moved to the good gestures of even the Governor-General of India. Everything around him seemed to have been inviting him to his eventual doom and defeat, With both the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief of India taking interest in this turmoil, the troops of the Company Government seemed to have been started marching towards Coorg by different directions. Mr. Casamajor, who was spear-heading the whole operations from his Residency in Mysore, wrote on the 12th February 1834, as below:

"With reference to possible contingency of the assembly of a military force as contemplated by Resolution of Council of the 7th instant, I beg leave to suggest for the consideration of the Governor that provision be early made through the Financial Department for a larger supply of funds for military disbursements than is at present available from the Treasury of the Resident of Mysore------".

On the 27th February, the military department at Madras procured a map of Coorg, It was reported that Surjappa Nayak was captured at Hiriyur sometime in the end of January, and his relative Kengappa was still at large. It was found necessary that five Companies of the 2nd Regiment occupy Hiriyur, and three Companies were ordered for Shikaripur. The Fort St. George Government did not deem it expedient to withdraw any of the Regiments stationed in Mysore because those were needed for Coorg operations. The Taluq Shirestedar had reported from the west-coast that Maplas carry on their trade with Coorg, but a report was that about 500 Coorgs had crossed the Stony River and said that the Coorg boundary extended up to Erkur and that they would come as far as that place. A report from the local Tahashildar in Malabar said, dated the 20th February 1834, that:

"-----It is not expected that Karunakara Menon will be sent back (from Coorg), but that every preparation for war is being made. The Shirestedar states that it does not appear that any inquiry is being made by the Tahashildar-----It is to be apprehended that the people of Erkur, Koyanad and other villages in the border may assist the Raja and it is to be seen that they be watched carefully."

As to the preparations for war in Coorg, the Collector of Malabar reported, that:

"Every effort is being made by the Raja to strengthen his country and guards are stationed all along the frontier. The army of the Raja have crossed the boundary and have taken post in this district (Malabar borders). They have chosen a small hill, about two miles south of Stony River as their post-----.

"From a communication received by me from the Officer commanding the Wynad division, it appears that an advanced Guard of forty men have been placed by the Raja on the Tirunelly road leading to Coorg."

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Governor-General's Minutes:

The Governor-General of India, Lord William Bentinck had arrived in Bangalore, and was personally seeing to the Coorg affairs which resulted in so much commotion all over. Surrounded by his advisers and officials, the Governor-General studied the entire case concerning Coorg, and then released his observations in the form of minutes on the 3rd March I834, which said that:

"Before I quitted the Presidency of Fort William, I received as the Board are aware, two very objectionable letters from the Raja of Coorg- one of which indeed was full of expression of the most insulting nature.

"The immediate cause of the Raja's irritation appears to have been the refusal on the part of our Government to deliver up to his vengeance one Chenabasava and his wife, who is Raja's own sister, who with a few followers had at the peril of their lives sought an assylum within the Company's territories with the view as they allege to escape outrage of a revolting description meditated by the Raja against the person of his sister. No specific offences anterior to this flight is imputed to the refugees by the Raja and under all the circumstances of the case it would have been highly discreditable to the British character had our Government made itself accessory to the gratification of the Raja's revengeful purpose. My reply to the Raja's indecorous communications, was couched in the most soothing and indulgent language, and I entertained strong hopes that the Raja might be thereby induced to take a more reasonable view of the position.

"I was much mortified to find however on my arrival at Fort St. George that the Raja had evinced more unequivocal symptoms of a hostile disposition towards the British Government that he had been levying troops, stockading his country, tampering with our subjects, encouraging our enemies and generally showing by all the means in his power a determination to set our authority at defence, and moreover, that he had placed in restraint one Karunakara Menon, deputed by Mr. Henry Graeme, to enter into an amicable negotiation with him. This last proceeding was so outrageous a character that the Government of Fort St.George immediately dispatched to the Raja a requisition for the release of K.Menon within six days. This requisition must have reached the Raja on the evening of the I3th ultimo. Before the 20th, however, the detained individual should have been at liberty——.

"A friendly remonstrance from me urging the Raja to comply with the requisition of the Madras Government and inviting him to meet me at Bangalore or to depute some confidential person for the purpose for discussing the point at issue, has shared the same fate, and till now, though ample time has elapsed, the Raja has not designed to reply to these communications. The inference is inevitable, that the Raja sets our power at defiance and the course we are bound to take is equally clear. He must be coerced into submission and for this purpose I shall immediately order an adequate force to enter his territory. I am gratified in being able to state that the necessity of this measure has been recognised by the Government of Fort St.George with whom it is probable will rest the conduct of ulterior operations should they continue longer than I have at present reason to anticipate.

"There are two points which require early determination and with regard to which I could have wished had circumstances permitted to obtain the previous opinion of the Board. I still beg to be favoured with their sentiment in the hope that I may receive them in time to assist my judgment. In the meanwhile, I have benefit of the counsel of the Rt. hon'ble Governor of Fort St. George and H.E.the Commander-in-Chief who are both present at Bangalore.

"The points in question are: i) In what mode the country of Coorg is to be disposed off after it shall have been taken possession of, by our troops. I am quite clear that the present Raja should be deposed, whether we shall elevate any other member of the family to GADI or keep the country for ourselves, is the question. It seems to be a

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a matter of uncertainty whether there exists any legal heir. If there be any such individual, and if it should appear the wish of the country that the line of their ancient sovereigns should be preserved, I am inclined to think that the preferable course would be to give up the country on being reimbursed the expenses of the operations, and such measures being adopted as may effectually prevent any future annoyance from the same quarter.

"Secondly, with regard to the treatment the ex-Raja is to receive, should he fall into our hands I am decidedly of opinion that he should be banished from the country and kept under restraint, more or less rigorous as his future conduct may appear to deserve. His unconditional surrender must in the first instance be required should he put to death the above named British subject (K.Menon), who was deputed to his court by Mr. Graeme, I have no hesitation in pronouncing my opinion that his own life should be the forfeit.

"As my Agent to be employed with the troops, I propose to appoint Lieut.-Col. James Fraser of the 36th Madras N.I., offg. Secretary in the Military Department, an officer of great ability and experience, and I shall request H.E. the Commander-in-Chief to nominate Lieut.-Col. Lindsey, at present Commanding Bangalore to the command of the troops to be employed on the occasion. From all I can learn I do not apprehend that there is any probability of operations being long protracted but to ensure speedy success. I shall suggest to his Excellency the propriety of employing a force of six or seven thousand men to advance upon the country from different directions. I have reason to hope that the troops may be set in motion about the I2 or the I4th (March) inst, and that the Coorg country may be invaded by all the Divisions on or before the 28th. There will thus be abundance of time before the setting in of the monsoon to bring matters to a conclusion.

"I annex a copy of the Proclamation which I have caused to be translated into Kannada language and which will be circulated throughout the Coorg territory and the neighbouring countries whence there is reason to suppose that many of our subjects have proceeded and taken service with the Raja of Coorg.

"The Raja's character for cruelty is notorious. Much stress has not been laid upon this fact as it would at first sight seem to deserve. The continually prevalent rumours of his sanguinary disposition towards his own subjects induced the late Thomas Munroe to require from him a statement of all capital punishments that might take place in his country but it does not appear that the requisition was ever complied with, and I thought it premature to mention in the proclamation one or two specific acts of cruelty which had come to my knowledge------.

"In a day or two, I shall forward to the Board a copy of the instruction which it is my intention to coming to Lt.-Col. Fraser and I shall not fail to keep the vice-President in Council as well as the Government of Fort St.George duly informed of every event that may occur in connection with the intended operations. CAMP-Bangalore, the 3rd March I834,
Sd) W.C.Bentinck (Lord) Governor-General."

All Out Preparations for War:

The above lengthy note was a decisive document on the subject by the Governor-General of India, and with that he gave a start to the entire war operations against a tiny principality- Coorg. When he wrote his minutes, Lord Bentinck did not determine a date to release the war proclamation, but the Raja of Coorg and all others knew that what was coming up. The Accountant-General in Bangalore, in the meantime, prepared an estimation of total expenses on war and field charges, and for six months the amount estimated was Rs. I2,8I,300. He further wrote on the 6th March I834, that:

"The Commissioners of Mysore will transfer the Salem and Bellary remittances, now in transit to them-----and also Rs. Five or Six lakhs should be transmitted by the Commissioner of Mysore to the Residency for war. The Collector of Bellary may provide Rs. two lakhs. If the Force moves, Rs. I0,8I,798 for five months would be available in Mysore, and if the war prolongs, supply might arrive from other sources-----".

The auditor-general, W. Cullen, wrote to the Governor Sir Fredric Adams of Madras, on the IIth March I834, that:

"Having examined an additional estimate of the Paymaster in Mysore———I have the honour to report that the sum of Rs. I,50,000 is admissible- being required on account of an advance of one month's pay and allowance to the troops- ordered on Field Service against the Raja of Coorg———".

In another letter of the same day, the acting Secretary of the Marine Board, recommending for sanction the Paymaster's Bills, wrote that:

"We have the honour to forward herewith a list of ordnance ammunition and military stores despatched from the arsenal of Fort St. George to Store departments at Bangalore and Cannanore, with a view of meeting demands from the Force against the Coorg State, agreeably to the orders of Government, dated the I9th and 22nd inst.

"NOTE:- List of ordnance ammunition and military stores despatched from the Arsenal of Fort St. George to the departments at Bangalore and Cannanore, and, are available for service against Coorg———"(A long list of things were given.)

The Fort St.George Gazette of the IIth March notified that:

"SUB:- Requesting sanction to offer services of the deputy Commissary of Ordnance for employment on the occasion of the present disturbances in Coorg country———and to prevent inconvenience from the absence of Capt. Taylor———. Forwarding a list of Ordnance despatched from Fort St. George to Bangalore and Cannanore to meet the demands from the force against the Coorg State."

The Estimated Expenses:

The military auditor-General submitted a revised estimate of the extra expense of the troops and departments composing the force that was employed against Coorg, On the I2th March I834, the Auditor-General addressed a letter to the Governor, stating that:

"The Commissary-General having furnished me with a revised estimate of the extra expenses in that department of the troops———to be employed against Coorg, I have the honour to submit a fresh estimate of those expenses amounting for one month to Rs. I,05,I29 and for six months to Rs. 6,30,774 to be substituted for the estimate submitted with my letter of the 28th ultimo."

Estimate of the extra expenses per month of a field force of the strength detailed with under mentioned memorandum with the staff attached:

Western Column from Cannanore:

300 Rank and file H.M.'s 48th Regiment-	Rs. 2,000	per month.	
Half Company of Gotundaze with 4 Goluls (?)"	260	"	"
20th Regiment Native Infantry "	3400	"	"
32nd " " " "	3400	"	"
200 sappers & miners from the Nilgiries "	600	"	"

Commissariat as per revised estimate of the Commissary General, dated the 8th March I834- Rs. I4,955. Total Rs. 24,6I5.

Eastern Column from Bangalore:

400 Rank and file H.M.'s 39th Regiment	Rs. 2I00
One Company European artillery and 8 Gotund:	" 400
35th Regiment Native Infantry	" 3400
48th " " "	" 3400
4th " " "	" 3400
300 Sappers and Miners	" I000
From FrenchRocks 36th Royal Native Infantry	" 3400

Commissariat as per revised estimate of the Commissary-General, dated the 8th March I834- Rs. 27,965. Total Rs. 45,065.

The Northern Column to be formed of the Brigade of Native Infantry, now in service, in the North-West districts of Mysore:

2nd Regiment Native Infantry- Rs. 3400.
9th " " " " 3400.

Commissariat as per revised estimate of the Commissary-General, dated the 8th March 1834: Rs. 6388, Total: Rs. 13,188.

Bellary Detachment:

His Majesty's 55th Regiment and 1300 Rank and file of a detachment of European artillery with a Brigade and the 31st Regiment Light Infantry to be moved from Bellary into Mysore. Commissariat as per revised estimate of the Commissary-General, dated the 8th March 1834, Rs. 12,876. Total- Rs. 18,571.

Extra allowance for writers for the General Staff authorised by letter from the Chief Secretary- 22nd February 1834- Rs. 515.

Probable extra expense in the pay department supposing the Paymaster in Mysore detached with the Field Force and an officer acting for him at Bangalore- Rs. 370. And expense for an extra office to the same incumbent- Rs. 350. Total per month- Rs. 1,05,129, and total for six months Rs. 6,30,774.

The following is the estimated expense of moving the below mentioned corps:

51st Regiment Native Infantry from Palghatchery to Cannanore-	Rs. 1350
H.Q.'s and one Wing of H,M,'s 57th from Madras to Bangalore-	" 1500
27th Regiment Native Infantry from Pullavaram to Bangalore-	" 1900
8th Royal L.C. from Arcot to Bangalore	" 2400

Commissariat as per revised estimate of the Commissary-General, dated the 8th March 1834, Rs. 12,119; and Total Rs. 19,269.

All Out Preparations:

In another letter to the Accountant-General, Madras, the Military Paymaster at Bangalore wrote on the 12th March that:

"With reference to the operations about to be undertaken against the territories of the Raja of Coorg, I have the honour to acquaint you that it is proposed that Treasure should be sent with each column the amount, I do not yet know, but as soon as decided, I shall inform you. I believe, I shall have to furnish money for the column marching from this, as well as the one proceeding from Bellary, it will therefore be necessary for me to indent for the requisite number of shots (?) and one office tent for each, also to entertain an Establishment for each Column for payment for which I request you to be good as to procure the necessary authority from Government.

"The Treasure- I shall take up on receipt either at this station or at Mysore as may be most convenient.

i) Bangalore Column: Salary- one headwriter Rs. 70, 2nd headwriter Rs. 35/- I shroff Rs. 20, one Gollah Rs. 10/- and one Peon Rs. 7. Total Rs. 142.

ii) Bellary Column- one headwriter Rs. 60, 2nd headwriter Rs. 30, one Shroff Rs. 20, one Gollah Rs. 10/-, one Peon Rs. 7. Total Rs. 127.

I should wish to give the general superintendance of the Establishment proceeding with the Bangalore Column to Major Steel who is to officiate as Deputy Quarter-Master-General, as it will prevent any interference with my office servants, also more money being taken up on receipt than individuals are entitled to, the payments in camp will be entirely confined to advance on receipt, to be adjusted each month-----."

The Army headquarters at Bangalore, issued an order on the 17th March 1834, directing Col. Lindsey of H.M.'s 39th Regiment on Foot, to command the Coorg Field Force with the rank of the Brigadier of the First Class----". The oder said, that:

"The Commander-in-Chief directs that you will order the Coorg Field Force to be divided into Columns according to the following Organisations:

Lt.-Col. G.M.Stuart to command the first Eastern Column,
Colonel Waugh to command the Northern Column,
Colonel David Foulis to command the Western Column,
Lt.-Col. George Jackson to command the Western Auxialiary Column."

The above order was issued on the 8th of March I834. Another letter from the Adjutant-General, to Colonel Lindsey, dated the I8th March I834, said that:

"Under instructions from the Governor-General, I am directed to notify to your appointment to command the Coorg Field Force with the rank of the Brigadier of the First Class:

Major Steele, 5Ist Regiment Native Infantry to be deputy Quarter Master General,
Lieut. Hicks, 35th " Highland Infantry to be asst,Adjutant-Gen. to Coorg Force.
Capt. Forbes, 39th " to be deputy Asst.Adjutant-Gen and attached to the Brigadier commanding the Coorg Field Force,
Capt. Setow to command the Artillery with Lieut.Brico, Brigadier-Major to the Coorg Field Force.

The Commander-in-Chief directs that you will order the Coorg Field Force to be divided into columns according to the following:

Lieut.-Col. G,M.Stuart to command first on Eastern Column,
Lieut. McLean, to be deputy assistant Adjutant-General,
Lieut. Convidino, 2Ist Regiment, to be deputy Assistant Quarter Master-General to the Eastern Column of Coorg Field Force——.

"You will be pleased to direct that all the troops above detailed be supplied with the full compliments of Field ammunition, completing the Ordnance with a duplicate complimentry and the infantry to I50 Rounder per man, with a proportion of Flints and 50 Rounds for Fuzils and that officers commanding corps and detachment indent immediately for carriage.

"Each corps to be provided with two months' supply of medicine——Each Native Corps will leave in careful native officer in charge of the families to arrange the payment of family. Remittances which will be made by Corps respectively through the medium of staff officers of station.

"A sum of money equal to two months' pay and allowances, must be sent by paywriters respectively with each Column; tumbrils and cattle will be issued on the indent of the paymasters and they will make over the Treasury to the Principal Staff Officer of each Column——."

Orders to Take Positions:

The preparations for war went on briskly on the British side, and there was no relaxation in their efforts, whatsoever. A good lot of money adjustments also were made while issuing orders to various army units to take their positions. The Commander-in-Chief decided to stay in Bangalore till the war ended and the Governor-General, Lord W.C.Bentinck and Governor Fred. Adams of Madras decided to move to Ootacamund and stay on there during the war. The military auditor-general's letter of the 25th March I834, said that:

"Having examined an additional estimate of the Paymaster in Malabar and Canara, I have the honour to report that the sum of Rs. One lakh and I9 thousand and Eighty, (Rs. I,I9,080) is admissible, being required for the payment of troops proceeding on field service against Coorg——."

Several other notifications also came out in order to dispose off the old balances. Henry Graeme who was sent to complete the affairs of the Coorg mission demanded an expense of Rs. I77/- from Fort St. George on the 29th March I834.

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As to the conducting of the operations, the secretary to the Governor-General wrote to the Commander-in-Chief O'Collaghan, on the 3rd March I834, that:

"——As the mode of conducting the operations will of course be determined by your Excellency, it does not occur to his Lordship that any further observation on his part are at present necessary, but he begs that Col. Lindsey who, it is the wish of his Lordship, should be appointed to command the troops employed on the occasion, may be instructed to act as regards the carrying on or suspension of hostilities in conformity with the acquisition of Col. Fraser of the 36th Regiment Native Infantry who has been constituted Agent of the Governor-General on this occasion and who has been furnished with the requisite orders for his guidance."

The above note in copies were sent to the Commissioner of Mysore Affairs and others, and in a separate to Col. J. Fraser of the 36th Native Infantry, it was said that:

"——His Lordship has reason to hope that the troops will be able to move from Bangalore about the I0th or the I2th March, and they as well as the troops from Cannanore and other quarters may reach the confines of Coorg about the 27th or the 28th inst., thus securing a month of favourable season for military operations.

"Accompanying is the draft of a Proclamation which you will be pleased to have translated carefully into Kannada and Malayalam languages, and as many copies as you deem necessary, be conveyed into Coorg and distributed in adjacent districts.

"With regard to the Raja, should you have any overture from him you will require him in the first instance to deliver up Karunakara Menon and in the second place to surrender his own person at discretion——Under any circumstances it will be your duty to endeavour to secure his person at the earliest possible period and to keep him in safe custody. ——The Governor-General has not yet made up his mind as to the future management of Coorg.——

"The Governor-General has reason to hope that the operations in Coorg will not be very protracted but should the Raja evacuate his capital and retire to his fortress, it is possible that some time may elapse before his seizure. In such an event it will probably be necessary to retain possession of certain strong-holds without the unfavourable season. His Lordship trusts your judgment and foresight for making such arrangements for the comfort and safety of the troops——.

"From all His Lordship has been able to learn the extreme unpopularity of the Raja among his own subjects owing to his unparalleled cruelty and oppression, is such as to render it very unlikely that he will find a safe place of refuge in his own country after the British troops have once entered it and the Governor-General cannot calculate ~~xxxx~~ on his holding out for any length of time. Still it is well to be preferred against all contingencies——". dated the 3rd March I834. Secretary to the G.-G.

DR. I. M. MUTHANNA,
M.A., (B.O.L.,) B.T., (MADRAS)
PH.D., (COLO.,) DIP.-IN-JOURN. (LONDON)
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CHAPTER XII.

The Circumstances That Led to Invasion.

Chenabasappa's Statement:

When the British declared war against Coorg, they alread had enough facts in their hands to justify their action. In addition to what was already told about the Raja in the previous chapters, the British had collected a good amount of testomony against the Raja from various sources, including from Chenabasava himself who had been the main spokesman in causing the entire misunderstanding between the Raja and his opponents- both inside and outside Coorg. When the Company Government were mustering their forces, their men wanted some information about Coorg and the Raja, and they sought the advice of Chenabasava, who told them as follows:

"------Lame Dewan Basava is a staunch royalist, and is the author of all the bad advice the Raja received-----I am confident of the support of the Coorgs (Kodavas), and am sure that they would desert the Raja. They have been now placed in the rear of the Coorg force for fear that they would shoot him-----The Coorgs (Kodavas) look with eagerness to the arrival of the English force that they may be saved----.

"The Raja was discontented when roads were opened through his country, and since the Company assumed power in Mysore. He sent people to acquire intelligence-----Niragunny Panya, four miles from Mercara, is the place where the Raja has considerable treasure. The PAALEYs watch it and take him daily reports. In Nalknad jungle, the KAPALAs watch the treasure-----.

"It is better that the invasion be made by Kiggatnad and take possession of Virarajpet where all people would join the Company troops-----The illegitimate sons of Viraraja the Elder are Rudrappa, Chandrappa, Somappa, Devappa, Seshappa, and a few others- all were murdered. Lingaraja's illegitimate sons are Shantappa, Vira Bhadrappa and Mallappa- all murdered. The Raja also killed the legitimate son of Appaji Raja, his uncle.

"I never informed my brother Muddayya of my intention to fly from Coorg as I did not wish to involve him. He was in Raja s favour and in a high position. The Kodavas support me and I am sure that Devammaji, the ex-Rani, was alive. I prefer an immediate assault and possession of Virarajpet from where the British would get support. I advice the British not to take Muslims as soldiers because the Raja had a number of Muslims as his spies. Siddi Kaadu and Kundana Motte are the places where the executions are done. I am sure the people in Nad will support the British-----."

Chenappa Nayaka's deposition:

This Chenappa Nayak was a sentry under the Raja, and as early as the 26th December 1833, he told to the Company officials at an inquiry court that:

"------Hearing intelligence, the Raja said to Abbas Saheb that Sujappa's brothers Kengal Nayak, Murgappa Nayak and others should proceed with their respective parties. At that time Surjappa went to Manjrabad to collect more men. We started with 300 men and arrived at Tygathur Panya-----The Raja came with Dewan Basava and asked me if I could fight the Company at Peryapatna. I said that the Company troops are numerous, and ours is small. (Since last 18 months spies have been employed at Kengery, Ramagery, Maddur, Srirangapatna, etc. The Raja consults mostly with Kunta Basava, Mahalinga, Bopanna and Abbas Saheb. The Coorg people know Persian; they dress in English fashion.

"The Raja's troops received orders to this affect: 'As soon as Henry Graeme enters the post, snatch from his people their arms and detain him at Virarajpet, and he ought not to be permitted to go to Mercara. Then we shall issue further orders.'

"After giving this instruction, Mr. Graeme was sent a letter saying that the Raja desired him to come to Coorg. They were determined to attack and drag Mr. Graeme to

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to drag Mr. Graeme to the river near Virarajpet if he came to that place. One Muhammad Husein, a soldier, whose troops left for Rangoon, is in Coorg. He said that salary paid to the native soldiers was only Rs. 7/- per person. The men who had belonged to the Rangoon troops have returned and now joined the Coorg Raja. Five elephants were sent to the son of Nizam Ali Khan of Hyderabad, ~~and letters were~~ also sent secretly. The Raja is ready to fight. He is disposed to become a Muslim so that the whole people who become Muslims could govern the country. 'How many people would agree to this'?, was asked. The Coorg people were told to be at their posts established near Mercara and one at the frontier.

"Dewans had no power to give orders; they could only enquire. The local people of Coorg form only one-fourth of the population and the rest are all outsiders. Seven lakhs of pagodas amassed in the time of Viraraja the Elder was burried in a pit near a house in Appangala, said the Dewan in a letter to Mr. Graeme.

"The cause of rift between Chanabasava and the Raja was that the Coorgs and the Paleygars formed a league and designed to take charge of the Government. This fact was made known to the Raja by the deity Virabhadra Swamy in a dream and the Raja intended to send him to Kundana Motte for murdering Chenabasava who called himself a Paleygar. Chenabasava was apprised of this by the Raja's sister, and thereafter he planned to leave Coorg.

"I was present when Dewan Bopanna, Chenabasappa and his brother Muddayya held consultation on the subject of taking charge of the Government. It was on the same night that the Raja dreamt and consequently Chenabasava fled.

"The Raja and Chenabasava were not in good terms for two years because four or five people of his group were murdered by the Raja. There was a story that the Raja loved Chenabasava's wife (who was his sister) and the Raja is sorry that his reputation has been stained with such a blemish.

"The Dewan who has access into the inner apartments of the palace is Basava who goes as far as the gate where the sentries withdrawn swords are posted."

Wonderful Revelations:

Chennappa Nayak gave out some baffling news of the time. Chenabasava, no doubt, was trying to come to power with the support of the Kodavas, and the Raja would go to any length to see that his opponent was killed. His contact with Muslims, and his willingness to become a Muslim just to be in power, showed that the man had no character, whatsoever. Chenappa Nayak further said that Chenabasava, one Ramanna and others with a thousand Sepoys of Mysore accompanied with the Company army advanced to Coorg in order to win over the Kodavas to his side and to hoist his own flag. Wobah Nayak was a prisoner at Manjrabad. He said in reply to some questions on the 18th December 1833, that:

"——I left my family in Coorg. I went there with Surjappa Nayak. A sepoy with a salaryof Rs. 5/ a month, was a spearman in Raja's service. He was sent as an escort to Surjappa, and was questioned by the Company officials at Manjrabad."

The next man who gave the information to the British was Dewan Laxmana Raw. This old man was a Dewan in the time of the elder Viraraja. He was also a Vakil for Sode Raja in the year 1809. Laxmana Rao's testimony was already stated behind, and among other things, he said that:

"Unlike the Elder Viraraja, Lingaraja did not cause the death of many people.(This statement is not quite correct). He patronised Brahmins and erected Linga temple——The younger Viraraja is like his uncle, the elder Viraraja, and very reckless. When I went to Talekaveri six years ago, I went as a poor brahmin assuming my name as Rama Rao because

because of the fear of being murdered if he had known me. He has very little regard for humanity------.

"The revenue of Coorg may be 48,000 Ikkeri Pagodas, of Sulia and Puttur districts 27,000 pagodas, Yelusavirasime district 7,000 pagodas, pepper, cardamom and sandalwood duties 20,000 pagodas- and all this make a total of a lakh of pagodas or Rs. four lakhs.

"The bows and arrows are mostly in use as arms. Coorg knives, spears, long and short muskets and matchlocks are there. In every house there are two or three matchlocks. Women also use bows and arrows. Gun powder is also manufactured. The Raja may have about four lakhs in treasure. Anyway, to enter into Coorg the best ways are Kanive, Siflekote and Haranghee. The Raja seems to resist the Company's forces------."

The Raja Invited Trouble:

From the testimonies that the British gathered from many sources it was clear that the Raja invited trouble for himself by his not realising his constitutional limits. He had also taxed the patience of the Company Government by his rude manners, and that resulted in the mutual suspicions. Both the sides prapared for war, and in that the preparation of the British were thorough. They tried to block the contacts of the Raja from all sides. The Collector of Malabar was informed to put a stop to the import of salt into Coorg. Henry Graeme, in a letter to the Fort ST. George on the I8th March I834, summarised the cause for the whole trouble as follows:

"------Chenabasava and Devammaji's flight was in September I832, and from that day the Company Government refused to deliver up the fugitives, and sent several people to commuicate with the Raja who had given refuge to the Paleygars of Tarikere, wrote insulting letters to the British authorities and detained those emissaries who had entered Coorg. He also wrote many letters about the prevailing practices regarding the fugitives-------His grudge against Chenabasava was that the latter was a murderer and that he had proclaimed himself as a king and his wife a queen, that he assembled a number of armed followers and that he left the country by stealth. The Raja meant that either of these three incidents was an infringement of the usage and law of Coorg and that the public officers were bound in duty to stop him------.

"The Raja repeated the refusal of compliance with a requisition now made to him by the Government which he had given to in May I827. Similar requisition in I827 to report to the Resident all capital punishments as being an encroachment upon the established usage of Coorg which has hitherto decided everything without reporting. He illustrates the occasional necessity for severities of punishment-------.

"The Raja complains of taunts made to him by J. Casamajor when the surrender of Chenabasava was demanded that Coorg was small and is surrounded by English territories, that he could not prevent his taking it and that he would deprive him of the honour------".

But what is to be noted here is that there have been many letters written in harsh and insulting tones from both the parties- the English as well as the Raja, but the Raja had exceeded all limits. The Resident of Mysore had made remonstrances to the Raja many times against his oppression and restrictions imposed on the people who came from outside but the Raja disregarded all that, especially those letters that were written to him as early as October and November I826 and in December I829. As a result of all this Henry S. Graeme addressed a long letter to the Fort St. George Government, on the 20th March I834 and that gave a detailed account of the affirs that had happened a few years before the final assault on Coorg in April I834.

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"Despotism Taken Deep Roots":

Henry Graeme's letter of the 20th March I834, said that:

"-----I am not aware of any direct notice was ~~was~~ taken of these despotic acts by the Government in letters to the Raja till the 22nd May I827, when the Resident was informed by Sir Thomas Munroe's Government that the uncertainty of the intelligence obtained regarding affairs in Coorg, and the nature of the relation subsisting between the State and the British Government forbade our attempting to exercise any interference with the Raja's administration or to require it to be conducted after such model as we might entirly approve- that the best mode of proceeding was to lead the Raja unto frequent and friendly intercourse warmly and effectually to promote whatever suggestions of his own were of a beneficial tendency and to offer such others as he might be disposed to adopt, but except when it was necessary to restrain upon any glaring act of cruelty or misgovernment never to dispute or violate his free agency in governing his own state. Consistently with this view the Governor was of the opinion that all capital punishments should be reported to the Resident but did not think that the established system under which passports were furnished to strangers on entering Coorg called for the interference of this Government. The Governor concurred with the Resident in anticipating much benefit from the measures of reopening the route through Coorg for troops and travellers, and of sending tappal by that route.

"It may not be generally known that the requisition which was accordingly made upon the Raja by the Resident to report capital punishments were refused by the Raja at the time, to be complied with, as an encroachment upon the established usage and it does not appear to have been persisted on nor does any communication seem to have been made by the Resident to Government that it was refused.

"I state on tha authority of Parsi Dara Shah of Tellichery that the uncle of the present Raja used to in I793 when he seized two persons who had been instigated by Tipu Sultan to assassinate him and sent them to the Commissioners in Malabar for their instructions, they were returned to him with an intimation that he was at liberty to do with them what he pleased and this instance is always mentioned as a proof that the British Government considered the Raja to possess absolute control in the affairs of his country."

Contrary to International Laws:

Henry Grame's above letter proceeded to say some more harsh things on the Raja who had detained the British emissaries and civil servants. He said, that:

"It is not to be wondered that with the high and chivalrous spirit which the Rajas have always cherished, the wild, strong and compact nature of the country, the manly habits of the Rajas and the people, the little social intercourse that had existed between the Coorg court and other courts, the long exemption from all dangers of invasion from foreign states which natural fortresses and the irresistible power of the British Government has procured for Coorg, the consciousness of valuable services rendered to the British cause by Coorg, with which reluctantly acknowledged the fact of any adequate return- the personal character of the Government which commencing in despotism has often provoked conspiracies from a hardy and independent race which have terminated unhappily- in the consolidation of tyranny and the confirmed subjection of the people-----the actual ~~xxxxxxxx~~ abstinance from any material interference which has been practised by the British for forty years- these circumstances have naturally enough nourished a feeling of independence on the part of the Raja and have tended to stifle his slight emotions of gratitude and to weaken his sense of obligations of allegiance to the paramount state-----.

"Abbas Ali, a chief to conspire at Bangalore in I832, to raise a mutiny among the Company's troops, Tarikere Surjappa, a proclaimed rebel to the Company, and others were protected by the Raja, and forcibly detained Karunakara Menon, an emissary deputed by me.

"Despotism in Coorg has taken such deep roots, and affairs have attained such a state of relatively low ebb with the British that it seems quite expedient to continue the present Raja in his Government or to raise up any other ruler except on a more definite footing-----Suppose the Raja releases K. Menon, then I would suggest the following:-

i) That the Raja shall continue the payment of his annual tribute of a trained elephant and bind himself generally to obedience to the British Government as the paramount State of which he is a dependant.

ii) That the Raja shall immediately disband his forces and remove all impediments to a free ingress into his country and every appearence of hostile preparation.

iii) That the Raja shall not hereafter harbour any persons charged by the British authorities with delinquencies, that he shall cause to be apprehended any persons committing robberies or other offences in the Company's dominions, whether inhabitants of Coorg or others from outside Coorg-----.

iv) That the British Government will determine according to justice after full enquiry with respect to any person who having committed any offence on Coorg may seek refuge in the Company's country but they will take care that such offender shall not avail themselves of any asylum granted them to do any injury on Coorg or to the Raja.

v) That the Raja shall raise ~~twenty~~ no military force without the sanctions of the British Government.

vi) That the Raja shall abolish the military tenure under which many of his subjects held their lands.

vii) That the Raja shall agree to abolish the system of forces labour-----working in palaces, roads, fortifications etc.

viii) That there shall be free ingress and engress throughout Coorg to Raja's subjects and foreigners.

ix) That no passport shall be demanded to enable any person to travel throughout his dominions.

x) That the person of an Envoy or a Vakil or Agent shall be held sacred and not liable to be restrained in the slightest degree, that he shall not have spies over him to interfere with his privacy and that he shall not be prevented holding free communication with all the people of Coorg.

xi) That the Panchayats and other tribunals shall be established throughout Coorg for the settlement of civil causes and the trial of criminal cases, and that this tribunal shall be liable to be modified at the pleasure of the British Government.

xii) That no capital punishment or perpetual imprisonment or jail beyond a month shall be inflicted without the sanction of the British Government, communicated through the Resident or such other authority as the Government may select-------."

The British Came as Saviours:

The above listed suggestions for reforms for the benefit of Coorg was seen as a thorough overhauling of an entirely barbaric system that existed in Coorg, nay all over India. In that way, the coming of the British to India opened a new era of modernity into the body-politic of the country of which the situation was hopeless and outrageous. Henry Graeme's lengthy letter contained many more suggestions to reform the pathetic condition, and he continued to state his case in the following terms:

I3) That an allowance for the different members of the Raja's uncle's and father's families, shall be regulated-------.

I4) That the tappals shall ne allowed to run throughout every part of Coorg wherever the British Government may at any time direct.

I5) That military roads shall be opened wherever the British Government may direct.

I6) That the commerce shall be planned exactly upon the same footing as it is in all Company's territories.

I7) That no impediments shall be thrown in the way of a free passage throughout Coorg.

"------All these seem essential to prevent the Raja's continuing to foster an unprofitable feeling of independence, to place the members of his uncle's and father's families out of the reach of his jealousy and vengeance, to emancipate his subjects effectually from the present despotism and to secure the administration of justice and mercy-----If matters do not admit of any further compromise, it should be expedient to select Devammaji to the throne if she be still alive-----Such an act would indicate a lively remembrance of the services of our faithful ally and would redeem the pledge that was given that

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that his (Viraraja the Elder's) daughter should succeed him. The Governor-General Lord Minto's letter of the 3rd April 1809 says that, "

"I sometime since received your letter on the subject of the succession to your property and dominion-----For many years to come I trust you will continue to enjoy in health and independence and honour the dominion of your country, but for your satisfaction, I readily convey to you the assurance that the arrangements which your justice and discernment may lead you to form for the future prosperity of your country- the rulers of the British Government will countenance and maintain and that the favour and protection which you have experience will invariably be extended to 'your family and descendants'."

The present Viraraja was installed during the life time of his father Lingaraja II, under sanction from the Supreme Government, dated the 25th June 1818. Lingaraja died on the 8th December 1821. Viraraja was then 21 and now about 33. This early installation was due to his father's jealousy of the daughter of his brother and the jealousy for his political rivals.

Major Monk visited the Raja in 1826, and in a letter to Mr. J.Casamajor said that the Raja's own relative situations are very vague and crude and he seemed to know little enough of who and what of the men about whom he talked. Major Monk thought that he spoke mildly and he wore European dress. He did not consider as a dependant and regards himself as God. His orders are from the feet of Shiva Mahadeva. If he flings a flower from the chamber above to the people below, it is taken as a favour from the God and the receivers prostrate themselves before it eight or ten times."

Some More Revelations:

Before writing this long letter, Henry Graeme had conculted Chenabasava who was then a refugee in Bangalore, and many others as well. Graeme had also obtained many information about Coorg during his travel towards Coorg from Bangalore to Bettadpur, on the Coorg borders, although he had to return from Bettadpur after seeing the hectic preparation for a war in Coorg against the English. Considering safety for his own life, Graeme did a wise thing by returning. He proceeded to say in the above letter, that:

"At Hunsur I saw Major Cox who gave me facts about Coorg., Bahadur Nayak, the killedar of Peryapatna, told me that he saw Muddayya (Chenabasava's brother) and others killed, pregnent women ripped open, young women sent to concubinage, noses and tongues cut, etc. Richard Royle, in the service of Capt. Bruce of the 35th Native Infantry, was for seven years in Raja's service. He was a half-caste. He said that he had witnessed summary executions, and Chennavira, the fugitive, surrendered through Arthur Cole, was put to death.

"Chenabasava gave the names of all members of the family of Viraraja the Elder's illegitimate sons and four daughters. Devammaji's house seem to be deserted and perhaps he had got rid of her. The Raja s treasure hidden in Nalknad jungles, in Nirragunny Panya (?)- four miles from Mercarâ, and Mahadeva Panya hill- in the North of Mercara.

"Dewan Laxmana Rao (now in Mysore) guesses that the Raja might have Rs. ten lakhs or four lakhs Pagodas. The total amount in the Company's bonds is Rs. 9,55,040 and the interest he gets is not less than Rs. 50,000. Laxmana Rao (the Dewan of Viraraja the Elder's time) said that fighting men might number up to 12,000 with Bedas of Chitradurg and Raiddorg, and Dara Shah said that real fighting men may be about 3,000.

"Captain Mahoney wrote in 1805, that "the military part of the establishment was feudal, that every inhabitant in Coorg of the ancient stock was by education or necessity, familiarised the use of arms and that besides it was his bounden duty to give his services in such a way whenever required by his chief, that in return for which the class of men alluded to hold their lands at certain rates of assessment from 5 percent on the produce down to one per cent or that being classed Jaghir, they were exonerated from all revenue charges---".

"-----The genuine Coorg people would appear to be most adherant to the Raja when they are disaffected, for, they are brave and hardy. They have on several occasions been discontented and disgusted with acts of severity exercised by the present Raja-----who had take the aid of the outside merceneries. from Rayadurg and Chitradurg, Muslims and disbanded Sepoys from Mysore, and this has aroused jealousy in Coorgs.

"-----Dewan Subbanna and Ramanna, Muddu Gowda and three persons attached to Chenabasava the Amildar of Bettadpur, Major Cox of Hunsur and many others gave me useful information for preparing this statement." 20th March I834, Sd) H.S.Graeme."

The Coorg Affairs in I832-33:

A voluminous correspondence went on between the Raja and the British officials during these years of I827 and I834 and most of them gave a revealing information of the time. On the 1st September I833, the Raja wrote to the Governor of Madras, concerning the money deposited by his late uncle, and said that:

"The sum of I,86,840 star pagodas belonging to this SARKAR, is held under a bond at Madras, and I have transmitted to my agents, Messers Binny & Co., a letter enclosing the Bond and a power of attorney empowering them to receive the interest due upon it. I hope that in confirmity with the usage an order may be issued to the treasurer of that state of the English Bahadoor-----."

Henry Graeme gave some more information concerning Coorg during the years I832 and I833. He said that:

"One Muddayya, a Shivachar of Mysore, tried for service in Coorg, as Dewan, but due to the rivalry, he could not get the post. At Bangalore, he got Col. Briggs, and Muddayya accompanied him to Shimogga. Later, the Raja invited Muddayya to know more news about Mr. Briggs. Chenabasava had just then fled to Mysore. Shivachar Muddayya met Raja when the latter told lies concerning Chenabasava's brother Mukatira Muddayya, and his infant child stating that those were alive when actually they were murdered by that time. Shivachar Muddayya found the Raja adament on securing Chenabasava back. The Raja thinks that he was his own minister, conducts everything himself-----.

"The dewans don't sit in his presence and receive no respect and are subject daily to punishment by being whipped for any trifling offence. The Raja would never deliver up Surjappa Nayak. Abbas Ali, the mutineer of Bangalore, was in Nalknad. The Dewans in the Raja's service are Ponnappa, Bopanna, Kunta Basava and Laxminarayana. Karyakars are Muthanna and Somanna, and Karbaari Subedar was one Joyappa.

"The 35 Nads of the earlier times have now been reduced to twelve and some of those are: Padinalknad, Umbattee Nad (Ammathinad), Kiggatnad, Kootee Nad, Gurwala Nad, Beppunad, Moodunad, Horamale Nad and so on.

"All lands were held on military tenure. On emergency the men must attend to the palace. The Raja's charge against Chenabasappa was that the latter and his brother Muddayya conspired to displace him and as a result of that Muddayya and forty others were killed. The ORIGINAL COORGS (Kodavas) are always an object of distrust and suspicion and it is with a view to check them that he had introduced mercenery foreigners. Whenever he goes out with his wives on horseback, the whole population must leave the town and settle in the jungle for a day or two till they return after their excursion."

Some more Statements:

The British tried to obtain the best possible information about the Raja and his territory before they embarked on an expedition a few days later. Here is what one Hussein Doraga, a cattleman, said what he knew, that:

"The Raja writes Persian and Kannada and speaks Urdu, Hindustani and Kannada. He was in constant touch with 7,000 people of the borders. He summoned them to Mercara and distributed gun powder and told them to be ready against the Company's troops. He gave weapons, shots, etc. Most of the people of Coorg of above I2 years of age were supplied with balls and weapons.

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"The Raja regrets that he did not get rid of John Casamajor when he was in Coorg---- He will not be free in mind till he gets Casamajor and Chenabasappa in his power. Devammaji, a daughter of Viraraja the Elder, was declared by the consent of the British Government as heiress to the throne, but Lingaraja succeeded, and, she abdicated in his favour. Lingaraja rejected the suits of the Rajas of Sode and Punganur to marry Rajammaji and then gave her in marriage to one Coorg man whom he afterwards murdered. The Raja now tried to poison Rajammaji but those who tried to save her fled the country and joined Chenabasappa."

Another episode that came to the knowledge of Mr. Grames was as below:

"Richard Cole of Arcot was promised job in Coorg for Rs. 50 or so by some Coorgs but Lame Basava said that Rs. 8/- was quite enough. but the man never got the job, however. Later when R.Cole was appointed he was not paid regularly although he served for seven years. Lame Dewan Basava used to misappropriate all the money. He is a savage, ferocious person and gives the Raja bad advice. He wanted to murder the child of Parsi Harji after he destroyed Harji. Chilly in bags were burnt in the room where Harji lived and he was brought out dead.

"The Raja had no aversion to the Europeans. He would excuse himself on some feast or otherwise and go away. The Raja paid particular attention to the foreign Sepoys who were the discharged by the Company Government-----."

Gohar Ali's Deposition:

This Gohar Ali Shah, a Mughal, went to Coorg in search of employment when he was brought before the Raja who told him to undertake some unusual missions. Deposing before a commission of enquiry at Bangalore on the 19th February 1834, Gohar Ali said, that:

"My brother-in-law and sister are both gone to Bangalore and whether you can murder them", the Raja said. I replied, "yes!". Then the Raja gave me a horse, Rs. 600, three pistols, four swords, a pair of embroidered trousers etc. I promised that I would murder them and return. I took my oath on the Quraan-----."

The above facts were given out by one Syed Roamy who was also in Coorg. The Raja seemed to have asked this man about Gohar Ali in the following manner:

"The Raja asked me if Gohar Ali was from Rome. I said that he was not from Rome. He said that Gohar had taken horses and money from him with the promise of killing Chenabasava and others and asked me if I would perform the killings. Later I left Coorg, saying that things are in the hands of God. Gohar Ali was in Bangalore. He gave me a letter for the Raja and that I took and later delivered it to Casamajor."

On cross-examination, Syed Muhammad Roamy said on the 20th February 1834, that:

"I am a Turk from Istanbul. For the last three years I was in Nilgiries. I went to Coorg where I was confined. On my way, Basappaji Urs asked me where I was going. They found me fair like a 'Fananghi' and they put me in prison. I told them I am a Fakir. At Coorg borders my weapons and books were seized and then I was put in a jungle house for twenty days. Later I was released. I was given Rs, 50 and a horse and sent through a jungle path, and then decided to go to Madras. At Mysore I gave away the money to fakirs in Srirangapatna. While in Coorg, he said, that he had talked to the Raja."

The Raja and Syed Muhammad had talked in the following fashion; and the evidence to this effect was given by Syed Muhammad who called himself also as Syed Mustafa, on the 21st February 1834, that:

"Gohar Ali said that if he found an opportunity, he would enter the house and kill Chenabasava and his wife" said the Raja and asked Syed who also called "Shumsheer" if Gohar Ali was a brave man. I have deputed him on a particular mission; do you think he will fulfil or not"? the Raja asked.

"Syed said, 'God knows on what business you have sent him, Sir."

"The Raja added that the Fakir Gohar Ali promised that he would cut off both

both their heads and return. I gave him Rs. 600, a horse, two pairs of pistols and a velvet dress". I said that the Fakir had reached Mysore with all that and asked him why he did not carry on the Raja's errand. He said, "I am not sitting idle. I am in readiness and constantly moved around the bungalow but they do not come outside. I have no money. I have sent men to Coorg. If the Raja sends me more money, I will take ten more men and kill them. By some means I will get into the house and murder them."

Syed Muhammad's Intervention:

The Secret Proceedings file, Volume I26, gives a good amount of information about the Raja's effort to secure the help of some stray Muslims to get Chenabasava and the rest of his enemies killed. When the Residency officials were busy collecting evidences about all this, an order from Fort St. George, dated the 27th February I834, said that Colonel James Fraser was appointed in the place of Henry Graeme to 'carry on negotiations with Coorg', and a letter from the Secretary to the Commissioner, Bangalore, said that:

"On the I9th February I834, a man who states that he was of Egypt, and that his name Syed Mustapha, having first given to the Resident Casamajor the information to the Commissioners, said that he had lately been in Coorg where the Raja had imparted to him the secret of his having engaged a person, now at Bangalore, to assassinate Devammaji and her husband, that with a view of enabling himself not only to divulge that design out to afford proof of it he had obtained the confidence of the person alluded to and by pretending that he was about to return to Coorg, had got a letter from him, intended for the Raja which he produced. The letter bore outwardly a direction not to the Raja but to one in Mangalore. This, however, was a false direction.

"On opening the letter it was found that the evidences that they had gathered, were correct. The Raja of Coorg was not named in it nor is any other person but the style of it is decidedly that of an address to a prince and it is evidently was not intended for a person whose true address be that which is on the envelope. The object of it seems to obtain a supply of money-----They, therefore, without further delay, apprehended the man and seized his papers and things. He was found armed with three loaded pistols, a sword and a dagger.

"The Commissioner examined both the informer and the accused. They compared the handwriting which the accused denied all knowledge-----It is possible that the purpose of the accused was merely to obtain money from the Raja by false promises-----He was armed----- and he really meditated some violent deed-----The guilt of the Raja was the same if he had hired him to perpetrate the assassination which he alleged to have designed.

"The person apprehended says that he was from Constantinople and calls himself as Syed Muhammad. He is a man of fair complexion for an Asiatic. He admits that he was lately in Coorg and that he received presents of money and a horse. Previously, it was said, that he was in Cannanore-----".

When such evidences were gathered against the Raja, the news came that Governor-General Lord William Bentinck had already arrived in Mysore. The Raja wrote to Dara Shet on the 27th March I834 that:

"----I have been given to understand that the Lord Saheb has arrived in Mysore- a place so near. I therefore say that if you come to me as soon as you receive this letter it will be much better to carry on any kind of negotiation quickly.

"Lord Bentinck wrote to me two letters but I have not yet answered and he would misunderstand me. Should you find opportunity to meet him you should tell him that he wrote to me and the reasons for my delay to reply was due to my Munshi-----."

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??????CHAPTER XIII??????

Proclamations and Counter-Proclamations.

The Armies Began to Move:

From now on there were no more formalities and diplomatic courtesis and policies. The British had exhausted all means of communication and reasoning with the Raja who had been obstinate all along on flimsy grounds. The Company Government had ample proof in their hands to say that the Raja was cruel, murderous and an illegal occupant of the throne. Most of the Indian chiefs all over India were the same because the native chiefs never knew the art of statecraft. They were simply cruel and barberous, and it was in order to recue the people of the country, the British stepped in and that was indeed a 'god-sent' and epoch-making incident in the history of the country. The Company Government were obliged to protect the people of the tributary states against their own sovereigns and to protect the sovereigns against the foreign aggression. The then States which were under their protection were together of 6,I4,6I0 square miles in area, and those were i) Travancore & Cochin ii) Hyderabad iii) Mysore iv) Oudh v) Gwalior vi) Berar & Nagpur vii) Indore viii) Baroda ix) Coorg x) Kurnul xi) Sikkim xii) Bhopal xiii) Satara ~~xiv~~ Kolahapur & Savantavadi xiv) Cutch xv) Jhansi & Bhandelkhan chiefs xvi) Bikanir, Kotah, Sirmur etc xvii) Assam, Manipur etc.

In the states where the rulers adjusted to the new situations those were retained as native states and all the others were reduced as Company territories, and Coorg was one among such states. From I793 to I834, the British had not directly interfered in the affairs of the state although their advice and technical assistance were always there. The survey work, land revenue system, postal system, etc were in operation even before I830 and the first military highway was opened in I829 from Mysore to Cannanore through Siddapur and Virarajpet.

In the third week of March I834, the armies of the Company Government began to take positions while the Raja had already started his defensive operations many months before that by felling trees, blocking the highways, digging trenches, conscripting soldiers, collecting espionage etc etc. Although the details about the preparations in Coorg are lacking but the records of the British administration are abundant as to their operative and administrative systems. The Commissary-General, Sir Mark Cubbon, wrote to the Fort St. George Government from Bangalore, on the I0th March I834, that:

"I have the honour to report for the information of the Rt.hon'ble the Governor-in-Council that the troops ordered------is held in readiness at the station for field service-----and be put in movement at a few days notice, fully equipped and provided with every description of supply which they are likely to require during the expected operations.

ii) I have reasons to believe that no delay will occur in putting in movement the troops ordered to be held in readiness at Bellary and arrangements are in progress to enable the Western column to advance for Cannanore, if necessary, by the end of the 24th.

iii) I beg leave to state that the Hospital Establishments inclusive of every requisite supply and comfort in that branch are regulated in communication with the Super-

Superintending Sergeant that each Column will arrive on the borders of Coorg within fifteen days with grain for the troops-----arrack for two months------biscuits for fifteen days for the Europeans-----and, perhaps, a salutary change of ration upon entering the jungles or wherever the officers commanding may be pleased to direct.

iv) The whole of the stores and supplies proceeding with the troops, will be conveyed either by public cattle or hired cattle of the best description procurable, for, I do not think it would be advisable to employ Banjaras upon this service even if they could have been collected in sufficient time-----.

v) I have placed the deputy Assistant Commissary-General, Capt. Butcher, in charge of the Commissariat with the Western Column, the sub-Assistant Lieut. Le Hardy in the Northern Column and sub-Assistant Lieut. Robertson with Eastern Column. I shall myself accompany the latter to give a general superintentendance to the department and remain with it so long as I may consider my presence necessary or advantageous to the service."

Some More Army Units:

Even in those days when the communication and contact between people were so difficult, the British worked out the whole thing with such thoroughness that it was really amazing even now. They simultaneously kept the army units all around Coorg alert, and a letter from F. Minchin, commanding Wynad, dated the 20th March 1834, said that:

"------Whether I shall be justified in distributing the copies of proclamation of the war amongst the troops of the Raja who are stationed along the frontier in front of my out-posts near Tirunelly. We are so near that my advanced posts are in sight of the Coorg troops and I have been careful and anxious that no provocation should take place from our side------.

"I am desirous not to infringe on the strict line of defensive conduct which I am instructed by the officer of my division."

This letter was answered by Col. J. Fraser from Srirangapatna that he had no objection to his deferring to publish the proclamation until he is joined by the two Companies of the 51st Native Infantry from Palghat. Col. Fraser also addressed a letter to the Governor-General, dated the 23rd March 1834, stating that:

"I am directed-----that no previous submission of the ruling power or other political power should be permitted to interfere with the march of the force to Coorg unless the Raja shall have unconditionally surrendered himself, or unless you should have secured the possession of his person, and I should see no reason to apprehend any further hostility towards us from any quarter in Coorg-----."

In an earlier letter of the 20th March, and from his camp at Bidadi, Colonel Fraser wrote to the Governor-General who was already in Mysore, that:

"------The whole of the Eastern Column of the force from Bangalore proceeding to Coorg, are on their march and probably will arrive at Peryapatna on the 27th or 28th.

"The information respecting Coorg may then have obtained and arrangements for the ensuing plan of military operations will about the same time have admitted of the necessary instructions being forwarded to the other columns, the Northern, Western and the auxialiary Western, and I shall hope that by the 2nd or the 3rd April, the whole of our force will have entered Coorg territory-----.

"Although the Raja himself is actuated by a very unfavourable disposition towards the British Government, and is organizing every means of hostility against us, yet that the people in general of his country are far from participating in his feelings, and, on the contrary are prepared to submit to our Government as soon as the British force is sufficiently near to afford them protection against the dreaded resentment and cruelty of their prince------."

Governor-General's Instructions:

The Governor-General Lord William Bentinck was already on the move along Madras and Bangalore. From Mysore he had programmed to go to Ootacmund, and on the 13th March 1834, he wrote a letter to Col. James Fraser, the political Agent, that:

"-----In the course of the ensuing campaign against Coorg, property- private and public, may fall into the hands of our troops in Mercara-----You will adopt the most effectual measures for protecting such property from plunder-----With regard to the private property of the individuals-----those may be restored to its owners on proof of proprietory right being adduced to your satisfaction, but with regard to the money or other description of property belonging to the Raja or to the public-----you will keep it in safe custody and that you will take the earliest opportunity of reporting to me----.

"The above instructions are to be considered as applicable to property which may be found in places carried by assault as in that case the booty captured must be reserved for the orders of the Crown and the Commander-in-Chief of India solicited to appoint prize agents as is usual on such occasions-----."

From this it was clear that the Company Government had taken things as for granted and that their success in the war was certain. They distributed a formally worded proclamation of war in the end of the month of March 1834 while the Army units from many parts of the Deccan started moving towards Coorg. The Commander-in-Chief's letter of the 18th February 1834, which was already quoted in the previous chapters, had also added that: "-----I am confirmed by the experience of the late Col. James Stevenson who under the Duke of Wellington, conducted the operations in Wynad, adjoining Coorg, and, he has often told me how severely he felt the want of cavalry in commencement of that service and that when it was sent it was of great use. I think one squadron should be with each column and the 7th Light Cavalry at Bangalore is most efficient and adopted for the service and may be replaced by a regiment from Arcot-----The artillery force that I would recommend is:

The Native troops from Bangalore- 4 guns and 6 pounders,
The Company of the European Foot Artillery- 6 guns and 6 pounders,
Half Company of Golundavza (?) from Cannanore- 4 guns and 6 pounders,
Half " European Foot from Bellary- four guns and 6 pounders,
One Company " " " St. Thomas Mount- 4 guns and 6 pounders.

"700 sappers and miners may be collected for this service from Bangalore, Hosur and Nilgiries-----The Native Infantry Corps may be estimated at 650 Rank and file each. Thus six battalions will give 3900 men or two battalions to each of the three columns-----.

The 32nd Regiment of the Native Infantry from Cannanore,
The 36th " " " " " French Rocks,
The 24th " " " " " Harihar,
The 31st Light Infantry " " Bellary,
The 35th and 48th Native Infantry " Bangalore.

The temporary Light and Rifle Company from Madras, Vellore and Pallavaram must join the above-----The ~~four~~ force, exclusive of artillery, must be estimated at 6300 fighting men and including rank and file, the figure is 7,080 men-----.

The military Board will be prepared to furnish the Commander-in-Chief with every information and assistance-----The military Auditor-General be desired to submit with as ~~ly~~ little delay and with as much accuracy as possible, an estimate of the expense----".

The Raja's Counter-Proclamation:

When the British had issued the copies of their proclamation in four or five South Indian languages and distributed all over, the Raja too got his ready but it contained a lot of abusive and undecorous wordings. That piece of writing was simply abusive and

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and it made a distressing reading. To add to that the proclamation was too long and in contrast to that of the British, which was very short and couched in diplomatic terms, the Raja's was a total warfare in words and nothing other than that. That counter-Proclamation issued on the 30th and 31st March 1834, said that:

"Proclamation published for the information and guidance of the Hindus, Muslims, Paleygars, public servants, ryots, chetty merchants, and people of other castes in Hindustan:

"It is welknown that the Kaffers, Nazers (Christians), low Faranghis, with a view to convert the people to their dirty faith, have ill-intentionally polluted the temples, mosques etc of Bangalore, Cudapah, Nagar, Rampet, and several other places, sent their 'Padres' (missionary fathers) and ruined them. This circumstance is certainly too well-impressed on the minds of everyone- what more need be said?

"Those who have from time to time strenously attempted to convert by force, people of other religions, have by the commands of God, perished, but set this side, an instance in proof of this may be given; to embrace his religion, and with this view ruined a great number of people, destroyed the Hindu temples and committed many oppressive acts not being acceptable to God-----This fact is welknown to all of you. Now the Kaffers, Nazars, and low Faranghis have in like manner commenced to destroy the religion observed by people of different castes and to introduce their own religion. When evil comes people lose their senses. When death comes medicine avails naught; thus their own end is fast approaching. There is no doubt about that-----.

"These Kaffers, Nazars and low Faranghis have now wickedly determined to wage war with the Haleri Samsthana, and have accordingly collected some black people of Hindustan whom they are going to send in front, that they may all be cut down and the race thus annhilated in some degree, thinking that by these means that they will be able easily to convert the rest to their faith. It is therefore to protect people of all castes against such invasion, the Haleri Samsthana have determined to meet with arms those Kaffars, Nazars and low Faranghis. Accordingly if all of you will join the Army of the Haleri Samsthana, you will not only be defended but you will also render the devastation of those foreigners quite easily. After this is done, you will be protected and enabled to live happy and contented following the religion of your respective castes unmolested. Do not think that another such opportunity will offer itself again.

"To avert the evil which threatens you now, we have taken all this trouble and published this proclamation. Should any of you pay no attention to it, but keep yourself neutral, you will at last find yourselves under the yoke of the Faranghis, lose your caste and experience the greatest misery to the end of your lives, and after death you will not be admitted before God, for having thus sinned against him. Do not doubt this. Therefore, if you people of all countries join the Haleri Samsthana and help it, you will meet with every kind of protection from it, and be able to live happy. Accordingly it is expected that all of you will come forward and help the Haleri Samsthana.

P.S.: It is further hereby commanded that those Nazars, Kadders and Faranghis will in order to get possession of the Haleri Samsthana, spare no time or pains to gain you over. They will give ten where one will be enough. Let this not allure you and make you swerve from your real intention or lead you to entangle yourselves, for, after they attain their object they will oppress you and violate your religion----".

"Those Wicked Englishmen":

The Raja's spicely and bitterly phrased and illogically reasoned or argued proclamation did not help to win his cause. The British had already surrounded his Samsthana. The Collector of Malabar wrote from Tellichery that no salt had been allowed to enter Coorg. Likewise, the small territory suffered many other disadvantages during the proclamation of the war. The counter proclamation of the 30th March said, that:

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"The explanation of a proclamation, issued for the knowledge of the bad English people who are mean slaves and servants of the auspicious feet of the Haleri Samsthana.

"In answer to a proclamation of the bad English men, son of a whore, who in a state of forgetting Mahadeva and through pride had written on a paper whatever occurred to his mind for the purpose of giving information to the inhabitants of Haleri Samsthana, and fastened the same near the boundary (of Coorg).

"I, the slave of my master's Majesty, (god), let you know as follows:

"That the proclamation which has been fastened in the boundary by the wicked Englishmen, the son of a slave, is not at all possible even to be seen with our eyes or hear with our ears, and in the very time tying the said proclamations which are replete with indecent subjects, the hearts of all of us, who are the servants of the king's feet, were inflamed as the fire through wind. The wicked Christian European, the son of a slave, who resolved to prepare this should be beheaded and his head thrown out, the hands, mouth and head of the person who wrote this should be cut off——."

In the modern sense of the term, the wordings in these counter-proclamation are not at all impressive, and it could be said that it was so even in those days. The Raja played upon the religion saying that the 'Sons of Slaves' the 'wicked Englishmen' were trying to convert people, killing people, and so on, but the correspondences that he had had with the English fail to justify his points of view. With nothing substantial to say, the Raja was fighting a losing battle by mere words. Moreoever, the Raja's proclamation did not reach the people outside Coorg nor did it do much impact on the minds of the people within Coorg. In the meantime, the British press in India made much of this so-called Coorg expedition, and the "Calcutta Courier" of the 25th March 1834, gave an introductory note about Coorg together with General Walsh's writings on Coorg, and then added that:

"We hear that troops from Bangalore destined for the expedition are all clear of the place; the 4th Regiment of the Native Infantry leading in advance. As it may not be without interest at this particular moment we have in another page copies General Walsh's Reminiscences- a descriptive account of Coorg country. It will give our readers an idea of its great strength and in addition to its former great natural and artificial defences. We hear that the present determined and pregnacious Raja has undermined the greater part of this little patch of territory. The infatuation of superstitious supplies the characteristics of daring and obstinate courage- inverting the moving principle on this occasion we might suppose, the 'Man of Coorg' to seek the renown of a twelfth Charles——."

A Picturesque Scenery:

The Eastern Column that was under Col. Lindsey moved fast along Peryapatna and then to Bettadpur with Col. J. Fraser closely following the Army. As the Army reached Bettadpur on about the 20th March, a report was sent to the Supreme Government from the Peryapatna camp on the 25th March 1834, as follows:

"Our regiment- the 4th Native Infantry, in advance of the Column of the Coorg Field Force, reached this place (Bettadpur) yesterday morning after a very pleasant march from Bangalore (left on the 14th March) without any sickness to speak of- only six men out of 612 being in hospital and those are trifling cases. Our men are in the best spirits, not to be discouraged by the reports 'self-interested'——through many of the villages we passed have endeavoured to impress upon them that we should die of fever or never return. They look upon it as a month's hard business and then expect to return to Bangalore- the 35th and the 48th going to Coorg or French Rocks subsequently- according to circumstances", wrote the Bangalore correspondent from Peryapatna.

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"Thispart of the country presents a strange contrast to that of any other part of Mysore or the Karnatic- the scenery around here is very picturesque, and the rude mountains and the romantic appearence of Coorg country in our front presents a strange contrast, being covered with an imperious jungle to all appearences from here, as far as the eyes can reach. We are encamped on a fine high ground to the westward of Peryapatna- only three miles from Coorg frontiers and waiting further instructions, none having waited our arrival, and knowing nothing of our future operations whether proceeding to Mercara via Peryapatna or via Bettadpur------.

"The hills of Mercara are distinctly visible from our camp, and the Raja, if he likes to take it must have a good view of our camp. Since yesterday it is said, he had strengthened his advanced post from twenty to 150 men but nothing is as yet known how he purposes to act since the Proclamation of war has been sent to him. The climate here at present seems delightful and early this morning at 6 a.m. the thermometer was 65- the ground covered with heavy dew so much so that tents of officers and men were dripping wet and a dense mist or fog in consequence covered the Coorg jungle till dispelled by the heat of the sun, sufficient to enable us to judge of the unhealthiness of the jungle-----As far as Srirangapatna, the heat was excessive since then we had heavy thunder showers and the country is quite green around------.

"It is said that the Raja of Coorg has erected bamboo stockades every two miles on the road to Mercara; they present, as mentioned to me yesterday morning a considerable front 20 to 30 feet high, the bamboos are closely rivetted and cut sharp and pointed at the top with loop holes to fire from- within musket shot of the road- strong embankments of earth protect them with ditches inside and outside two feet deep and six feet broad------.

"I speak only from one report-----We have endeavoured to persuade our men to proceed; they are in good health and in the best of spirits awaiting the moment when they may imitate the examples of their brethren of 'Assaye'(?). We know not when other corps are to arrive- We are only 612 in all- the Europeans and natives included.

"Accounts of the Raja's force are much exaggerated, but from the information I obtained in advance, 8000 are said to be the number of his army, among whom about 3,000 are the discharged Mysoreans- mostly the Muslims."

The Army Enters Coorg:

From Peryapatna, the British Army moved to Bettadpur and then prepared to enter into Coorg. The whole idea was to finish off the operations before the monsoon had set in, despite impediments due to the rugged Coorg landscape. So much so, the Army was firmly encamped at Bettadpur during the last week of March 1834. The Secretary, Military Board, Fort St. George, Madras, wrote to the Government on the 1st April 1834, that:

"------In obedience to the instructions------a statement of quantity of gun-powder at present in store at several stations of the Army, has been forwarded-----".

Col. J. Fraser, whose assignment was now designated as political agent for Coorg, wrote to the Madras Government, from his camp at Bettadpur, on the 1st April, that:

"------The main part of the Eastern Column moved from Peryapatna and is now encamped at Bettadpur. We move again tomorrow (2nd April) after crossing the Kaveri and encamping at Coorg territory. Col. Stewart will enter the district on the Nanjarajapatna road. Col. Foulis of the Western Column will ascend the Heggala Ghat. Lieut.-Col. Jackson with his auxiliary Column from Mangalore will establish himself in the lower taluqs of Coorg. Col. Waugh of Northern Column will advance towards Yelusavirasime and he will meet the Eastern Column at Haranghy on the 3rd inst.

"The whole force is animated by the very best spirit------".

All along the route, copies of the proclamation of the war against Coorg, were widely distributed in Malabar and round-about districts and in different languages. Posters in

in Kannada- 44 large copies and about 300 smaller ones, some with the seal of the Governor-General, were distributed all along the Coorg frontiers, Nagar, Chitradurg and elsewhere. Arrangements were made to bring three more regiments to Srirangapatna, and the Collectors of Malabar, Kanara and Wynad were instructed to be alert. In another letter from his Bettadpur camp, Col. Fraser wrote to the Government on the Ist April, that:

"------Acknowledge------copy of the inscription upon a large gold medal presented by the Raja in January to Dara Shet upon an inferior metal and for distribution among his troops in October 1833.

"The script of the English proclamation was translated into Kannada and a few copies into Malayalam for distribution in Malabar and directions were sent to the British authorities in Bellary, Dharwar, South Kanara, Wynad, Malabar and Mysore commissioners.

"The Raja employed an emissary for the purpose of assassinating the fugitives- Chennabasava and his wife Devammaji at Bangalore- a fact------will at once stamp his character with the impress of the last degree of base atrocity.

"-----The copy of the inscription upon a large gold medal presented by the Raja in January 1834 to the Parsee merchant Dara Shah- a commercial agent employed for many years past in the service of the Raja and his ancestors, and struck upon some inferior metal for distribution among his troops to the number of 8000 to 10,000 in the month of October 1833."

Inside Coorg on the 2nd April:

On the morning of the 2nd April 1834, the Coorg Field Force, Eastern Column, under the command of Col. P.Lindsey, marched from Bettadpur, entered the Coorg territory and then pitched their tents in Hebbale, a populated village on the Eastern borders. From his Hebbale camp, Col. Lindsey wrote on the 2nd April, that:

"I do myself the honour to report for the information of the Commander-in-Chief, that the headquarters division of the Eastern column of the Coorg Field Force under my command entered the Coorg territory this morning crossing the Kaveri at Hebbale.

"The passage of the river was slightly defended by a party of 200 men who disappeared as soon as the head of the Column had reached the middle of the ford.

"I have not yet received the reports of the operations of the other Columns."

Colonel James Fraser, the political-agent for Coorg, who was on his way to Coorg with the victorious army, gave an account of Col. Lindsey's progress in Kanive and Haranghy areas. He wrote from his Hebbale camp on the 2nd April, that:

"Unless any particular and unforeseen obstacle occurs, we expect to be at Haranghy or even beyond it tomorrow at Mercara- in the course of the next day------The whole of this part of the force is in perfect health. Major Steele, the deputy Quarter-Master-General, was in the Kanive road meeting the defence, and Col. Stewart at the Nanjarajapatna road-----."

The army units of the Western and Northern Columns were also moving ahead inside the Coorg territory at the same pace and they had already made much advance. The British were also keenly alert at many minor posts as well, and Capt. Minchin, Commanding Officer, Wynad, wrote from his camp at the southern borders of Coorg, on the 2nd April, to Col. Fraser, stating that:

"Regarding Koovamars who left for Coorg two months ago, might return to us if they are pardoned. I trust that you will empower me to send emissaries from their friends in Wynad to urge their immediate return, which would tend to check the distrust which had much characterised the feeling of the natives of Wynad towards our Government."

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As the British Army entered Coorg, the reaction of the Raja of Coorg, had suddenly become different. He felt that he could no longer fool anyone as he had tried to fool all that long. He was almost in the state of panic and frustration and he realised that his fall was imminent. On the 2nd April 1834, the Raja addressed a letter to the officer Commanding Coorg troops, Col. Lindsey, stating that:

"I have not attacked you nor have I any intention of doing so. When I am in treaty, and conferences are in progress between the British Government and myself, it is not good that you should assemble your troops and invade my country without giving me notice and fighting with ignorant foolish people and cause distress to your own seasoned soldiers as well as to my raw troops.

"I beg, therefore, you will withdraw and encamp in the first clear spot. I have no wish to engage in war with you. I have informed the English authority. I now repeat it that the people of this country are not under control. I have now persuaded my people to be patient. I have written to Lord Bentinck and Col. James Fraser, to this effect and that war may be avoided until the answer will arrive and some arrangements will be made. It is not just that you should in the meantime act offensively.

"As this is a pressing affair, I have written this short notice to you with my own situation and the words of my agents; the bearer of this letter, Laxminarayana (the Dewan) will confirm what I have said. A letter of this nature have been sent to several English officers who have led troops into my country."

The British Army Moved Ahead:

The British Government had already struggled for over six years to bring the Raja to his senses, and this invasion of the country of his was shrewdly calculated. They had no time to hear his last minute pleas because by then it was too late. They had decided and had made all arrangements to subdue the Raja, capture the country and stop the atrocity that he had been committing for years. The above letter of the Raja was translated into English by the Kannada translator, J.A.R.Stevenson, and was personally delivered to Col. Fraser at Fraserpet by Dewan Laxminarayana. But then it was of no use at all. The whole army that entered Coorg by several Columns would not retreat just for that piece of paper- a supposed plea of the Raja to stop fighting and start talking. They, on the other hand, decided to advance towards the capital, Mercara, and that was their ultimate purpose and target. On the 3rd April 1834, Col. Lindsey, Commanding Coorg Field Force, reported to the Adjutant-General of the Army, from his Haranghy camp, that:

"I have the honour to report to you for information of H.E. the Commander-in-Chief that the Head-quarters division of the Eastern Column of Coorg Field Force under my command attacked this morning and took the pagoda of Ramaswami Kanive and effected passage across the Ghat. The enemy made rather more resistance that I had reason to expect.

"They again made a stand at different barriers situated in a thick jungle, the approach to which was much obstructed, but the troops speedily dislodged and drove them off---".

In another letter to the Quarter-Master-General of the army, Fort St. George, dated the 3rd April 1834, Col. Lindsay wrote from his Haranghy camp, that:

"I have the honour to report------that the Head-quarters force under my command arrived at this place at 3 p.m. today, having been engaged with the enemy once at the fortified pagoda and barrier at Ramaswami Kanive, and again at a barrier within two miles of this ground. The Force was ten hours under arms in making ten miles owing to the nature of the road, trees felled and thrown across and other obstacles, but I am happy to add that everything has arrived in this camp."

To the Secretary to the Governor-General who was than camping in Ootacmund and following the course of events of war, Col. James Fraser, the Political Agent, wrote on the 3rd April 1834, from his Haranghy camp, as below:

"The force under Col. Lindsay left Hebbale and reached Haranghy at 2 p.m. The first resistance was at Ramaswami Kanive where there was a strong post------By a report of the villagers and information received from some prisoners taken at Kanive, it appears about 350 men were engaged at that place of whom about 300 men were Coorgs and the rest Muslims------We are in the mid-way between the eastern boundary of Coorg and Madakara (Mercara)------The Northern Column of Col Waugh has not yet met at Haranghy-----.

"No communication of any nature whatever has yet reached me from the Raja or from any influential headmen of his country; and I fear that we shall continue to labour under our present ignorance of the political state of Coorg until the power of the Raja is totally subdued and the minds of his subjects relieved from that oppressive situation in which they are now retained-----."

Northern Column Advanced:

Kibbetta is a place about a mile south of Somwarpet town, and the Northern Column under Col. Waugh had encamped there on the 2nd April, and they had to face some tough fight along that route. In the meantime, on the 4th April, Col. P. Lindsay sent another report fron his advanced post at Jumboor, stating that:

"We have arrived here (Jumboor) today. From the natural difficulty of the road, and the obstacles to be removed, I was unable to proceed further than five miles from the capital and have two guns covered by one Company of H.M.'s 39th Regiment and the 4th Regiment Native Infantry- nearly one mile in advance. I have received a report from the Northern Column, dated the 1st instant, at Shanivarasante, and another from the Western Auxiliary Column dated the 29th ultimo, nine miles from Kumbla of which I will transmit copies------A flag of truce from the Raja of Coorg arrived in camp this afternoon with the proposals for negotiation, but I shall continue to advance; my progress will be regulated by the difficulties to overcome and they appear more formidable as the Force advanced."

A report from the Collector of Mangalore, on the 4th April said that the Western Coorg Force took six people of Coorg, all Gowdas, as prisoners, who said that they "have been compelled against their will to work in making stockades and to engage in the war." In the meantime, the Auditor-General's office wrote to Fort St. George that "arrangements be made with a view to payments at the office of the paymaster at Bellare for the families of troops at present serving in the Coorg Field Force." A man named Chenappa, a Bunt of Bellare taluq of the then Coorg state, when questioned on the 4th April, said that:

"One Manjappa, a Jain of Puttur of Coorg State, said that all ryots had been carried to serve for Coorg Government and that he was also taken to Katchery at Puttur. Subedar Madayya (Codanda) and Parpathigar Venkappa called us and gave a letter for Mangalore. The letter was a packet containing proclamation-----".

A third ~~of~~ man from Puttur deposed that these Chenappa and Manjappa were going to Mangalore with the copies of Raja's proclamation. It was wrapped in a red kerchief tied to Chenappa's waist, and those men were deputed by Subedar Madayya. The proclamation of the Raja distributed in Mangalore and Malabar, said that:

"It is further made known that the propositions set forth by these Kaffers (or Farranghis) are with a corrupt view because their views are to assemble all the natives from Hindustan and station them in front, and thereby suffer them to cut down and also your

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your spirit so that you will become weak and then convert you to their religion. Therefore to prevent such bad days, we will all consent to assist the troops placed in Coorg, and, thereby you will get rid of all your troubles, and the Faranghis would be expelled at once. Your religion and caste will thus be saved, those will not be polluted and you may depend that such fair opportunity will hereafter not arise-----.

"Tipu Sultan tried to convert the country but he failed and now the British have come, but I (the Raja) determined to fight them in Coorg, and, therefore, appeal to all the people to join us in that fight------".

The Raja's proclamation was worded in abusive terms, as already said, and that appealed little to common people, whereas the British Government's proclamation was short and straight to the point. Moreover, they had a vast area under them to prepare and distribute copies of the same all over Mysore, Dharwar, and the west coast regions. The main charges against the Raja was that he tried to kill the fugitives, Chenabasava and Devammaji, ~~the Raja~~ that he tried to placate people to kill them by distributing them gold and money to Dara Shah and others, that he detained the emissary sent by the Company Government contrary to the principles of international law and morality, and that the Raja himself was very atrocious to his subjects and that he behaved arrogantly towards the British.

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CHAPTER XIV.

Coorg was Captured & the Raja Detained.

Northern Column in Trouble:

The Coorg expedition of the British was just a minor war with some skirmishes here and there, and the Company's forces had very little to fight. They had the trouble only in clearing their way ahead although they did a little fighting in the Heggala Ghat and near Kibbetta in the North Coorg. Col. G.Waugh who commanded the Northern Column, wrote to the Quarter-Master-General, on the 4th April I834, that:

"——The Column had not proceeded more than a few hundreds of yards——It found the road blockaded with felled trees that it became necessary to clear a different passage with which the labour of cutting through the field of cultivation in the several hollows, sloping their steep embankments and dragging up the guns and other carriages by means of manual labour, much time was consumed in gaining a very short distance. As the Column approached a village situated in a wood near the base of the pass in which the enemy's principal possession called BAKKA is situated, a feeble fire was opened which was readily put down——The position is considered totally impregnable to the means of this Column, the only possibility of assaulting it with success would be by shelling out the enemy when I determined upon the mode of the attack adopted, I felt convinced to carry the entire line with guns into the Ghat——.

"I have determined to remove the Column to fresh ground, three and a half miles to the rear for the convenience of the supplies, the stock of which runs short owing to the consumption being greater than was first estimated, and to which I am further induced by the heavy list of the wounded, for many of whom there is no regular carriage. I shall of course forward to the field hospital at Hosacotta (?) such portion as may be conveniently removed——I am still unable to transmit a more correct return of killed and wounded——".

This camp at Kibbetta was getting its supplies from Manjrabad, but the men had to encounter trouble with the Kodava soldiers led by the men like Mathanda Appacha. Similarly at the Heggala Ghat too there were skirmishes but all that soon over the moment the Eastern Column reached Mercara within a couple of days after that. On the 4th April, Col. J.S.Fraser, wrote a letter to Viraraja who was then at his Nalknad house, that:

"——With the orders of the Governor-General——I have to inform you in answer to your letter, that if you wish to stay the further progress and the hostile operations of the British troops, you must in the first instance, deliver over to me in safety Karunakara Menon. Secondly, you must unconditionally surrender yourself in my camp and submit to whatever terms the Rt. hon'ble the Governor-General dictates."

The Last phase of the Expedition:

The Eastern column under Col. Lindsay moved ahead towards Mercara. A sum of Rs. 5,60,000 was sanctioned by the Company Government to "the British Resident at Mysore to enable him to meet his demands accruing on the expedition". While the expedition was on the Tahashildars of Bantwal and Vittal wrote for the protection of the Coorg people over there from the disorderly plunderers like Moplahs and Kaffers. While that was the case on the west, at the far South, Capt. Minchin, commanding Wynad wrote that "the Kurubas were on the side of the Raja and that none of their houses were molested. He said that "Moothanna of Tirunelly, the Malayalee chief, I fear, has been transferred", and that there was no trouble from that quarter, whatsoever.

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The Western Column that was coming along the Heggala Ghat had almost reached Virarajpet. The Assistant Quarter-Master-General wrote to his officer in charge of the Coorg Field Force on the 5th April 1834, from his Heggala camp that:

"I have the honour to acquaint you for information------that this column has been permitted to proceed without molestation from the Stony River (where a flag of truce was displayed by the enemy) to this place- a couple of miles in advance of the Heggala Ghat. The forces will proceed on to Virarajpet in the course of an hour where it will wait the arrival of the guns, two of which are at present in the rear and where the officer commanding the Western Column trusts he may receive further instruction."

On the same day, the 5th April, Fredrick Adams, Governor of Madras, who was camping in Ootacmund along with the Governor-General, wrote in his minutes, that:

"The advance auxiliary Column of the Coorg Field Force has been through a position of the Raja's country the inhabitants of which have evinced every disposition to submit to the authority of the Government while at the same time they have expressed their fear of incurring the resentment of those who still side with the Raja and of being molested and plundered by gangs of disorderly and disaffected persons, particularly the Moplahs- to which they consider themselves exposed unless immediate measures are taken by us for their security.

"I derive my information on this subject by means of a letter of Col. Jackson to my private Secretary, in which it is stated by the Colonel. I have this moment had several patels and principal ryots with me- all expressing their utmost desire to be received under the protection of the British Government------.

"I have directed the Collector of South Kanara to depute Mr. Huddleston Stokes, his head assistant, and additional Sub-Collector, for the purpose------into that part of Coorg Raja's territories contiguous to the Collectorate of Kanara which may have been passed by our troops for the purpose of arranging security and confidence to the inhabitants of it, directing him at the same time to avoid making any declaration as to the intentions of the British Government in the future disposal of those districts, or doing anything which may indicate a determination or design on its part to assume permanent possession------".

The Raja Writes from Nalknad:

The Raja was now definitely on the defensive. He saw that he had no hope of surviving unless he surrendered himself to the British. All along he had been fooling himself and now he saw his folly, but then it was too late for him to make amends for his past sins. The British had decided to ask for his surrender unconditionally, and that was only a question of time now. From his Nalknad residence, the Raja wrote to Colonel Fraser on the 5th April 1834 who had already reached Mercara by that time. The Raja said that:

"I acknowledge yours of the 4th inst. and noted the contents in which you state that as an unavoidable preliminary to a cessation of hostilities and of the immediate advance of the British troops, it is required that at the first instance, Kalpati K. Menon should be delivered up, and in the second you said that I "should come into the camp and place myself in the unconditional disposal of the Governor-General." I have accordingly given orders yesterday to the release of Menon, the Shirestedar, and his followers. They have been now sent.

"With them I have also deputed a Vakil, Abdul Satraf Khan. I have explained all my opinion to them; they will communicate to you all that. I am your old friend. It is my wish that you will please continue even after the friendship (which subsisted) between the two Governments without any interruption. That's the only wish I have. With respect to my coming into your camp, you will know by means of the said Menon and

and Satraf Khan, I have forwarded a letter to the Lord Saheb (William Bentinck) reporting that I------leave to Menon, and desiring his Lordship to write to me any other matter if he wishes. Be it known to you. (As this) was an important affair, I have stated to you the principal points. I will afterwards inform you (all the news). Moreover, as your troops have attacked, I at once left the properties, jewels, and documents of the palace at Mercara and arrived in Nalknad. Thus being the case it is not proper that you should advance further with the troops. You will be pleased to stop the troops at the same place where they now remain-----and allow these PAHARE CHOWKIs (guards) at Mercara to watch my properties.

"I trust that similar letter which I transmitted to you respecting the cessation of hostilities and peace to the address of Sardar Saheb who came with troops, had halted near Nanjarajapatna. These gentlemen refused to receive my letter and sent them back saying that Head Officer in high rank are in Ramaswami Kanive. I have sent that letter also to you------Between friends what need is to say more?"

In another letter of the same date, but reached after about six days, the Raja of Coorg wrote to the British camp officer, Col. Fraser, that:

"-----Your desire that I should send back Karunakara Menon with his attendants has been fulfilled. I beg that you will call back your troops who have come to fight in this territory. In the case of Chenabasava and other treacherous persons about whom I wrote formerly, I have now to request that you will keep them in your own country at a distance. I have heard that those persons are with your troops and have entered my territory. Of this is really the case, I beg that they may be quickly recalled; I shall esteem this as a great favour. Should you have any further demand upon me, I request that it may be made through Dara Shah when I will reply to it------.

"What shall I say regarding my own intentions? It is my wish to live on the same terms of amity and friendship as have been preserved from of old. I need not dilate upon this because in all my communications, I have never departed from the language of friendship------The moment I heard that fighting is going on------to prevent any senseless people from unnecessarily fighting, I desired that a white flag should be sent to make peace and I ordered my people in every direction to abstain from hostilities with Company's troops to make peace-----."

The Western Columns:

From the above letters it was clear that the Raja of Coorg had almost surrendered mentally, though not physically, to the British. As the British troops stormed into his territory he sent flags of truce in different directions, and sent two of his Dewans to Col. Fraser to talk over the surrender terms. From this the future of Coorg was almost decided but the future of the Raja himself was yet to be decided. Though the Eastern Column had successfully reached the Madakara (Mercara) fort and had begun to dictate terms to the Raja, the Northern and Western Columns had their own troubles. Col. Jackson of the Western Column that came through the Sampaje route, wrote on the 6th April 1834 from Kasaragode, to Col. Fraser stating that:

"-----It is now my painful duty to report that I determined on returning to Kumbla or should circumstances render it more desirable to Kasargode. I arrived at the latter place at 5-30 this evening with my force in a most disorganized and disheartened state. My object in proceeding to Podampalli was to procure carriage for the sick and wounded but this was entirely frustrated by the advance of Coorgs in great numbers------I had occupied the first march from Kumbla; I had proceeded three miles when a small attack was made on the head of the Column which produced the effect of throwing the whole baggage in the centre in confusion. The coolies decamped while the Coorgs taking advantage of the dense jungle to issue out as every favourable interval, massacred the followers, the sick and the wounded------The fire was kept up for about

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about an hour------I succeeded in stopping their fire and exerted to save ammunition and public stores, a portion of which, however, was lost------.

"Horses shot by the enemy's fire (lay dead)------Coorgs had collected in my rear in great number on the road to Kumbla. I, therefore, proceeded by a cross road to Kasargode with a view to save the ammunition------I am so completely overcome by the mortifying circumstances of my failure that I trust this account of it will be taken in lieu of a more ample detail. I beg to observe that I consider it a duty I owe to myself to apply for a general court-martial to investigate the true causes of my failure and my conduct as connected therewith, and I trust that the Brigadier will grant me his support in obtaining my request. My force being so totally unfit to move, it is my instruction to remain here for further instructions."

When this was the condition of the auxiliary force of Col. Jackson near Kasargode, Lieut.-Col. Waugh's troops that fought in skirmishes in North Coorg, crossed the Haranghee and reached the Jumbur Matt near Madapur. The Western Column of Col. Stewart planned to move ahead. He wrote from Virarajpet on the 6th April about his plans. He directed his columns to Arrekad near Siddapur, on the 4th April, and on the 5th he crossed the Kaveri. With Col. Foulis he arranged to divide the Column- one to Mercara and the other to Siddapur through Ammathi. Karim Khan was a favourite soldier of the Raja. This Khan had reinforcement of 300 men while on the side of the Company's troops, Lieut. Montgomery was a very active and zealous officer. From Manantody, Col. Minchin wrote that the Raja's proclamation papers were distributed among the troops on the Brahmagiri mountains, and at the stockades in front of his outposts at Coonoor, and through Minchin's efforts, Moothanna of Tirunelly supported the English and sent men as spies to bring news from Coorg.

The Raja Started Begging:

While the affairs around Coorg was calm and the British troops rested, the correspondence between the Raja and Col. Fraser went on during the 5th and the 6th April when the British officals had already taken control of the fort at Mercara. The Political Agent, James Fraser wrote another letter to the Raja who was in Nalknad, that:

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Highness's letter of yesterday, and am gratified to find that by the delivery of Kalpati Karunakara Menon, you have partially complied with the desire of H.E. the Governor-General.

"I beg to observe to your Highness that an essential part of the requisition which under order of the Governor-General, I had the honour to carry to you in my letter of the 4th April, still remained unfulfilled. I allude to your Highness coming into the British camp and awaiting the further expressions of their pleasure of the Governor-General.

"I have now the honour to state that your Highness may return if you should prefer it to your own palace at Mercara in which event there will be no objection to your being accompanied by your family to whom every respect will be shown and your being attended also by your personal domestics and followers.

"It must however be distinctly understood that should your Highness prefer residing in Mercara until I can have the honour of receiving the further instructions of the Governor-General, your personal attendants and followers must remain un-armed and that the Fort of Mercara must be garrisoned by the English troops.

"I have the honour of stating that in conclusion that until the above terms are complied with, nothing can occur which will be allowed to impede the continued advance of the British troops. 6th April 1834, Mercara, Sd) Col. J.S.Fraser."

This was a letter of ultimatum to the Raja to surrender and also to note that he would be under arrest as soon as he reached Mercara, though the letter was couched in diplomatic terms. The Raja, no doubt, was nervous, and in Nalknad he was practically hiding and trying to gain time. He knew that he was already a prisoner technically, but yet he indulged in some last-minute efforts. On the same day, the 6th April 1834, the British had already announced in Mercara that they had taken control of the State and, in fact, they had already hoisted the Union Jack in the fort premises. In the meantime, the Raja wrote on the same day from Nalknad, to the Governor-General who was camping in Ootacmund, stating that:

"———Col. Fraser 'Your H.E.'s Agent) has arrived———with troops by the route of Harranghy, and on the 4th April 1834 he wrote that I should go into his camp without delay and unconditionally obey the orders of the Governor-General. On receiving the intelligence, I became very dejected and sorrowful, the people of my Zenana said that if I were to go to the British camp they would all destroy themselves by poison- and so said the people who are all faithful to me. If such a catastrophe were to happen how could I support life?

"For a long time we have existed under your protection; we rely upon the same for the future. Be pleased out of kindness to recall your troops. Afterwards if you will indulgently permit me, I will make certain representations. It is in your power to relieve the distress into which I and my family and servants have fallen. The reputation of this act would attend you in both worlds. I pray that you will recall the troops who have entered into my country———.

"I directed my people to desist fighting and sent a white flag with a letter, but your troops continue advancing. They say that they need Governor-General's order, and, therefore, an order for their recall may speedily be issued———."

The British Occupation:

The operation part of the expedition was complete by the 6th April 1834, and Col. P. Lindsay, Commanding Coorg Force, wrote to the Adjutant-General, Fort St. George, Madras, on the 6th April, stating that:

"I have the honour to report for the information of H.E.Commander-in-Chief that the Head-Quarter Division of the Eastern Column of the Coorg Field Force marched to Mercara, the capital of Coorg, this morning and took possession of the Fort without any opposition, on the walls of which the British flag has been displayed under a Royal salute, and it is now occupied by the Light Company of H.M.'s 38th Regiment.

"The Fort was vacated by orders from the Coorg Raja previous to our arrival and it is expected that he will deliver himself into our hands tomorrow.

"The troops were much harrassed during the last two marches due to the natural difficulties of the road which were much increased by large trees being thrown across and caused much delay in removing them, and yesterday we could advance only five miles in 14 hours. We met with no obstruction from the enemy- all the stockades having been deserted on the occupants delivering themselves upon the approach of the Column and placed themselves under our protection.

"I am happy to say that the troops continue extremely healthy and nothing could exceed their exertions in over-coming the difficulties they had to contend with under the most trying circumstances, and I request you will express my sentiments of their good conduct———to H.E.the Commander-in-Chief."

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The Political Agent for Coorg, Col. James Fraser, wrote to the Commander, Coorg Field Force, Col. P.Lindsay, the next day, on the 7th April, that:

"The Raja of Coorg having in secret communication stated that he will direct his troops to discontinue hostilities against us and the fact of his having done so being proved by the way in which we have been allowed to advance from Haranghy. I have the honour to suggest to you that it may be expedient to send corresponding orders to the officer commanding the other columns of the Forces under your command to create all actual hostility against the Raja's troops unless fired upon or opposed on their march.

"The Columns as well as detachments from them where necessary will of course take such positions as you may deem proper with reference to our secure occupation of the country and to subsequent occupation in the event of the Raja not surrendering himself which however I have reason to believe he will do."

The Raja Wrote to Col.Fraser:

The Raja, of course, acknowledged his defeat, but he tried some last-minute bargaining with the British officials because he could not accept his defeat and surrender so openly and informally. On the morning of the 7th April, he wrote from his Nalknad residence, to Col. J. Fraser in Mercara, as below:

"Received your letter of the 6th inst.-------I shall come to Mercara in which event no objection will be made to my family accompanying me. If they do return to the Fort at Mercara according to the usual custom of being veiled- together with their baggage, it will require thirteen days to do so.

"If you get me a letter from the Governor-General assuring that no deviation in the observances of such custom of veiling will take place and that my life, family, property, servants, ryots etc will be protected, I will then come hither within thirteen days. After my family shall have entered the palace, you will be pleased to permit my ~~own~~ own guard to be stationed round me in the fort. I hope you will arrange all matters as I consider you as my patron and Vakil. You are an old friend of mine. Your appointment to this duty has afforded me every comfort. I hope that you will be pleased to answer me------. Sd.) Viraraja, Nalknad, 7th April 1834."

In reply to this, Col. Fraser wrote to the Raja on the same day, that:

"I have the honour to acknowledge your Highness's letter-------I am myself the representative of the Governor-General-------and your letter leaves me little more than to refer ~~to~~ you ~~that~~ to that which I had the honour of addressing you yesterday.

"By that letter, the life, security and respectful reception of your Highness and your family are fully guaranteed with respect to the happiness and well-being of the ryots and inhabitants of the country, it has been repeatedly made known to your Highness that this object will particularly occupy the attention of the British Government. The disposal of your Highness's property must be referred to the future pleasure of His Excellency the Governor-General.

"In regard to the delay of fifteen days proposed by your Highness for your return to Mercara as well as to the means by which the Fort will be garrissoned to the circumstances etc-------I beg to refer to the distinct explanation of these subjects conveyed yesterday. Sd) J.Fraser. Political Agent. 7th April 1834."

Fraser Reports Governor-General:

Col. James Fraser took the earliest opportunity to report to the Governor-General who was camping in Cotacmund during those days. Addressing the letter to the Secretary of the Political Department, Government of India, he said on the 7th April, that:

"I have the honour to acquaint you------that the Columns under Col. Lindsay's immediate command left its ground yesterday at about One p.m. and met with no opposition whatsoever on its march- at 4 p.m. We entered the Fort of Madakarra (Mercara)- the

the Raja's flag which was flying on one of the bastions was lowered and the British colours hoisted in its stead under a salute of twenty-one guns.

"A Company of H.M.'s 39th Regiment remains within the Fort to garrison it and another garrison whatever is allowed to enter with a passport from myself. The whole of the Fort is occupied by the Raja's palace and its contiguous buildings- sufficient accommodation in the latter has been found both for the men of the 39th and their officers without at all interfering with that part of the palace which is likely to be occupied by the Raja and his family in the event of their coming in.

"The remainder of the troops are encamped on the heights around the Fort.

"The palace was found- full of furniture and, perhaps, some valuable property may be contained in those rooms of it which are closed and locked- no person is allowed to have access to this part of the building excepting the servants of the Raja whom he had himself left in charge when he quitted the palace. These persons were instructed to give up their arms with which they immediately complied.

"Large piles of firewood were prepared in various parts of the building with the evident purpose of eventually setting fire to it and destroying the whole palace. To prevent any rash act of this kind on the part of the Raja in the event of his returning to Madakarra (Mercara), I have caused all the firewood to be removed and piled up outside in a convenient place near the rampart and within sight of our guard. I made the Raja's own servants do this in the place of guarding against accidental fire and consequent injury to the palace. This was willingly acceded to by the Raja's people, and the officer in charge of their servants to assent to the propriety of the measure------.

"The Vakils of the Raja who were with us during the greatest part of yesterday as well as on the 4th inst. seem to be fully aware that the fortune of their master is waning, or to speak more correctly- fallen. But they even yet fear to express themselves openly and the few cautious words they permit themselves to utter indicate the lowest enslaved and ~~state~~ object state to which the human mind can be reduced.

"One of the Raja's late letters referred to his Vakil for a particular explanation of what was said in it, and of his own future intentions and wishes, when they were seated in my tent. I accordingly recapitulated several of the points on which the Raja had touched in his letter and showed the utter absence of truth and even of commonsense by which the whole production was characterised. The Vakils could not say a word in reply, and did not attempt it. They appeared to assent by their looks and gestures to the justice of what I said and it was only when I requested them to repeat my observations to the Raja that they submissively looked down upon my letter which they held in their hands and begged to know of what I said had also been written.

"It was evident that they dared not say a word to the Raja which was likely to prove disagreeable to him. The whole and entire power of the country and almost the very facility of thinking seem to be concentrated in the Raja himself, and, as I have already had reason to remark on two or three occasions we shall continue to know little or nothing of the disposition and wishes of the people of Coorg until the better and permanent abolition of the power of the Raja shall emancipate them from their present slavish fears. Sd.) J.S.Fraser, Political Agent, Coorg. dated the 7th April 1834."

On Receiving the Raja in Mercara:

Colonel Fraser was in full control of the situation in Mercara after the 6th April 1834 when the capital fell into his hands and with no opposition whatsoever. Replying to a letter of the Collector of Kanara in Mangalore, he said ~~that~~ on the 8th April, that:

"------We have in possession of Mercara, the capital, and that the unconditional surrender of the Raja is immediately expected. Upon this event taking place, the whole country- both above and below the Ghats will of course be perfectly tranquil."

Col. Fraser was now busy making arrangements for the reception of the Raja in Mercara. The fallen chief was expected to be in the capital after travelling from Nalknad in about

about a couple of days, and the Political Agent in Coorg, Col. Fraser was contemplating the form of political reception to be given to the Raja. Writing to the Commander of the Coorg Field Force, Col. Lindsay, on the 8th April, he said that:

"As we have reason to expect that the Raja may be returning to the Fort of Mercara in the course of today or tomorrow, it is desirable that we should be prepared for this reception. He has already been informed of my letter that he and his family will be received with respect and he may be accompanied with his own personal domestics and followers unarmed, the Fort garrisoned exclusively by the English troops.

"I am not sure of the time. I think that before his arrival at the external barrier gate of Mercara on the Nalknad road, two Companies of the 39th N.I. and one of the Native Regiment should be stationed there. The Raja's attendants will, I hope, have come unarmed, but, if otherwise, the officer in command of the party at the barrier should be desired to intimate to them that there being so indispensable before they can be allowed to pass. This ought to be done in a calm and quiet manner-------If there is objection or quarrel on account of this- this must be referred to me immediately.

"When the Raja arrives at the gate of the Fort, if he remains in his palanquin, it may be conclusive that he will proceed in it until he enters the palace, but if he alights to walk on foot, or should he first been advancing on horse back, I think the officer commanding in the Fort should meet him in the same manner at the bottom of the ascent either on horse-back or on foot according to circumstances, and after the usual salutations, accompanied to the gate of the palace. If he is with his family, they will, as he himself intimated, be in covered palanquins from any motive or curiosity.

"In passing our sentries the Raja should be received with presented arms, but to pay him any other honour would be improper as likely to inspire hopes which would hereafter be disappointed. The troops should as a measure of security be under arms both at the palace gates and down the Nalknad road cross, but they are not to pay any military honours.

"The sentries of His Majesty's 39th- inside the Fort should be posted in such a manner at the gate ways and on the ramparts and bastions of the Fort and positively to preclude the possibility of the Raja's escape, and guards should be stationed outside the Fort----- to avoid chances of communication with others."

Denying in Humiliation:

The Raja was certainly deceptive and evasive. He was a sneak and creep. He tried to hoodwink the British by his mean tricks but all that did not work out. Now he had taken up to denying his past actions and indifferent attitudes. The Governor-General had written to him a nice conciliatory letter but this audacious man thought that he was so big that he could ignore the letter of the Lord Saheb, as the Governor-General was then called. To Lord Bentinck's letter of the 17th February 1834, this man replied after his disgrace and humiliation- on the 8th April 1834. In this letter he blurts out some polished words but all those are sheer deceptive and that was clear by the very tone and contents of the letter- which was a series of denials and bluffs. The Raja's letter to the Governor-General, of the 8th April, was as below:

"On the 29th of November last, you sent a letter to me but have not received an answer-----The friendship between the two States is ancient and long-standing----- The reason of my having delayed to send a reply to that communique was the sickness of my confidential Munshi. I had ordered him to prepare the reply when he was suddenly seized with illness------.

"I heard of your arrival in Mysore, and, thinking therefore that it would be much to my advantage to represent the State of my case to you, I sent for the Parsee Dara Shah. I also desired to remove every unfavourable impression from your mind which

might have been created from the non-receipt of a reply to your letter owing to the illness of the Munshi-----Although the negotiations are still pending with the British Government, your troops have, without giving me any notice, violently and treacherously entered my country and have killed and attacked the people of the Ghats, and several officers who entered into my country with troops have overthrown my THANAs.

This is an improper proceeding. As these oppressive proceedings are all welknown to you, my dilating upon them is unnecessary. It would not have signified if such measures had been taken after the conclusion of the negotiation and after hearing all I had to say, but to make previous attack with troops is unreasonable. I hope that you will consider this, and ~~if~~ one preemptory order be sent to your officers that they should return. Sd) Viraraja, Nalknaad, 8th April 1834."

But the man had already lost his kingdom when he wrote the above letter. There was no hope of ever securing his State back in spite of the help he got from a few of the round about Nayaks and chiefs. Even Moothanna of Tirunelly who had supported the British had now turned against them, and Capt. Minchin wrote on the 8th April, from Manantody, that Moothanna had enabled Coorg troops to surround and cut off his advanced guard on the night of the 3rd April 1834. Capt. Minchin, commanding Wynad, had collected news that the people ~~did~~ in Wynad did not join the Raja although the Raja had intended to take refuge in Wynad with 2,000 of his followers. The Raja had also planned to take possession of different passes to secure Wynad a few days before the expedition, but according to Capt. Minchin's report of the 10th April, the Raja's plans did not work out, and, therefore, he left for Nalknad from Manantody.

On Raja's Return to Mercara:

As the men of the Company's troops were still to reach Mercara, arrangements were made for the reception of the fallen chief to his capital. On the 9th April 1834, Col. Fraser, the Political Agent for Coorg, wrote to the Secretary to the Governor-General, from his Mercara camp, that:

"-----The Raja sent me his compliments through the Subedar of his palace with a verbal message that he was returning to Mercara, and requested------to allow fifty Coorgs to attend to clean the palace etc. (These men are a part of the body of about 400 men who under the command of Dewan Bopu, came over to us on the 5th inst. They have since remained in our camp, their arms piled and under charge of a guard-----.

"Last night another Dewan, Ponnappa, who is said to be well-disposed and held in much estimation throughout the country, was sent to me by the Raja who still remains in Nalknaad.

"This Dewan said everything he could with a view to deprecate the resentment of the British Government and to solicit mercy and independence for his master. He acquainted me that the Raja would certainly return immediately to Mercara with the family but observed that he could not do so today (9th April) due to his being devoted to some religious observance. He requested that about thirty Coorgs might be admitted into the palace today for the purpose of replacing it in a state fit for his master's reception, and expressed his wishes on various minute points relative to the manner in which the Raja would be permitted to enter into the Fort; the respect that would be shown to the covered palanquins of the females of his family, the special appropriation of a small tank of water for his private use, etc.

"To his application for thirty Coorgs, I assented but with an intimation that they must enter unarmed, and that they were to come out of the fort at 4 p.m. His other minor points were agreed to------.

"Some army units are at Virajpet under Lieut. Brock. Col. Stewart's Column has been directed to proceed to open the Siddapur pass into Mysore. Col. Foulis's column has encamped at Mutharmudy, eight miles south of Mercara. Col. Waugh's column encamped with us on the heights of Mercara and will be reaching here in two days. Col. Jackson's column remains in lower taluqs as originally ordered. Col. Lindsay is making arrangements for our advance to Nalknaad, if the Raja does not come and if our going becomes necessary.

"I had another interview with Dewan Ponnappa in the presence of Col. Lindsay----We have told him that if the Raja is not in Mercara by tomorrow evening, the British force will positively advance on the following morning, and he (the Dewan) stated that our wishes in regard to the Raja's return will certainly be complied with."

The Raja's Surrender:

The next day, that is, on the 10th April 1834, the Raja returned from Nalknad and then became a prisoner of the British after the due surrender formalities. COL. J.S. Fraser wrote to the Governor-General on the 10th April, stating that:

"I have the honour to acquaint you----that the Raja of Coorg has surrendered himself and that with this event the war may be regarded as terminated.

"The Raja returned with his family and attendants to the fort of Mercara at 11'o clock this night in the manner previously determined and precautions have been taken as explained in a letter from me to Col. Lindsay-----.

"I beg to respectfully offer my congratulations to H.E. the Governor-General not only on the termination of hostilities but on means which were adopted by the Government for the successful and early accomplishment of this desirable object.

"The force employed------might have seemed unnecessarily hard, its rapid assembly when war was finally resolved upon, the simultaneous attack of Coorg by five different columns, the prompt advance of troops at the time, and season of the year certainly best adopted for military operation in Coorg- all these circumstances perhaps were necessary, and have most happily concurred to secure the object the Governor-General had in view which has also been well-supported by the able and determined officers whom his Lordship appointed to command the British forces.--------.

"The district of Coorg is so strong in military point of view that it would be almost impregnable if properly defended, and there is not the slightest doubt that every hour of delay we might have given to the Raja, would have been devoted to the organization of his means of defence, the enlistment of men in Mysore and other places and continuation of his attempts to spread dis-affection among our troops and to excite feelings of hostility towards the British Government in Mysore and other provinces surrounding Coorg.

From the moment that the Raja was in the fort of Mercara, all inherent native rule throughout the country might be considered to have ceased, for, all had previously centred in him alone. To prevent the possible anarchy and confusion that might have ensued upon this state of things, I have deemed it necessary to prepare a proclamation which will be circulated tomorrow throughout Coorg and which will continue to be in force till I have the honour of receiving further instructions of the Governor-General------The nature of our military occupations of this country, must be dependant in great measure on the disposition of the inhabitants of Coorg-----."

Some Military Correspondence:

After the Coorg expedition which did not involve in any serious fighting, the army units that had been placed in different positions had to move to certain strategic points, and in that the army commanders exchanged some letters during the week after the expedition. The Adjutant-General wrote from Bangalore on the 9th April, to the Supreme Government stating that:

"I have the honour by order of the Commander-in-Chief------to submit a copy of despatch received at 3 a.m. this day from Brig. Lindsay CB. commanding Coorg Field Forces.

"The Commander-in-Chief has announced the surrender of Madykery (Mercara) at this station by a royal salute.

"The Brigadier speaks in all his despatches of the admirable conduct of the troops in all respects and of the exceeding fatigue they have cheerfully undergone in dragging the guns and tumbrils over mountains where the bullocks could do nothing. Sd) T.H.S. Conway, Adjutant-General, Camp-Bangalore, 9th April 1834."

Some letters were tossed about on the movement and performance of the troops when they were ordered to march into Coorg, and there are several reports concerning the same. The British strategy was excellent all the way, and they were able to muster support for them from the people around the borders of Coorg. For example, the Nairs stood behind the British and they pledged that they would quell the rebellion although things did not go to that extent. On the 8th April 1834, the Quarter-Master-General, wrote to the Government from Bangalore stating that:

"I am instructed by H.E. the Commander-in-Chief to acquaint you------of a severe conflict having taken place between the Northern Column of the Coorg Field Force and the enemy, on the 3rd inst. Col. Waugh having attacked a hill fort called "Back-Darwash" which after a contest of three hours, proved completely unsuccessful with the loss, I regret to say that three officers killed, four officers wounded and 75 European rank and file killed and wounded. The loss in the native ranks is not known.

"Under these circumstances, and the subsequent retrogade movement of the Northern Column to the ground they had the day before, His Excellency considered it his duty to order two squadrons of the 1st Cavalry at Bellary to be immediately put in action on Chitradoorg. The remainder of the 55th regiment to be in readiness for immediate movement if required, together with the 18th and 47th Native Infantry destined to be stationed in Mysore after the present service is over.,,,,,"

No. 44 RESOLUTION thereon:

The Governor-General-in-Council approves of the order by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief directing the two squadrons of the 1st Cavalry to be put in motion in Chitradoorg and directs that the remaining of His Majesty's 55th Regiment be held in readiness for immediate movement if required together with the 18th and 47th, Regiments of Native Infantry to be stationed in Mysore after the present service is over."

Some More Military Letters:

During those three or four years, and after the Governor-General Lord W.Bentinck took charge as Viceroy, there was no war fought in any part of India, and it was then the Coorg expedition took place and this was no doubt became a big news of the day. There was a detailed coverage in the press also about the expedition and the Company Government watched the proceedings with great interest. Reports about the operations poured into the office of the Governor-General, and a letter from the Adjutant-General, T.H.S.Conway, wrote in one of his letters of the 8th April, that:

"I have the honour to state that Ensign Babington of the 31st Light Infantry, was killed in action at the assault made by the Northern Column of the Coorg Field Force under Col. Waugh on a stockade at Somwarpet on the 31st March, and that Capt. Hutchinson and Lieut. Martin of the same corps were wounded------.

"Lieut.-Col. Mill of H.M.'s 55th Regiment is amongst those killed.

"This is the only official report that has reached headquarters at Bangalore-----."

In another letter of the same date, T.H.S.Conway said that the Commanding Officer in Mysore has been directed to hold the remaining Brigade of the Horse Artillery at Banga-

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Bangalore in immediate readiness for field service, if wanted, which he trusted, would be approved by the Government." After the Raja's surrender, Col. J. Fraser wrote to Brig. Lindsay, on the 10th April 1834, that:

"-----The knowledge you have now derived of the country from your own personal observations and from the reports of officers commanding other Columns, will render any remarks from you on the subject of the highest value, and I shall therefore be glad to be favoured with any suggestions that you may be pleased to offer for submission to the Governor-General, both in regard to the Forces which you may deem it expedient that should be retained in Coorg-----and, places where you may consider it proper that the forces should be stationed.

"These are the two points on which I think there can be no doubt. There are the immediate destruction of every military barrier or other military defence in the country except the Fort of Mercara and the fortified palace at Nalknad, and the opening of the broad military roads across the whole country and in those directions that may be best adopted for maintaining an easy communication with Mysore, Wynad, Malabar and Kanara."

DR. I. M. MUTHANNA,
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CHAPTER XV.

The British Started Cleaning Stables.

Col. Fraser's Proclamation:

From now on a new era had begun in Coorg. The Raja was in custody, and the British started to clean the mess that was Coorg till the 1st week of the year 1834. The old days of terrorism and atrocity was no more and many people, and, mostly the Kodavas, breathed a sigh of relief after the fall of the Raja. The British officials now meant business with the Raja, and they had a lot to clean, especially the civil service which was hopelessly in a disorganised state. To begin with, Col. James Fraser began his rule by publishing a proclamation to the people about the change that had taken place. On the 11th April 1834, the proclamation was announced and that said, that:

"Whereas the rule and dominion (of the Raja of Coorg)-----for ever ceased, it is hereby proclaimed and directed that the whole civil administration of the country shall be conducted as heretofore by the Gowdas, Shanbogues, Hoblidars, Subedars, Dewans and Karniks, as at present employed in their respective stations with the privilege of direct and immediate appeal from every native of Coorg, of whatever rank or degree to Lieut.-Col. Fraser, the Political Agent of His Excellency the Governor-General, until the permanent establishment of a form of Government which will be determined under the authority of the Governor-General and upon the model best calculated to secure the future well-being and happiness of the country.

"It is hereby further distinctly explained that the administration of justice will be exercised by the authorities above enumerated only to that extent and degree with which they have been hitherto individually charged, to the entire exclusion of that superior power and jurisdiction which have been heretofore exercised by the Raja Viraraja Wodeyar alone. No punishment, therefore, extending to life or limb or more severe than simple imprisonment will on any account whatever take place without a reference to Col. Fraser and the sanction of the British Government. Sd) James S.Fraser, Political Agent to the G-G. Camp- Mercara, 11th April 1834."

From this announcement it was clear that the old days have gone for ever. No more killings, murders, tortures, etc, and everything will be decided by the British and for any severe offence the punishment would be only a sort of imprisonment- either simple or rigorous, on the basis of the intensity of the offence. Things started moving fast after this, and the civil service was activated and new instructions were issued to them on matters concerning administration all over Coorg.

Tenka Moothanna's Role:

Beyond the Brahmagiri hills of South Coorg in the Manantody district was the domain of a small Malayalee chief known as Moothanna. He was found wavering as to his support to the British or to the Raja, and for some time he was found to have been a problem figure, according to the reports of Capt. Minchin, commanding Wynad. An earlier report concerning this Moothanna said about his role that he had inherited, supposedly by his ancestors, and that explained matters about him somewhat like this:

"It seemed that many of the Wynad people were in the mood of being on Coorg side. What induced Moothanna to quit his residence at Tirunelly for Manantody?

"Fifty years ago, the grandfather of Moothanna and Tadumall Nambiar, with a number of people went over to Coorg and committed some outrageous acts there such as driving

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away herds of cattle etc in consequence of which the Coorg Raja's people came----- carried away Moothanna's mother and son and killed them. Moothanna thereupon went over with a number of men and destroyed a few children belonging to Raja's family as a result of which enmity existed till now between the two families. Tirunelly temple land is in Coorg but owing to hostility it has not been enjoyed by the temple. The Raja's orders have always been that if Moothanna attempted to enter his country, to kill him, and, therefore, he has never been able to go there to inquire after the property. Because of the feeling that Raja's people might kill him, Moothanna shifted from Tirunelly to Manantody."

So during the time of the Coorg expedition, this Moothanna's role has been extreme-wavering. On the 11th April 1834, Capt. Minchin wrote from Manantody that:

"I was unable during the whole of yesterday to fall in with the enemy. They came down in three bodies of about 400 men each and through my advanced posts fought bravely. They were soon cut to pieces or made prisoners. The enemy retired and escaped from me through thick jungles. Two of the columns of the enemy retired to their own position whilst the large body went off through the jungles------."

On the same day, the Collector of Malabar, F. Clementson, wrote from Tellichery, to Brigadier P. Lindsay, Commanding Coorg Field Forces, about the above said subject, that:

"Capt. Minchin's letter of the 8th regarding the alleged deceitful conduct of Tirunelly Moothanna is extremely questionable. In my opinion, it has confirmed the doubts I had-----The long standing animosity between the Raja of Coorg and Moothanna as supported by several petitions which were presented some years ago to the former Collector, prays that measures might be taken to obtain the rent of the lands of the temple situated in Coorg, which Moothanna could not collect owing to the enmity between him and the Raja------." Sd) F.Clementson, Principal Collector, 11th April 1834."

Some More About Moothanna:

It is a welknown fact that in India the British were able to make good because of the caste and communal differences among the Indians themselves. All enmities were based on caste prejudices. Here too one can see that Brahmins supporting the British and acting as spies against Moothanna, who was also a Brahmin. Venkataramanayya was a Tahashildar of Wynad, the population of which was 35,891 in 1831. This Tahashildar was working in close connection with Capt. Minchin, and was in charge of the Coorg borders in the South. After the Coorg expedition, when facts concerning several incidents were collected, one Ganapathy Iyer, a Brahmin of Tellichery, and who came from Wynad, said as below:

"I was aware that about 1,000 men came down on the guards on the night of the 3rd April. I knew that a good number remained in the Brahmagiri hills, the hills over Coonoor and the one over Baraghery (Is it Badagarakeri?)-----knowing that everyone in Tirunelly was assisting the Coorgs. I left my house and came in here (Tellichery) with my family fearing that Brahmin Tenka Moothanna of Tirunelly Pagoda, who I knew, is friendly inclined towards the Raja's people, would kill me and my family. I have heard of his giving them every assistance in his power and even providing them with provisions, and at one time sent to the Raja a large quantity of salt and other things.

"------I know the headman of the troops on Brahmagiri came to Moothanna's house almost every night and that Moothanna employed two men who were formerly in Coorg to take all information which he collected during the distribution of troops in Wynad.

"On the night of the attack, a man came from Coorg to Moothanna's house and arranged everything respecting it. I know that Moothanna has under him about fifty men, twelve of whom with the Raja's people, were sent every day to guard the Brahmagiri Pass against the troops in case we made an attack on that point.

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"Formerly the people of this part were not allowed to go to Coorg or Coorgs to come here. At the commencement of the disturbances, the Raja sent to Moothanna a message to come over. Moothanna returned for answer that if the Raja would write to him to that effect he would at once come. The Tahashildar having heard this, sent Moothanna to the Collector who gave him an order not to go to Coorg nor hold any communication with the Raja or his people. He did not go to Coorg but sent his friends. The headman of the Raja came to Moothanna's house and asked him to collect all information for him. Moothanna answered: "I have it in my power and will do so if you promise to protect me, ~~me~~ and support me if I lose my place in the pagoda (temple)".

"A promise was given to him by the Raja's headman who collected all information from Moothanna. When leaving the pagoda, the headman said, "You need not fear; one stick will not be raised over your head. We will take care to prevent it." The Coorg man who was employed by Moothanna, on the guard of being sent to Baraghery (?) remained there, and used either to go up the hill- or the Raja's people came down to him every day.

"This was not known to the guard as their meeting took place in the thickest part of the jungle. This man went over to Moothanna twice a week and obtained from him all information which he had told to the guard. If Moothanna did not send the Coorg people some information regarding the Manantody troops at least three times a week, the headman came down to him- and this he did always by night."

The British Troops in Coorg:

Somehow, Col. J.Fraser found it necessary that there was a necessity to keep British troops in Coorg for security reasons, and to that effect, ~~he~~ letters were addressed by ~~letters to~~ the Commander, Coorg Force, and to the Government. His letter of the 14th April 1834, said that:

"------I am of the opinion that although the strength of the force in occupation of Coorg may be diminished, it is not advisable to reduce it materially.

"The character and disposition of the inhabitants is as yet but imperfectly ascertained, the course of events, so startling, must have left their ideas on the subject of the Government, much unsettled------I consider, therefore, that it is essential to leave a force in the country of a strength sufficient to defy the possibility of our losing possession of it-----I therefore submit for the consideration of the Governor-General that for the present the Force to be maintained in Coorg territory should not consist of less than the below:

"One and a half company foot artilery,
One Regiment of European Infantry,
Five Regiments of Native Infantry of 500 sappers.

"Mercara in every respect the key of the country from its central situation, from the superior strength of its Fort, and from its being the capital, undoubtedly requires a strong garrison. Virarajpet commands the great road from Mysore to Malabar which I apprehend will become the ordinary route to travellers between these districts in preference to that of Manantody. In like manner, Somwarpet and Sulya keep open the communications to the north and north-west.

Mercara 6 guns, H.Q.European Infantry, 2 regiments, 6 companies,
Virarajpet 6 guns, one company and one wing,
Nalknad- 2 guns, one company and one wing,
Sulya and Bellare 2 guns and one regiment,
Somwarpet and Kanive- two companies- one in each.

"I recommend that in order to connect the chain, two companies of Sepoys shall be despatched from the French ~~Rocks~~ Rocks to Peryapatna. The troops should be named as soon as possible in order that they may build huts sufficiently long time before the setting of the monsoon-----I am led to believe that fine weather cannot be expected beyond the 10th of May-----." Sd) P. Lindsay, Mercara.

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The victorious troops of the Company were now in search of the traitors who supported the Raja of Coorg, and among the names proclaimed as that of traitors, Abbas Ali and Kengal Nayak's were also included. Col. Fraser notified that the rewards would be given to those who brought to the British army those traitors as prisoners. The rewards offered were as follows: For Abbas Ali and Kengal Nayak Rs. 500 each, Nadgur Basappa Rs. 300, and for Dodda Narasoji and Chikka Narasoji Rs. 200 each- all if captured.

The Raja's last Letter:

The below quoted letter of the Raja to the Governor-General of India, was perhaps his last letter from Coorg to the supreme Government. In that letter, the prisoner-chief seemed to have been harping on his old grievances. He continued to blame Chenabasava for the entire trouble, he blamed also J. Casamajor for being partial towards him, and then concluded saying that, "Yet looking to the justice and equity of the Company, I feel confident-----that I shall be excused." The letter was below:

"Assuredly you have received (my letter)-----Honour me with a kind indulgent answer and dispel the affection and concern with which I am overwhelmed in consequence of the arrival of the Company's army in these parts and occurrence of violence at the frontiers. The Almighty is witness to this, that the moment I heard of the commencement of hostilities I sent flags of truce and letter as symbols of peace-------People-----were prepared for war on account of the affliction which I suffered from the flight of Chenabasava but gave positive orders to my people not to fire on the troops but to furnish them with supplies of all sorts and conduct themselves in a friendly and peaceful manner-----.

"Nevetheless, the troops have advanced to my capital------and planted their standard in it. They sent for me from Nalknad------I am expecting from you that generous favour w----which have ever been evinced towards this House from the time of my ancestors------ My acts are proofs of confidence and attachment to your Sarkar------On the contrary----- Mr. Casamajor refused to send the criminal Chenabasava according to the established practice; some errors may have occurred in my correspondence-----Yet looking to the justice and equity of the Company, I feel confident that when the origin of this breach of long established usage is considered, I shall be excused------.

"When your Lordship was the Governor of Madras, you wrote a letter------respecting the grant of Puttur (to my uncle Viraraja) in acknowledgement of the services of my ancestors and looking to the kindly and friendly contents of the communication to that-----I trust you will favour me according to the ancient custom------I hope you will issue orders for the return of the troops and thus display your (your goodwill-----) and if any such order is to be issued------I will send a Vakil to your presence to arrange everything---- I trust that you will honour me with a favourable reply-----.

Sd) Viraraja Wodeyar, Raja of Coorg, Nalknaad, 12th April 1834."

From this letter, it was clear that the Raja was craving for mercy and that he desired to be excused for his conduct. It was to send these letters and to talk about the future plans of his with his wicked ministers like Kunta Basava and others, he stayed on in Nalknad for a couple of days more even after the summons were sent to him by the Political Agent for Coorg, Col. James Fraser. However, the British had already decided on the Raja's future and his exile was also an issue that was contemplated by the Company Government. The Governor-General and party were still in Ootacmund.

Col. Fraser Meets the Raja:

The Raja had arrived in Mercara, perhaps, on the evening of the 11th April, and he was received by the British officials in the way that was already said behind. The next

next day the Raja and Col. Fraser went into business meetings, and in a letter dated the 13th April, to the Governor-General, Col. Fraser, said that:

"The Raja of Coorg having sent me a message yesterday morning that he wished to see me, I called upon him at five- in the morning, and he detained me till 7 p.m. When I first went in, I found the whole palace almost entirely dark in consequence of the windows being closed------The Raja came out from behind a veil which separated the inner apartment from the front verandha. He took me by the hand which he continued to hold but seemed for some time so frightened and agitated as not to know what to say.

"I addressed him in Hindustani and inquired after his health to which he replied in usual terms------While he held me by the hand, we proceeded through one or two passages and ascended a flight of steps where all was so perfectly dark that I was obliged to feel my way along the walls with my disengaged hand. Arrived in an apartment in the upper part of the building where the windows were entirely closed and where there was no light whatever but from a common lamp set upon the ground, he seated me by him on a sofa. It is impossible to repeat the desulatory remarks which he continued to make to me for about two hours. He repeatedly observed that he was weary and unwell, that he head was confused and he knew not what he was saying.

"The main object he seemed to have in view was to justify his first proceedings in regard to his demand for the surrender of Chenabasappa-----upon previously understood agreements, and the letter from the Resident in Mysore to him of the 1st August 1828. He said that he detained Karunakara Menon only because this person had promised to procure for him the surrender of the fugitives and that he thought he would be a useful mediator between him and the British Government.

"To the remark that I made upon this subject, the Raja replied that he was an ignorant man and he knew not that he was doing wrong or acting in a manner contrary to the usages of the other countries. He spoke repeatedly and earnestly of the friendship which he and his ancestors had ever entertained for the English and prayed for my intercession with the Governor-General that he might not be removed from his Government but allowed to remain and that he be judged by the tenor of his future conduct. He often repeated that he was young, that he was ignorant and unacquainted with the customs of the world, that he had never been benefitted by the advantages of the society, and that in all his late proceedings he had been misled by evil counsellors such as Abbas Ali and others whom he plainly designated as villains.

"I am led to believe that this account of himself is just, that he is weak and ignorant person, spoiled by the possession of early power, and that the feelings and disposition which nature gave him instead of being perverted to evil purposes- as they have been- might have taken a different and far better direction, had he been guided by judicious advisers, and had a more frequent intercourse been maintained between him and the British Government.

"It is difficult, indeed, to say that the Raja is regarded by the people of the country-----It is clear in every point of view-----that the Raja can never be allowed to retain the late dominion over the country-----If he is to be removed for ever from the MUSNAD, as the Governor-General had already pronounced, and either another prince of his family placed in his place with circumscribed authority, or that the country be transferred to us at once, in either of these cases, I think he should be removed without delay, for, as long as he remains here, there is little chance of the country being satisfactorily settled------.

"In the course of my talk with him, I acquainted him that the future determination of his fate depended not in the least degree on myself but entirely on the pleasure of the Governor-General, but in order to prevent his entertaining any hope of which the disappointment hereafter would in consequence be painful, I acquainted him that I had not the least hope that under any circumstances whatever would he be permitted to remain in the Government of his country.

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"I have not heard as yet anything of the Raja's family------I expect that one of the Dewans named Basawappa, at present in Nalknad, is-----I am led to believe, that I may ~~useful~~ get some useful information on this and other points from him as he is said to be much in the Raja's confidence.
Sd) J.S.Fraser, Col., Mercara, dated the 13th April I834."

About the Dewan Basawappa:

The Raja, now under custody in his own palace, the British officials began to take an inventory of all his assets which by right would become the assets of the Company Government. Brig. P. Lindsay (after the conquest of Coorg, Lindsay was made a Brigadier), Commanding Coorg Force, wrote to Col. Fraser on the I3th April, that:

"~~I~~-----I have appointed Major Steele of the 5Ist Regiment N.I. and Capt. Foulis of the 39th Regiment to take an inventory of and report to us the nature and estimated value of all property and effects belonging to the Raja or of a public description which have fallen into the possession of our troops, and directed the same to be kept ~~safe~~ in safe custody awaiting the further instructions of H.E. the Governor-General".

Col. Fraser was very particular to see and talk to Dewan Kunta Basava, the evil perpetrator of many tragic scene. He was also wanted in connection with some enquiries as well concerning the affairs surrounding the Raja, and, therefore, Col. Fraser ordered Brig. Lindsay, Commanding Coorg Force, on the I3th April, as below:

"I request that the officer commanding at Nalknad may be instructed to send me Dewan Basawappa under charge of a guard, should he be still at the palace as the measure alluded to be within the commanding officer's power. The Dewan is said to be a short man, somewhat lame and of dark complexion and countenance.

"I should wish also that another person named Subbanna, a Karyakar, whom I understand to be a short thin person-----if found at Nalknad, may be sent to me with the Dewan.

"Neither of these persons ought to be treated otherwise than with respect, and if they should wish to come either in palanquin or horseback- no objection should be made to their doing so.

"I beg to add that I have understood that there is a property ~~in~~- a large amount concealed in the palace at Nalknad, and that the officer commanding there, should in consequence be directed to prevent anything being carried outside."

In another letter to the Secretary to the Governor-General who was camping in Ootacmund, Col. James Fraser wrote on the I3th April, stating that:

"-----By information privately conveyed to me that some of the late servants of the Raja- especially the Dewan Basawappa, were concealing or carrying away for the purpose of appropriating to their own use, that property which under instructions of the Governor-General, may ultimately fall to the share of the Coorg Field Force.

"I am happy to be able to say that the most perfect tranquility continues to prevail at Mercara and as far as I can learn throughout Coorg. A letter from Mr. Anderson, Joint Magistrate, Kanara, stated that the inhabitants of the taluqs formerly ceded on by us to the Raja of Coorg have expressed a desire to be replaced under the British-----". Sd) COL. Fraser, I3th April I834. Mercara."

Basawa-"Extremely a Bad Character:"

More the good Colonel, Mr. Fraser, learnt of the inner story concerning the Raja, more he heard about the mysterious character of Dewan Basava, and ~~more~~ he sought to know on some important persons in and around the palace, repeatedly came the answer implicating the Dewan Basava in most of the tragic episodes. Therefore, in another

letter to the Governor-General, on the 14th April 1834, Col. Fraser wrote that:

"-----In the course of my interview with the Raja on the 12th (April 1834)., I acquainted him that a detachment from our Force would take possession of Nalknaad on the 13th, and, therefore, suggested to him to hasten the removal of that part of his family-----On the 13th, in order to prevent the inconvenience to which they would be subjected when our troops entered. He rather demurred to this, as not giving him time to send palanquin bearer and other attendants, and on the ground of so hasty a final removal being inconsistent to his dignity-----He sent the requisite instruction-----and 26 covered palanquins which said to contain women of his family.

"-----It appears that Dewan Basawappa was not to be found, he having taken himself to the jungle. I consider this man's apprehension of so much importance not only because of his extremely bad character and mischievous propensities but with reference to the possibility of his being joined by a party of adherents-----who live in jungles and hills that I have thought it proper to offer a reward of Rs. 1,000 for his apprehension and also to secure his family in Mercara-----.

"-----Dewan Basava is, by all accounts, I have received, the worst and dangerous man in the whole country. I may say that all the people of Coorg with whom I have as yet had opportunities of conversing, allege little or nothing against the character of the Raja, but all concur in attributing to the Dewan Basava the most sanguine disposition, and in assigning to his advice and evil instigations, the misfortunes in which their prince has involved himself and especially the madness he has manifested in his late proceedings with the English Government.

"To every question that I ask in regard to the mysterious ignorance that prevails respecting the Raja's family, the loss of Devammaji's child, the suspected death of Manuel Pereira or any other incident involving the suspicion of the perpetration of an evil deed, I am constantly referred for information to be derived from Dewan Basava as if he alone was possessed of the secret of all the acts of murder that may have been committed, and if the Raja himself had been little else that a young man devoted to his own idle or sensual pursuits leaving to his Dewan the exclusive charge and directions of every species of cruelty and crime-----.

"This account is not likely to be true or that in a Government such as this, the Dewan would have dared to exercise an authority unsanctioned by his master, and even if true, it cannot under any circumstance tend in our estimation to the defence of the Raja's character-----.

"I shall hope to be able to convey to the Governor-General some information-----leading to the arrangements for the future government of the country-----I had recoursed to the harsh and extreme measure of removing the Raja from the palace and his family, and forcing the old and confidential servants of the latter to reveal the secrets of their master-----.

"I mentioned in my yesterday's letter that the Asst. Magistrate of Kanara, had reported that the people of Puttur were expressing a wish to be transferred to our Government, and the son of a Subedar of Amara-Sulya, a Munshi in Raja's service, came to me with a private message that the people of his father's taluq entertained to express the same desire. Sd) Col. J.S.Fraser, Mercara."

"People's Wish Should Prevail:"

The Governor-General Lord William Bentinck, still in Ootacmund, wrote a long letter to the Political Agent in Coorg, Col. Fraser, stating that the future of Coorg should be decided on the wishes of the people. If the people preferred the British, he said, that there was no sense in installing someone instead of the Raja as a ruler. Describing the whole arrangements, the Secretary to the Governor-General said in his letter, dated the 14th April 1834, that:

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"-----It is not the intention of his Lordship to dwell upon the meritorious exertion of Col. Lindsay and the troops under his command and upon the judicious measures adopted by yourself, by the combination of which the objects contemplated by the expedition against Coorg have been so speedily attained, but his Lordship desires me to convey both to the Brigadier and yourself his assurance of the entire satisfaction with which he has viewed his proceedings.

"The Governor-General has not yet determined as to the mode in which Coorg shall be disposed off. The necessary information for determining so important a question is not indeed before him. It has not yet been ascertained whether there exists any member of the family who would have a fair claim to succeed to the principality- nor has any insight been obtained into the wishes and feelings of the community as to the constitution of their future Government.

"If it were ascertained that there exists an unobjectionable heir to the State, and the people are in his favour, His Lordship would be disposed to accede to their wishes---- But it would obviously be necessary in this case that our relations with Coorg, as they subsisted before the disposition of the Raja should be modified------.

"If on the other hand, it should be unquestionably proved that the voice of the people is adverse to their subjection to the form of Government from the yoke of which they have been recently relieved, His Lordship would hardly deem it consistent with his duty to refrain from exercising the right which our conquest has conferred upon us and to withhold from its people the protection of the British laws merely on the ground of their being a claimant to the forefeited chief- by virtue of family connection.

"These are matters for later consideration. The Governor-General fully concurs in the opinion expressed in your last letter that the ex-Raja should be removed without delay, as while he remains in the country there is little chance of its being satisfactorily settled or of any Government- either British or Native being unimpeded and unembarrassed in its operations.

"You will be pleased to signify Viraraja the command of the Governor-General that he be prepared to move immediately to Bangalore. You will exercise your own discretion as to the time to be allowed to make his preparations-----You will also apprise him that so long as he behaves in a becoming manner a liberal provision will be assigned for his support. Such of his family as may be desirous of accompanying him should be allowed to do so and he may be permitted to take with him not exceeding fifty unarmed attendants------.

"With regard to the property, the Governor-General is clearly of opinion that the ex-Raja should not be offered to carry away treasure to any amount. His accumulations must be regarded as public property, or if considered as belonging to himself, he has justly forfeited all title to such property by his past misconduct. His Lordship is disposed to observe all possible delicacy towards the females of the Raja's family----- You will exercise your own judgement to the amount in money or property which he may reasonably be allowed to take along with him------."

Sd) Secretary to the Governor-General, Camp- Ootacmund, I4th April I834."

The News Reached England:

That the Coorg expedition was successfully terminated, the state of Coorg was captured and that the British flag was flying over Mercara, was promptly reported to the hon'ble Court of Directors in England, and the news of the occupation of Coorg became an all-India news for some time. The Governor-General reported to the Directors of the East India Company in England on the I4th April, as stated below:

"Hon'ble Sirs, - Having found it necessary to direct that military operations should be undertaken against the Raja of Coorg, I deem it my duty to forward to you by the earliest opportunity------of the minutes dated the 3rd ultimo, briefly assigning the reasons reluctantly compelled me to the measure------.

"I have-----furnished copies of the correspondence with Lieut.-Col. Fraser----But it will be satisfactory to you to know that the British flag is flying on Mercara, the

the capital of Coorg, where the Raja having surrendered unconditionally, is now detained as a prisoner until the determination shall be formed as to the place of his future residence-----In the meantime, you will be gratified to find the accredited agent of Mr. H. S.Graeme, has been delivered up in safety to authorities-----.

"I beg to congratulate your hon'ble Court on the early termination of the hostilities. Had less energetic measure been adopted the result might have been far different. The country, I understand, if well defended, would be impregnable, and the Raja had been allowed time to his hostile designs would have proved an enemy of a very formidable character------". Sd) William Bentinck, Camp- Ootacmund, dated the I4th April."

Along with the copy of the above letter, there was another communique from the Secretary to the Governor-General, dated the I4th April, to the Col. Fraser, that:

"I am directed to transmit the copy of the Persian letter intercepted at Bettadpur on the 5th April, which appear to have been written by the same person.

"A copy of the application of the killedar of Bettadpur by whom the bearer of this communication was seized also accompanies.
"Sd) F.Chamier, Camp- Bangalore, I4th April I834."

Col. Fraser, in the meantime, got some disturbing news about the clashes that occurred between Coorg and Wynad people at the southern borders beyond the Brahmagiri hills. Another report came from Puttur that Col. Jackson's Column in Puttur and Bellare, had been completely disorganized. But the situation at those quarters seemed to have been turned smooth soon after. The Political Agent in Coorg, Col. Fraser wrote to the Commander of the Coorg Field Force about fetching Dewan Basava who had been now known as a notorious character. Col. Fraser wrote on the I4th April that:

"I have the honour to request you that you will be good enough as to send out a detachment consisting of a Company of Sepoys to a village about ten miles from hence to Moodugere Nad for the purpose of securing and bringing into Mercara all the members of Basava's family who may be found there-----The family should be treated with every attention and respect. Two Coorg guides will be ready to accompany the detachment----"

Basava's Mysterious Death:

The Dewan Kunta Basava was expected to be in Mercara on the I0th or the II th April, when the Raja came to Mercara from Nalknad, and in fact, he was supposed to have been accompanying the Raja- the man being the Raja's closest adviser. But Basawappa was not seen in Mercara till the I4th April, and, therefore, Col. Fraser set a prize of Rs.I000 upon the capture of the Dewan Basawa. By this time, it was suggested to the British by the local people that the former stable-boy of the Rajas of Coorg must have absconded along the Nalknad jungles. Therefore, Brig. Lindsay sent messengers from his troops to fetch Basawa. On the I5th April, Col. Fraser wrote to the Secretary to the Governor General, stating that Basawappa had been found dead near Kaggodu revenue office, at the foot of Mercara hill, as he was brought in from Nalknad on the evening of the I4th April. His body was found hanging from a tree nearby, and the Raja was the first to receive message of the incident on the night of the I4th April. Col. Fraser wrote:

"-----That the dead body of the Dewan Basawappa was found this morning (I5th April) by a party of Coorgs who were in search of him, hanging from a branch of a tree in a jungle about a mile and a half from Mercara------Leaving two of their party to watch it,------they came to Mercara to report.

"At the moment, another Dewan, the Subedar of Amara Sulya and several Coorgs were at my tent, and no one seemed to have the slightest doubt of Basawappa's having committed suicide. A Nayak's guard with a Dooley and bearers were sent to bring the body to identify and then handover to his family. This party was accompanied by Dr. Grant, assistant Surgeon of the 35th N.I. -----with instructions to investigate as far as possible the circumstances of the Dewan's death-----The family of the Dewan were brought from their custody, and, now they were liberated-----Basawappa------no doubt, was in possession of many secrets about the affairs of the state.

"The people of Coorg are gradually acquiring a little courage to speak out-----(They also feel and desire for a change, and that is the general outlook.)

"As far as the information of the Dewans, is to be depended, it does not appear that any male member of the family survived after the Raja-----Unless the child of Devammaji, the Raja's sister, now at Bangalore, be yet alive- which however is extremely doubtful." Sd.) Col.Fraser, I5th April."

"On Basawappa's death, Dr. Grant, after conducting the usual examination gave a suicide verdict in the presence of some observers. The twigs and plants round about remained un-injured, and his slippers etc were under the tree and quite intact. It was said that he was dead for about twenty hours now when the verdict was given," said an official report.

Some of the marks are that i) Thorny creepers scratched his legs,
ii) His feet were only ten inches from the ground,
iii) The rope that was suspending the subject was three feet long.

Though the medical verdict was that Basava committed suicide, the widely prevailed impression was that he was strangled by the men at the revenue office building in the night of the I4th April I834, and then hung the body upon the tree in the jungle not far away. But General Fraser, the Political Agent of Coorg, informed the supreme Government that Basava had committed suicide, The truth of this incident, perhaps came later, because it was probable that Basava was strangled by people as he had doubtlessly many enemies and he was the much hated man in Coorg. Rev. Moegling, in his 'Coorg Memoirs' stated that Basawa was strangled, and this later report about the death of the man like Kunta Basava, must have been correct.

The Raja was told to Leave Coorg:

After the I5th April I834, the Company Government carried out some changes in Coorg. The Collector of Mangalore wrote on the I6th April that "in consequence of the surrender of the Raja, there was now no objection to export salt, rice etc into Coorg." The Collector of Malabar informed the Governor, Fort St.George, on the I6th April that the Turk Syed Muhammad who was seen in Coorg by his Shirestedar Karunakara Menon, has met his death when in command of the Coorg Raja's troops which resisted the Northern Column commanded by Col. Waugh. On the same day, the I6th April, Fredrick Adams, Governor of Madras wrote to Col. Fraser, from Ootacmund, stating that the latter would receive instructions "to send away the Raja" out of Coorg. In the same brief note, the Governor congratulated Col. Fraser for the successful expedition in Coorg.

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On the 17th April, the Political Agent in Coorg, Col. Fraser, wrote a long letter to the Raja stating that the ex-Chief of Coorg should prepare to leave the country although no one knew where the destination would be. He was also told that he would "not be permitted to carry a larger amount of money than may be sufficient" for his immediate expenses. The day of departure was scheduled as the morning of the 20th April (Sunday) 1834, at the latest. He also added in the same letter that:

"I propose that the Parsee Dara Shah shall be employed to carry the object into effort, he being at once an old friend of the Raja and faithful to the British as well."

The Raja was asked by the Government to reveal all the details of his family, the number of people in his family, their names etc. In reply to that, the Raja wrote on the 17th April 1834, as below:

"——I received yours of the 16th April. You have been pleased to state that I should furnish you with a list of the surviving relatives of my family. In answer I beg to state that of my three sisters one died a natural death, the second Devammaji and her husband Chenabasava fled from the country, the third Rajammaji is still alive and at present living in the palace.

"My own five wives and one son of tender age are at present living. Rajammaji, the daughter of my uncle Viraraja, by his first wife, was married to the Raja of Sode. Viraraja had four daughters by his second wife- Mahadevammaji. His first daughter Muddammaji was married to Palanganda Chenavira of Kantamurnad. Both of them died a natural death.

"Rajammaji, the second daughter, married to Hallibailu Nanjappa of Horanuroklu Nad, they both died a natural death.

"Devammaji, the third daughter, married to Iggodlu Basappa, had one boy and two girls. After Basappa's death, she and three children were living.

"Mahadevammaji, the fourth, was married to Kodali Mallappa of Horanuroklu Nad. They both were living——Furthermore, there are a number concubines and female servants and slaves attached to my ancestors and to myself and they are still living in the palace.

"As to the rest of the relations, you will ask the Dewans and the Karniks. Those relations live far away from here. Sd) Viraraja, Mercara."

The Raja Pleaded:

The Raja was officially informed that he would and should live Coorg to a place which would be made known to him at a later stage. However, the Raja seemed to have taken the news with some regret and shock, but he should thank his star that the British saved his life without being harsh on him for the things he did, for the insolence he betrayed, for the sins he committed and for the rude letters he had written to the Company Government. However, when Col. Fraser informed him in writing of the decision of the British Government, the Raja wrote to him in return, on the same day- the 17th April 1834, as under:

"Received your letter——.

"When that great Sarkar expressed such a desire, I can do nothing——When I prepare to remove from this place, my family, myself, and my people are so overwhelmed with grief that our senses fail and we are as if about to die. I have no other protection but that of God and of yourself——.

"Whenever you make all preparations for me, I will be ready to depart. According to our usage, I cannot separate from my family, and this can never take place. I will furnish a list of articles which I shall require to take with me and if necessary a carr

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carriage for them-----You have been pleased to observe that I should furnish you with a list of the treasure and personal property which I desire to carry-----.

"I can do nothing without the assistance of the Karnik and other officers-----Be pleased to give orders to the said people that they may attend on me. With the exception of the cloth now worn by the females, I have left at Nalknad all my other wearing and many other things. I beg that you will have the goodness to send for and deliver them to me------.

In another letter to the Political Agent to the Governor-General, the deposed Raja submitted as below:

"-----The Munshi-----afforded me the delight and engaged me in praying for the increase of your rank-----It is very difficult to set out with my family so soon as the 2Ist (of April). I, therefore, await your kind word. Furthermore, we are all in the habit of using the River Kaveri for the purpose of worshipping-----Be pleased to permit us to remain at Srirangapatna or Yedatore until the arrival of further orders----"

In reply to the above letters, Col. James Fraser wrote to the Raja stating that he would forward all his letters to the Governor-General for consideration and action. With all these developments taking place, it was clear that the British Government had meant business with the Raja. Before getting into cleansing the rut that had accumulated in the administrative sphere, they wanted to exile the Raja once and for all and thus make a thorough overhauling of the entire Governmental structure of Coorg, and indeed, that was their mission in Coorg, nay- in all India!.

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CHAPTER XVI

Enquiries and Fresh Revelations.

Col. Fraser Memoirs:

Colonel James Fraser was one of the distinguished civil servants of the East India Company Government, and in Coorg he did a yeoman's service during that period of transition in 1834-35. He stayed in Coorg till he succeeded in putting a strong foundation to the future set up of the British Government in Coorg, and twenty years later in 1850, his son, Col. H. Fraser compiled the entire correspondences of his father. A certain passage in that 'Memoirs' is as under:

"In February 1834, Col. Fraser was appointed acting Secretary in the Military Department------The defiant attitude of the Raja of Coorg having just then made the necessity of coercive measures evident and imminent, the Governor of Madras, Sir Fredrick Adams proceeded to Bangalore, the base of operations, accompanied by his military secretary. Immediately on their arrival in Bangalore, Col. Fraser was appointed by the Governor-General, to be his Political Agent with the force ordered to proceed against Coorg. Before passing the frontier, Col. Fraser issued the proclamation------.

"The campaign was brief and decisive though at several stockades in the passes of Coorg hills there were some determined resistance. On the 6th of April, the British flag was hoisted over the fort of Mercara. Col. Fraser offered the Raja's life and honourable treatment, if he surrendered. Accordingly on the night of the 11th April the Raja surrendered-----".

There is another reference to Coorg in the above-said Memoirs of Col. Fraser, and that was a letter to him by Fredrick Adams, Governor of Madras, dated the 17th April 1834, and in that it was said, that:

"-----I think we have much reason to consider ourselves fortunate in having brought the Coorg War to so early a conclusion------We have reason to be very thankful that your success has been so early and so complete. I shall wait with anxiety your reports after the Raja has quitted the Coorg territory, and when you had an opportunity of ascertaining what the real feelings of the Coorghas (Kodavas) are as respects a Government under a descendant of Viraraja (if any in existence) or as to their becoming subjects of the British Sarkar.

"------The Mysore question is referred to England for ultimate decision, and until that arrives, the Residency on the present scale of expense is to be reduced. Mr.Casamajor goes to Travancore with Lord William Bentinck, thinks that the new Resident ought to have political charge of Coorg also. I presume-----the country becomes an integral part of the British possession. and it must be governed as separate and distinct jurisdiction, under our management. Now, Lord Bentink's desire, I am pretty sure, is to offer you this double office, if it suits your views------.

"You are no doubt aware of the 'agreements' which the Mysore Residency offers in respect of climate, goodness and variety of houses etc and you can judge better than any one of the probabilities of Coorg being an agreeable residence or otherwise-----.

"Will it suit you to hold the Residency of Mysore and Coorg- under such an arrangement as I have sketched an outline of? And I am sure, Lord W. Bentinck would like to know your sentiments before making you the offer-----."

"Sd.) F.Adams, Governor, Camp- Ootacmund, 17th April 1834."

Those Kanara Taluqs:

With the arrangements made as cited above, Col. Fraser continued to be in charge of Coorg for some more time. The one big task before him was to see what could be done

done with regard to the taluqs of Puttur and Amara Sulya which were parts of Coorg. These taluqs came under Coorg about thirty years prior to that during the time of the Viraraja the Elder, and that was granted to him for the services that he had rendered to the Company. Now the time had come to have a second look over those areas. On the 19th April 1834, the patels and other chiefs of these Kanara districts of Puttur, Panje, Bellare, etc appealed to the Company Government that their taluqs are separated from Coorg because of the hardships they experienced. In their appeal they said, that:

"The hardships which we have suffered by our districts being ceded to Coorg may be relieved. Formerly under the Rani of Bedanore and Hyder Ali, we paid the fixed amount of revenue and enjoyed peace, and that was the case also when the country came into the possession of the Company later on. Since the time it was ceded to Coorg, successive Rajas, according to their fancy, have inflicted grievous punishments, forced labour and other hardships which have destroyed the people and left them with nothing. Because of the later war, our instruments of cultivation have been turned into arms; we have been compelled to perform military service at our own expense and suffered very much------.

"When we learned that by the recent proclamation that the Company has got the kingdom (of Coorg), we concluded that all our troubles were at an end and we rejoiced.------ If the country were now under the rule of the Company, we would have received a particular order from them------We are not yet sure what is happening there. This is the time of cultivation. All our implements were destroyed-----If there is any idea of giving the country to the Raja our case will be hopeless------We shall not remain in the country and-----throw ourselves into the sea-----Pray for relief----."

This petition was signed by the fourteen chiefs of Sulya, Panje, Bellare, Puttur etc. This showed that what a blessing it was for the people the emergence of the British rule in Indian villages. The people of the above-said taluqs were joined by those of Bantwal and Vittal, and they too desired to be under the British Government and not under the Raja. Those people in and around Mangalore wrote a petition and asked the British Government to put an end to the plunder of their towns by the people of the Coorg Raja, but when they learnt that there was no more the Raja in Coorg, those people were happy. However, the change the people aspired for, was within their reach, but it took some time as the British were pre-occupied with the affairs in Coorg and its exiled Raja.

The First Public Meeting:

Witnin a week or so after the fall of the Raja, the people of Coorg got their earliest opportunity to speak out openly. They were assembled for a meeting for the first time in the history of Coorg, because such a thing as public meeting and open discussions etc were never known till then for anyone. For them till then all sorts of tyrants were gods and murderers their rulers. No one knew anything about freedom or free expression, but it was for the first time on the 19th April 1834, Col. James Fraser, summoned the Coorg chiefs for an open-air public meeting to discuss about the future of Coorg. They were allowed to speak openly on the issue as to what and whom they favoured to rule over them- whether the Raja or the Company Government. Of course, the majority opinion was in favour of the British, and in that some staunch stooges of the Raja too joined to say that they preferred the British rule. Writing on this, Col. Fraser wrote to the Governor-General, on the 20th April, from Mercara, as below:

"-----The majority of the principal men in Coorg being now at Mercara, I assembled them yesterday (19th April) forenoon in a large building adopted for the purpose, an unfinished palace of the Raja, and after acquainting them in a few words with the deposition of their prince from the MUSNUD, and the circumstances which has led to that event, I desired that they would express their wishes without apprehension or reserve, in regard to the form of administration which they desired to be established for the future Government of the country.

"(Just when we were holding the meeting, the Raja sent a letter informing about the surviving members of his family. Col. Fraser circulated this letter among the Dewans and the people.")

"The Dewans, Karniks and others in the Assembly sat quiet in order, as is usual in native Durbars, and after taking the notes of all present, returned to the place where I sat, and acquainted me that unanimous wish had been expressed to be transferred to the British Government and to be ruled in future by the same laws and regulations- (KANNOONs and KAYADAs) which prevailed in the Company dominions.

A request was, however, added as from all the principal men assembled that in consideration of the long and strong friendship which had subsisted between the British Government and the Raja and his ancestors, he might be spared the degradation of removal and allowed to remain at Mercara but without power.

"I stated that I could communicate to the Governor-General all that they said, that I could not answer for His Excellency acceding to their desire to be transferred to our Government but that in the event of the arrangement being adopted, I was persuaded it would be an object of constant solicitude with the English Government to secure the happiness and prosperity of the country and that I thought this end would be obtained by the measure they had themselves proposed."

A Democratic Process Born:

If one went through the entire proceedings the British officials conducted during those days of transition, it could be said that how calmly, quietly and methodically and even democratically they brought forth the change from the tyrannical past to a benevolent present and future. The above said meeting, which was the first in Coorg, opened the eyes of the people to the new hopes and aspirations under a new and enlightened regime and that was exactly what had opened after that. The above letter by Col. Fraser continued to narrate some more facts about that historic meeting. He said, that:

"With regard to the Raja, I acquainted the Dewans and others that their wish for his remaining here should be communicated to the Governor-General but that I had no reason to believe that it would be granted.

"I also desired that a paper should be prepared recording the expressions of their desire to be transferred to the British Government and any such wish they might have to convey with respect to the Raja-----the paper should have their signatures and it should be forwarded to the Governor-General-----.

"When we again met this morning, the paper (No. 31) written by Dewan Laxminarayana-----Subedars of districts and other chiefs- being asked if they were prepared to affix their signatures to it, they replied they were perfectly so, and that they desired to be transferred to the Company's Government. They however demurred considerably to the removal of the Raja. They sensed to consider this event a cause of great degradation to them and appeared to desire that the Raja remain here, at least until the Governor-General's views are known-----.

"To this ofcourse, I would by no means agree. I told them that they were perfectly free to affix their signature or to withhold them but that their doing so, if at all, must be positively and in the full sense of the words unconditional, and that although I had permitted them to record and communicate to the Governor-General their desire to retain the Raja at Mercara-----.

"I expressed my surprise that they should consider the Raja's removal a disgrace, and addressing them in Hindustani which most of them understood, I observed although I

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I had hitherto abstained from using any harsh terms in speaking of their prince, they now forced me to explain his real character of which I concluded that many of the people in the distant Nads must hitherto have remained ignorant. I told them generally of the cruelty and oppression that were attributed to him but dealt more particularly on the mysterious disappearence and death of the members of his family which only be assigned to one obvious cause alone; it being notorious that nothing could be done in the interior apartment of the harem, unknown and unauthorised by the Raja. I then turned to the Dewans and upbraiding them severely for their duplicity and delusion of the other classes, I appealed to them openly to say whether the picture I had drawn of their late master was ~~not~~ just one or not. "

An Open and Stormy Meeting:

When Col. Fraser told the Dewans of their duplicity and such things, those dumb fellows still remained dumb and pleaded that they did not know anything of what happened inside the palace. It is certainly an irony of fate that the white men had to come from 5,000 miles away to discover what these tyrant rulers were doing in India and inside their silken curtains of their dark rooms of their palaces. They found that those Hindu and Muslim tyrants who were in hundreds all over India were just the men of lust and avarice and that they knew not to rule their kingdoms but only to carry on their oppressive and suppressive rule of terror. Well, here is what Col. Fraser told the people of Coorg of what their Raja was doing and with that he gave them courage and freedom to express themselves freely and openly. He continued to say that:

"The Dewans excused themselves in the usual way by asserting that they were acquainted only with what passed in the country and that they were totally ignorant of the secrets of the palace. They also repeated the oft-told tale of the Raja being young and ignorant, and he was misled by bad advisers like the late Dewan Basava.

"The Subedars and others then addressed ~~some~~ some violent and apparently reproachful language to the Dewans, and rather a stormy scene ensued; what passed however was in a language which was neither Kannada nor Hindustani, nor understood by any excepting the Coorgs (the Kodavas) themselves.

"After the whole party turned again to me, and after their earnest solicitation on their part to permit the Raja to be in Coorg until the Governor-General's views are known- a request to which I considered it my duty to refuse my assent, the whole assembly gradually gave way and signed in the order of the respective ranks. (copies enclosed.)

"It is to be remarked that although a strong deposition has been manifested that the Raja should not be removed out of Coorg-----yet that not a single voice has been raised in favour of his continuance on the MUSNAD. The circumstances combined with the fact of the unbiased choice of the people to be transferred to the British Government, in failure of the appointment to the MUSNAD- of a male legitimate heir of the Raja, necessarily implies that it is the object and habitual submission only with which they have been accustomed to regard their prince-----as 'superior being' which has hitherto operated to prevent the open expression of their opinions, not only with regard to the Raja but in respect also to many circumstances connected with Coorg which now seem of no value-----.

"Time may elucidate this-----I may obtain better information from the people later on....."

Coorg- A Political Acquisition:

Col. Fraser had given the people of Coorg full opportunity to openly speak out, and, excepting those chronically frightened Dewans and other top civil servants, all the rest took part in the meeting with the Political Agent for Coorg, Col. Fraser explaining the position of the Company Government in regard to the future of Coorg and to that of the

the Raja. Continuing his narrative on the proceedings of the day, Col. Fraser wrote to the Governor-General, stating that:

"The district of Coorg being rendered by nature, if defended with courage, almost inaccessible to an invading army, the disposition of the people, quiet and obedient as friends and subjects, but having the power of being most dangerous enemies, the central position of the district among the disturbed provinces around, to the turbulent and disaffected inhabitants of which it has long offered a refuge and exemption from punishment, its conversion at once from being a source of extreme evil and men dangerous- to be one of our strongest points of support- all these circumstances combined will render, I should imagine, our possession of Coorg, though of trifling or but little value as a revenue acquisition, YET OF THE VERY HIGHEST CONSEQUENCE AS A POLITICAL ONE.

("About the Raja's family, nothing is settled so far-----and, I told the people that the Governor-General's letters awaited-----")

"It will appear from the correspondence that the Raja alleges, he has a son but he expresses himself so ambiguously as to leave it doubtful whether this be a legitimate or natural son. Having therefore requested him to furnish me with further information on this point, he has sent me a verbal explanation that the son alluded to is not the child of anyone of the five wives mentioned in his letter but of a woman of an inferior rank. He has added the further information that one of his five wives is now pregnant.

"-----The Raja has requested 'to be allowed to remain at Srirangapatna or Yedatore, instead of being obliged to proceed to Bangalore. His ostensible motive is a religious one, that he may be near the waters of the Kaveri but I think that at least a partial inducement for asking this may be his repugnance to be in a place, especially if in confinement, where Chenabasappa and his wife, to whom he attributes all his misfortunes and disgrace, are residing and at liberty. This was hinted though not expressly stated- by the Munshis who brought his letter.

"I may suggest that Chenabasava and his wife, through the Commissioners of Mysore, that this country is now open to their safe return."
"Sd) James Fraser, Political Agent, Coorg. 20th April 1834, Mercara."

Some in Favour of the Raja:

Things were going in the direction of swift changes, and the people, especially the Kodavas, were not in favour of the Raja governing them although they said that they didn't mind the Raja's staying in Coorg like any other citizen. Col. Fraser ordered all the civil servants continue in their posts and carry on their duties. In his order of the 21st April 1834, he said, that:

You Ponnappa (Cheppudira), Bopu (Apparanda Bopanna), Laxminarayana and Soobayya (?) are hereby appointed until the further pleasure of the Rt. hon'ble the Governor-General to exercise power as Dewans and Karnik over the country through the channels of Karbaari Subedars, Mukteshwars and others attached to your departments, according to the rules heretofore in force. Sd) J.S.Fraser."

In another circular to all the Government servants in taluks, towns, villages, and Panyas, Col. Fraser said that:

"The former Dewans Ponnappa, Bopu, Laxminarayana and Karnik Subbayya, have been appointed to conduct the affairs of their country until further pleasure of the Right hon'ble the Governor-General. You will, therefore, obey all the orders in carrying on the public business as heretofore-----". Sd) J.S.Fraser, 21st April 1834."

As the state business was thus carried on without interruption, some non-Coorg groups among the Raja's favourites prepared an appeal and submitted to the British Government requesting them to retain the Raja in Coorg, perhaps, at least as a constitutional head. About this they did not make it clear. They simply said that:

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"----We jointly request to keep our Raja here even in the event of your not investing him with any authority-----We as well as our ancestors have been well-protected by his Highness and his ancestors. We have all been brought up through the liberal favour of the said family-----We are at a loss of words to express the sorrow and grief we all feel from His Highness's removal from this country-----".

This was the way the appeal was worded, and that was merely sentimental in tone, because Col. Fraser and officials who were with him had already taken the consenses of the people of Coorg, both at the public meeting held at the grounds below the present Mann's Compound and also elsewhere. Most of the people did not want him ~~even~~ to be inside Coorg even he had nothing to do in administration. Therefore, the above request came only from a handful of the Raja's own stooges- some Lingayats, Brahmins and the non-Kodavas of the border areas. However, while making their representations to the British, the people of Coorg quoted the letter of treaty of I790 that was done between Robert Taylor and the then Raja of Coorg, which said, that:

> 4th Article: That in March last, on settling the articles of the treaty of peace of Srirangapatna, Lord Cornwallis, in consideration of the noble and disinterested conduct of the Raja determined to rend him entirely independent of Tipu and to extend to him and his country the protection of the Company. The numberless objections were made to this and those were over-ruled, and the tribute amounting to 8000 HANS said to have been annually paid to Tipu from Coorg, was transferred to the Company.
>
> 5th Article: That the Raja readily agrees to pay to the Company annually 8000 HANS for their friendship and protection though he declares that Tipu received that sum from his country."

Coorg to be a Native State:

The people of Coorg quoted the above-said Articles now- after forty-four years, and said that they "desired to say without fear and doubt what system of Government we wish to be established in Coorg- the Raja Viraraja being deposed". Col. Fraser, in his memorandum to the Secretary to the Governor-General, dated the 22nd April I834, quoted these provisions and discussions exhaustively, which also said as below:

> i) We do not wish that any substitute should be placed over us as a Raja. We all consent to be governed according to the rules and customs of the British Government if an English Sardar is placed over us to examine into our grievances and protect us.
>
> ii) The removal from this country to another place of Viraraja, the descendant of that race which has for so many generations governed us and our forefathers, causes us pain and brings shame upon us. We, therefore, represent our grief to the British Government and pray that the Raja may be allowed to remain here although deprived of all his power and authority. We still remain obedient to the great Government.
>
> iii) In the time of Tipu Sultan, the great Raja and his subjects were strictly faithful servants of the superior Government. If in the same manner, and, as we have before petitioned, the Raja is retained and protected here, all the people of this country will greatly rejoice. What more shall we state to those who know all things?

In the para. ii above, the people wanted, they say, the Raja to be retained even without his being in any authority, and in the para iii, they say that Coorg should be native state, perhaps, with the Raja having partial control and the British with full power above him. But they forgot that the treaty of Tellicherry of I790 had made Coorg a native state already with the Raja in power and the British above him. They did not see where the Raja failed as the head of a native state, for 44 long years. The above

above petition was signed by 367 leading men who were present at the meeting held on the 19th April, and their number was explained as below:

The total number of	Dewans	3,	and all the	three were	present.
" " "	Karniks	one	"	one was	"
" " "	Munshis	nine	"	nine were	"
" " "	Syrkaryakar	two		one was	"
" " "	Vella Karyagar	ten		two were	"
" " "	Karbaari Subedars	five		four "	"
" " "	Mukteshwars	28		25 "	"
" " "	Taluq Subedars	ten		four "	"
" " "	Shirestedars	Seven		three "	"
" " "	Syr Hoblidars	three		two "	"
" " "	Hoblidars	three		two "	"
" " "	Parpathigars	65		34 "	"
" " "	Darogas	13		nil	"
" " "	Shanbogues	113		38 "	"
" " "	Gowdas	310		210 "	"
" " "	Inaamdars	70		35 "	"
" " "	Daffedars	40		10 "	"
" " "	Shettys	five		two "	"
" " "	Patnada Shettys	four		one "	"
" " "	Munneygar	Eight		nil	"
	Total	710		386	

It was reported that 183 more of the principal men assembled at Mercara affixed their signatures to a duplicate copy of the paper that was already despatched to the Governor-General. However, this was a good beginning for the entire installation of the new set up where the people were given full powers to voice their rights and privileges. In that way, the coming of the British to India was certainly a 'God-sent' incident in the history of the country.

Col. Stewart in-charge of the Raja:

As far as Coorg was concerned the ex-Raja had nothing to do there. He was only waiting for the day to be exiled from Coorg, and he was in the palace as a prisoner. There was only a day or two for the Raja to start his journey to some unknown destination and Col. Stewart was put in charge of the Raja's conduct and journey. The Dewans and Karniks continued their official duties under their new masters in the new regime, but they asked Col. Fraser to commission them to act with a view to ensure obedience to their orders, but they were told that till the Governor-General states about the transfer of Coorg to the British, they need not mention in Kannada papers about that.

As the preliminary enquiry was going on about the Raja's conduct, he denied any knowledge of the fate of Devammaji's son. The Dewans also pleaded ignorance but the Raja said that the mother herself dropped the child in the jungle while she hurried ahead with her husband Chenbasava at the Peryapatna borders. About Manuel Pereira, the Raja said that Pereira was 'turbulent' and 'vicious character' and was executed by his orders. It was said that he quarrelled with a Subedar. But people who knew about the incident said that Pereira was privately put to death on Raja's orders.

A petition of a Parsee- Thakorji Menekshji of Bombay, was presented to the Governor-General in February 1834. It said that his brother was tortured and killed on Raja's

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orders, leaving a child of six years. On enquiry, it was found that this man was thrown into prison on some offence. The child is still alive and well and treated kindly by the Raja himself. Col. Fraser gave the child to Dara Shah to adopt. After explaining these circumstances, the Political Agent added, that:

"I have also enquired of the Raja's supposed intended assassination of Chenabasava and his wife by a man of Constantinople, now in confinement in Bangalore. But on this the Raja professes ignorance and said that such a project had never entered into his mind.

"The revenue and other records are now in our possession. We will further search if there is any trace of proof left over there regarding all these charges. The Raja will quit Mercara on the 24th April, I834.

Sd) J.S.Fraser, 22nd April I834, Mercara, Coorg."

All arrangements were almost made for the Raja to start his journey. A rough estimate was that he would be accompanied by 77 families of his and his relatives and of his ancestors, twenty attendants, ten Brahmins as cooks, and fifty unarmed Coorgs as attendants. In a letter to the Raja's escort, Col. Stewart, dated the 22nd April, Col Fraser said:

"-----Pay particular attention to the custody of the Raja----and, form enclosures for security------The tents must be accessible to your visit- day and night-----During your route, a line of troops at very short intervals between man and man, should flank the whole party-----When encamped at different stages, one should be on constant guard- and ensure security of the Raja's person-----The route will be furnished by Brig. Lindsay-----I have requested the Commissioner of Mysore to have 300 palanquin bearers in waiting at Bettadpur to relieve the Coorg bearers-----You will send a daily report to the Secretary of the Governor-General until you reach Bangalore, and to the Commissioner of Mysore Affairs with a view to their being prepared for the Raja's reception."

The Raja Left Coorg:

The Raja left Coorg on the 24th April I834, afternoon at 3'0 clock. That was certainly a great event in Coorg because with him vanished the Haleri dynasty of Coorg which ruled over the land for about 200 years although the population of the junglee tract of land was not more than thirty thousand or even less. For most of the time the Haleri chiefs who ruled Coorg were under the Ikkeri Naiks, and that was so till Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan appeared on the South Indian scene. The British intervention in Coorg in I790 made the Rajas the feudatory chiefs under the British, and the last three Rajas, Viraraja the Elder, Lingaraja II, and the last Raja became tyrannical because the British did not want to interfere in the internal affairs of the country. But when the situation worsened by about I825, the Company Government took the issue seriously, and then on, the last Raja was just struggling himself to remain in power- rather stubbornly and stupidly. That he had to be exiled was a thing prompted by destiny because the event was already forecast during the days of his tyrant father that this ruling dynasty would be exiled and will become extinct thereafter. That prophesy had just started to work, and with the departure of the Raja from his palace at 3'0 clock in the afternoon, on the 24th April, an unpleasant chapter of the history of Coorg came to an end. There were few to shed tears for the Raja when he left although there were a good number of people who thronged to witness the scene of departure. A few of his stooges requested him to stay on and yet a few appealed to the British to show mercy on him, but

but most of the people, and almost all the Kodavas who had then formed about 80 per cent of the population, wanted the Raja to go. They craved for a change in the entire system, as they had enough of the kind of the barbaric regime. Indeed, that was the way how the original inhabitants of the land sent their chief out, whose ancestors were themselves intruders in Coorg. The way the Haleri dynasty rooted in Coorg was through sheer deceitful and dubious methods, and the last man in the line plunged into his fall by adhering to that same means.

Well, as the Raja's things were packed, a list was got up on all his baggages, and Col. Fraser informed his Government on the 23rd April 1834, stating that the Raja's luggage consisted of the following:

Silver and gold articles used for worshipping- in two boxes- 8 servants.
Women's cloths and beds- 29 boxes- 70 servants.
Copper and silver things and other articles- 6 boxes; 28 coolies.
Baggage of servants- 4 boxes and 12 servants.
Brass, copper and metal plates in 20 boxes; 30 coolies.
Clothings, silverwares, the Raja's bed etc- 57 loads and 194 coolies,
Baggage and stationary of Munshis in 9 loads; 25 servants,
Money for immediate expense- one load and four servants,
Rice and articles for food- 30 loads and 25 coolies,
Baggage of the bearers- four loads with six coolies.
Altogether there was a total of 160 loads with 412 men to convey them.

Col. Fraser Talks to Raja:

On the morning of the Raja's last day in Mercara, Col. Fraser saw him and had some intimate talks with the erst-while chief. It appeared that the Political Agent in Coorg, was able to get some clues on some grave disputed issues which brought down the man to clear out of the land that he ruled for fourteen blood-stained years. However, after he left Mercara, Col. Fraser reported to the Governor-General, dated the 24th April 1834, stating that:

"The Raja left Mercara at 3'0 clock today (24th April) for Bangalore-----His removal was conducted in an orderly manner------Col. Stuart's march will be only up to Makkandur, near Mercara------The Raja has been permitted to take Rs. 10,000 for his immediate and personal expenses-----He showed me two days back a great number of bags of money arranged on the floor of an apartment of his palace. These contained------money to the amount of 32,000 pagodas, and he acquainted me that this was what he proposed to carry with him to Bangalore.

"I told him referring to my earlier letter that Rs. 10,000 would be amply sufficient; his maintenance after his arrival at Bangalore being fully provided for by the British Government------He showed me a large quantity of money in sealed bags, amounting to about a lakh of pagodas which he told me was the property of his wives and other ladies of the harem some of whom were the widows of the preceding Rajas------I requested that he could dispose of that money in the same manner that I had suggested with regard to his own- viz in sealed boxes and superscribed to wait for the decision of the Governor-General.

He exhibited also two double baralled fowling pieces, entirely manufactured at Mercara which he told me he had long since detained as presents to the king of England and the Governor-General. He requested me to take charge of them with this view-----but as I doubted of their being accepted from him under the circumstances in which he is now placed, I recommended his taking them with him to Bangalore and making his instructions regarding them the subject of a direct communication from thence to the Governor-General.

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"During a long visit which I paid him on the above occasion, I was confirmed in the first view I took of his character that he is a person of weak and uncultivated mind giving away to every impulse of feeling and every suggestion of those around him, with but little judgment to discriminate between good and evil.

"I believe him to be stained with crimes of the deepest dye and to have been long in the habit of ordering or at least sanctioning the worst and darkest actions, but I think that the cruelty which they would seem to imply may be less the result of natural disposition than of utter ignorance of the habits and institutions of the rest of the mankind------.

"Talking about Chenabasava, he said, that if he had been returned, the affair could have been investigated and the truth would have known. About his sister, Devammaji, he said, she told lies and nothing else.

Some More Facts- Retold:

In his letter to the Governor-General, Col. Fraser had been frank and candid, and gives in detail all that the Raja said, and the rest of the facts that he could get from others as well on some controversial issues of the time, and Chenabasava's case was one of the hotly pursued issues of the time. Narrating on the Raja's last-minute deposition, Col. Fraser continued to say in the above dated letter, that:

"One of the Dewans present (on the occasion of my visit to the Raja) remarked that two men of H.M.'s 39th Regiment quitted the camp without leave some days ago whom I had desired to be strictly sought for and brought back when discovered. The Raja asked me what crime they had committed. I told him- desertion. Then he replied, 'that is exactly the offence which I allege against Chenabasappa'.

"About Devammaji's child, he again said as previously that the child was lost in the jungle during her flight and he knew nothing.

"Two women of Chenabasappa's party- one of them the wife Sitavva of his brother Ganapathy, fled up to Siddapur barrier. They were brought before the Raja. Dewan Basava said that they ought to be punished. The Raja then went in desiring Basawa to do what he pleased, who, of course, treated them cruelly. They now are in my tent. The other woman is Chenabasava's sister, Akkavva.

About Devammaji's child, Akkava said, that: Chenabasava and his party were surrounded by Coorgs near Siddapur Pass. She was then feeding her child with milk in jungle nearby. Coorgs attacked so suddenly that Chenabasava could offer no resistance for the rescue of the child but was obliged to seek his own safety and of his wife after a firing of a few shots at the opposite party. She with her child in her arms and accompanied by the other women of her party, were brought into Dewan's office in Mercara, and just within its outer gate, the child was, after some consultation there, taken from her and given to Sidlingee, one of Devammaji's woman slaves, and conducted by two men named Kuppanda Uthayya and Machanda Subbayya to the palace. Sidlingee carried the child as far as one of the inner gates from whence another woman, Devakka, took it into inside. This statement was corroborated by Beetti Subbayya- a long time worker in the palace.

"Later this same Subbayya said that he saw the child carried by Devakka into a room, a place reserved for the accommodation of the sick of the Raja's family. He knew nothing that happened afterwards. He was later told that the child was carried into the palace, it was put to death by order of Jamedar Mundoo who is now in Raja's service and proceeds with him to Bangalore. He also could not say what happened to Sidlingee and Devakka who actually carried the child into the palace-----.

"From this, I have little doubt of the real child of Chenabasava and falsehood of the Raja's character.

"Yesterday I introduced Col. Stuart to the Raja. During the talk he repeated about the war, its causes and our advance into his territory even after his sending a flag of truce------.

"Further information of the circumstances of Devammaji's child's death as well as of the Raja's life and conduct may be carried on with infinitely greater advantage at Bangalore-----". Sd) J.S.Fraser, 24th April, Mercara."

After Raja's Departure:

Just before the Raja's departure, another letter was given to the Raja in which it was said by Col. Fraser, that:

"-----There may possibly be articles of gold and silver of great value; I shall not object to your Highness taking these with you but I beg it may be well understood that whether you are to retain them or not with you will depend upon the future decision of the Governor-General. Sd) Col. Fraser, 24th April."

The Raja left at the exact scheduled time with a large number of people, as already said witnessing the scene. From Mercara, he was escorted by Col. Stuart and men of about ten regiments. The route was Kanive, Hebbale, Sirlecote and Bettadpur. Their first encampment in the Mysore territory will be Sirlecote on about the 26th April. In the morning of the 24th April, Col. Fraser wrote to Major Steele and Capt. Forbes, that:

"After the departure of the Raja, the Fort and palace will be open to your inspection-----You have the lists of the property which may be found-------You will find considerable sums of money in sealed boxes-----This money, I have told the Raja, will be kept in deposit until I hear from the Governor-General-----and, request you to keep them in your custody till further instructions-------The women of the palace will be staying in other apartments-----". Sd) Col. Fraser, 24th April."

In another letter of the same day, the Secretary to the Governor General, informed that:

"-------The Raja's place of confinement is not decided-----He can take only fifty unarmed men-----He forfeits right to all property, but delicacy be shown to women-----You will decide how much money can be reasonably allowed-----."

The next day, the 25th April, Col. Fraser received another communique from the Governor-General, on which the Secretary to his Lordship wrote that:

"The official reply of the Governor-General was received this day in which he wrote that he "can't comply with the request of the Raja to live in Yedatore or Srirangapatna. Moreover, he has no legal heir also from any of his family lines.

"Under the circumstances His Lordship is of the opinion that there can be little doubt as to the course to be pursued. To the Company- though their retention of Coorg under their management will afford but little pecuniary gain, yet in a political point of view the complete command of so strong a position must be of incalculable value while, to the inhabitants themselves of Coorg, a change from the despotic rule to which they have hitherto have subjected is accompanied by a judicious attention to their ancient usages and institutions, cannot fail of being in every respect desirable-----."

"The Commissioner of Mysore Affairs was informed to send back to Coorg Chenabasava and his wife." Sd) Secretary to the Governor-General, 25th April."

The Details of Raja's Treasure:

On the 25th April, a day after the Raja had left Mercara, Col. Fraser gave some more details about the Raja's family, his treasures etc. He wrote that:

"-------Fifty-six women were left in the palace. None of them wanted to rejoin the Raja; some of them were dancing girls. They were assured after a visit to them stating that their relatives would be contacted to take them back to their homes.

"Nilammaji (or Aftab-Muslim name), Tipu's widow, 62 years old, daughter of Mallayya Raja, the elder brother of Viraraja the Elder.

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"Devammaji (or Mehtab- Muslim name), Tipu's widow, 60 years old, sister of Viraraja the Elder. Both these women have no children. After Tipu's fall, they were sent back to Coorg.

"Seven concubines of the ex-Raja, and in all ten women, desired to live in Nalknad where they lived for thirty years. New troops are stationed there. An allowance of Rs. 200/- a month each, was sanctioned to them."

Col. Fraser wrote that two of the Dewans (Laxminarayana and Ponnappa) requested my permission to accompany the Raja as far as the Coorg frontier, but later they accompanied the Raja as far as Bangalore. After the Raja had left, valuable treasures that were left behind both in Mercara and Nalknad, were listed as below:

Gold ingots and coins said to be of women- estimated by Dara Shah- worth	Rs.3,00,000
Gold ingots and coins- supposed value-	96,000
Valuable Cloth-	4,500
two silver elephants, a pair of gold slippers, wooden throne ornamented with solid gold, ten excellent guns, rifles etc-	4,000
Several looking glasses, globe lamps, 50 cavalry saddles, china glass, 2 gold pocket compasses, saddles and bridles, etc	20,000
I30 horses, rice, cardamom and other grain and many other things-	72,000

The total value of things was worth about Rs. Five lakhs.

At NALKNAAD:

400 bundles of cloth, 30 candies of cardamom- worth about Rs. I0,000, Silver coins in bags and boxes, worth Rs. 3,50,000, Money brought from the taluq of Amara and Sulya, worth Rs. 6,000, three handsome howdahs, four bundles of shawls, plates, arms etc.

The total value of things was worth about Rs. Four lakhs.

Sd) J.S.Fraser, Political Agent in Coorg, Mercara, dated the 25th April I834."

~~The Story~~

The Story of the Investments:

At the other end in Mysore and Ootacmund, the British officials were busy working out on the old accounts of the money invested in the Company Government by the predecessors of the exiled Raja. On the 22nd April, Mr. Casamajor, who was in Ootacmund, brought to the notice of the Governor-General the letter from the Resident in Mysore, affording information as to the Bond No. I733, dated the 1st May I832 for Sicca Rs. 2,03,900 was invested in the name of ~~th~~ Viraraja the Younger, just dethroned. The letter said, that:

"It appears that in I809, the late Viraraja left by will to his daughter Devammaji the sum of Rs. 3,0I,I00 which sum was invested in Company's paper in the treasury at Bombay, and the interest arising from it was to be placed into the treasury of Devammaji. In May I8I2, the money that was invested at Bombay, Rs. 3,0I,I00 was paid off, and the amount was transferred into six per cent Bengal loan, and the promissory note in favour of Devammaji for Calcutta Sicca Rs 2,78,800, was received and deposited in the Residency treasury at Mysore, and Mr. Arthur Cole informed Lingaraja of the circumstance on the 2Ist October I8I2.

"In I822, in a new loan being opened, Mr. Cole requested the deposed Viraraja on the I7th April I822, to inform him whether on transferring the old promissory note to the new loan, he wished the interest to be added to the principal or whether he required the interest to be remitted to him. In reply the Raja begged that the interest amounting to Rs. I,25,000 may be added to the principal. It was accordingly done, and the five per cent obligation of the Supreme Government for Sicca Rs. 2,9I,300 was received and lodged in the Residency treasury.

"On the I0th January I824, the hon'ble Mr. Cole informed the Raja that the Auditor-General had forwarded to him a new five per cent promissory note No. 359 of 3Ist March I823 for Sicca Rs. 2,03,900 that the original amount- the sum of Rs. 87,400 was not accepted according to the tenor of the new five per cent loan and that he was directed by the

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the Government to return to the Raja, the sum of Rs. 87,400 together with six months' interest. Accordingly on the 7th May I824, a sum of Madras Rs. I,08,668 was remitted to the Raja of Coorg as shown below:

The inadmissible sum into the five percent loan-		87,400	
Interest on this for six months-	Rs.	2,I85	
" on the old bond for six months-	"	8,739-	Total Rs. 98,324.

Company Rs. I02,673- Deduction on account of Bill- five per cent- the balance was Rs. I,02,668 and odd.

Although under the orders of the Auditor-General, of the 30th December I823, to the Resident Mr. Cole, the sum of Rs. 87,400 not accepted to transfer to five per cent loan- Government ordered to return to the deposed Raja if this property should ultimately be adjudicated as the property of Devammaji and her heirs there would arise a just claim to expect the repayment of this sum from the Coorg Government-----.

The letters in the office of the Chief Secretary, Madras, related to this funds vested in the name of Devammaji, the interest of which is drawn by M/S Binny & Co; and paid to the several Rajas of Coorg, I beg that under the existing circumstances, the propriety of suspending further payment of interest or preventing all transfer or sale of such Company's paper until the Government pass decision as to the manner in which this property is to be hereafter employed for the support of the Coorg family."

Sd) Casamajor, Resident, Mysore, Camp- Ootacmund, 22nd April I834."

(P.S. The investment of this does not appear to be composed of funds which have accumulated since the deposed Raja's accession as the interest has been regularly drawn both by the deposed Raja and his father Lingaraja II.)

The Raja on the March:

As the Raja had been preparing to leave Coorg, Capt. F.Minchin, Commanding Wynad, reported about the situation in his area. In the letter of the 22nd April, he said:

"Mercara got the news of the crisis in Wynad stating that on the 3rd April, Coorgs crossed the country, killed some soldiers and carried a few. This alarmed the people of Manantody, Tirunelly and other areas. Rumours of Tenka Moothanna helping the Raja in spite of their ancient prejudices, was confirmed. Rumours were also there that on the night of the 3rd April, about I,000 Coorgs descended into Wynad through Brahmagiri hills while the chief men used to visit Moothanna almost daily----".

This was an effort of the Raja's men trying to convert Moothanna to their side, and that old man did defect to the Coorg side, and Capt. Minchin later wrote that Moothanna had turned to have been a traitor for the Company. However, things were settled with the sudden end of the expedition or war and with the decision of the Raja's surrender and his subsequent exile. On the evening of the 25th, the Raja had camped at Kanive , and the next day he wrote to the British authorities, that:

"-----Arrived at Kanive-----the females with me have suffered much from the heat. If we are to proceed in this manner to Mysore, I fear, we shall die of distress-----I pray that you will consider-----and allow me to remain in my native country-----and, by so doing you will obtain a good name." Sd) Viraraja, 25th April I834.

The Raja's first day's camp at Jumboor seemed to have gone on well in the cool atmosphere of the Coorg hills and jungles. However, Col. Stuart wrote from the Jumbur camp, in the morning of the 25th April,before they started for Kanive, as below:

"-----I succeeded in getting the ex-Raja and his numerous suits of females out of the palace at Mercara, about 3'0 clock. An immense concourse of people had assembled to witness the departure of their late hereditory prince and with many of these he exchanged words as he passed along. He requested to be allowed to mount his favourite elephant and to be preceded by a band-----I indulged him in both his requests-----At Makkandur camp- the Raja and his family were not settled in their tents until dark and

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and he begged to be allowed to halt today. I told that was not ~~possible~~ impossible, and after assigning frivolous reasons for wishing to delay, he gave in------and was prepared to start this morning at 6, when I had appointed for the assembly-----Today's march is five miles-----The Raja is perfectly mild, civil and attentive to any suggestions-----He, however, clings to the hope of being allowed to remain in Coorg, and with this view I imagine he wishes to protract the period of our arrival in the Mysore frontier. Nevertheless, he is patient and resigned. Today his spirits appears a good deal depressed----".
Sd) Col. Stuart, Camp- Jumboor, 25th April I834.

In the meanwhile, Col. Fraser received an information concerning some valuables of women in the Raja's ~~property~~ party, and therefore he wrote on the 25th April, that:

"-----A woman said that last month a large quantity of treasure was brought here consisting of bars of gold, gold coins, etc. All these were taken in Dhoolis. A quantity of gold in bars making a heap about a foot and a half high, was left here----.

"The valuables taken to Mercara were put in a large basket inside the palace, which the Raja declared it to be his intention to take with him wherever he went. She thinks that if the Dhoolis that the Raja had taken to Bangalore are searched those valuables will be found. She is willing to assist, and says it must be searched by women.

"The Raja had told his women to hide the bags under their arm-pits and put their veils over their head and shoulders if Englishmen attempt to examine Dhoolis.

"I have promised the woman who gives this information a handsome reward, and if anything valuable is obtained through her. The Raja's house in jungles is called Fort Mully but it is only known as a house in the jungle. The above said woman was in attendance with the chief woman. Her name is Wahna or Vaani (?).

"Instructions were now sent to the Commissioner of Mysore to examine baggages, palanquins etc of the Raja. Sd) Col. Fraser, 25th April I834."

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BOTH THE RAJA AND COORG 'MARCH' AHEAD.

A Mysterious Claimant:

Soon after the Raja was dethroned and his eventual exile from Coorg was announced by the British Government, a very surprising letter was received by Col. Morrison, Senior Commissioner at Mysore, during the last week of April 1834. That letter was from one Achuta Nayar of Travancore. The contents of the letter were so surprising that the British got that Malayalam letter translated. This Achuta Nayar claimed in that letter stating that he was legal heir to the kingdom of Coorg, and that he was a descendant of the Haleri family of Coorg. He characterised the deposed ruler and his father as usurpers of the throne, and then continued to state in his letter from Trivandrum, dated the 21st April 1834, as below:

"I beg that your honour will be pleased to pardon the liberty I assume in addressing these few lines upon a subject of great importance, and I trust that your honour, after perusal, will give due consideration to the same and afford me such relief- as my case may stand in need of.

"Coorg kingdom was originally formed into ten divisions or forts, one of which dominated the Haleri Fort, the capital, and other (forts) subjected to it. Like the Zamindars of Karnatic, the chiefs or heads of those stations, paid a certain sum of money annually to the ruler of Haleri Fort, and in after-times, the chiefs of our nine divisions dominated the Veppoonautoo-caur. (Nautoo- means Nad; caur- means 'of'- or of the Nad, like'Nad-kara', meaning- the chief of Veppoo-Nad (?).

"He (this chief) had a son born to him with CHANGOO CHUKRAM or marks of fortune on the soles of both of his feet, and who on attaining a certain age, was taken by the Haleri ruler and married to his daughter. Thus he became the sole heir of that ruler, and subsequently crowned as the Raja of Paulery (Haleri) and had the immediate control of Veppoo-Nadu (Is it Beppu-Nad?). He was my great grand-father.

"After his death, my grand-father was crowned as the Raja, and after his demise my uncle and afterwards my father Mootooyeir Nayar succeeded to the throne and reigned for ten years. (Is he referring to Utha-Nayak of Beppu-nad who might have had some illegal connection with those men in Bythur?) The present usurper's father (or uncle- Viraraja the Elder?) by name Iroopyen (or Virappa or Viraraja) had two brothers- named Singa Rajen (Lingaraja ?) and Uppeyan Rajan (Appaji Raja ?)- and these three were some distant relations to the chief of Madacaurey (Madakaray or Madikeri or Mercara) Fort, and in the death of the said chief, the rights of it (Madikeri Fort) were disputed by the surviving relations, and the three afore-named persons, had laid their claims before my father to be determined upon, and in an enquiry it was proved that the three persons alluded to, were perfect strangers.

"The other relations of the chief of Madikeri, the legal heirs (connected to my father (were there but) my father ordered the former chief (of Madikeri) to be turned out, but he (and his men) forming a plot with some of the people of Coorg, revolted against my father, and were twice repulssed, and since one of the aforesaid by name, Iroopayen (or Virappa or Viraraja), proceeding to Srirangapatna solicited the protection of Tipu. (Perhaps, here he meant that young Viraraja the Elder and his two brothers- Lingaraja and Appaji Raja were the prisoners of Tipu at Gorur and Peryapatna- of course, Tipu's headquarters was Srirangapatna.)

"(This Iroopayen (or Virappa or Viraraja) having proceeded to Coorg (after escaping from Peryapatna fort), and my father learning the same, sent me and the rest of the family to Travancore. My father was afterwards killed and the country was taken.

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"When my father had sent me and the rest of the family to Travancore, I was about eight years of age; and in my thirtieth year I proceeded to Tellichery, and represented my grievances relating to my claim to Mr. Baber, then Collector, and since I have represented my grievances to your honour also by a petition previous to your departure from Travancore, but to my great misfortune nothing has been done to me.

"From the late proclamation published by order of H.E.the Governor-General, it appears that the present reigning Raja had revolted against the British Government, and, I avail of the opportunity of making myself known to your honour with a firm alliance, that your Honour will be pleased to take my most distressed circumstances into your consideration and recommend the favourable notice of H.E. the Governor, Fort St.George, and, should my claim deemed just and lawful, I beg of your permission to be allowed to come forward and to represent my grievance in person and place myself under the patronage and guidance of the British authorities.

"To prove as to the truth of what I have already alleged, I beg to assure that should I be so fortunate as to make my appearence in Coorg, a great part of the inhabitants will immediately acknowledge me to be the son and heir of their late sovereign, my father Mootooyen Naiger (Nair), and if I had done so even before the war took place, they would have forsaken their present sovereign and joined me to afford assistance to the British Government, but I have not met with an opportunity to do so----.

"I beg to-----(and) I am labouring under very great distress at present, and am sorry that I have no means whatever to enable me to proceed from hence. However, should my attendance be required at the Nilgiries (where the Governor-General was camping), I beg to be favoured with your information, and the act thus confirred will until life be acknowledged with a lively sense of gratitude."

"Sd) Acheya Naiger, Travandrum, the 21st April 1834."

The Significance of the Above Letter:

The above letter, no doubt, was of a great significance. Though much of the evidences concerning the above incident is burried long before the first Mysore War during Hyder Ali's time, what exactly happened after Hyder's conquest of Coorg, ~~and in Coorg,~~ has not at all been clear. It is known that Lingaraja I, ran to Hyder Ali, and Devappa Raja was hunted by the latter and killed. After Lingarajas death, his children, Viraraja the Elder and his two brothers, their families were all arrested, and later Tipu Sultan ravaged Coorg. It was during this time, the people of Coorg, mostly the Kodavas, sought British help in about 1783, and for the first time. They wrote to James Seybold of Srirangapatna, and, who was the spokesman here, is not clear.

But, as said in the previous volume, Chapters IV and V, the man who initiated the idea of approaching the British for help as early as 1783, was one OUTA, or OUTIA NAIGUE. It was he, along with other Kodavas, sought the help of James Seybold of Srirangapatna at that time. OUTA might mean just Utha, the short form Uthappa or Uthayya; and, OUTIA can certainly be the short or corrupt form of Uthayya, a familiar Coorg name, and this name Outia or Uthayya might mean Uthayavar in Malayalam and Wodeyar in Kannada. Here NAIGUE might be the corrupt form of Naik or Nayak or even Nair. Anyway, the Raja Devappa, the last of the Horamale chief of Coorg, who sought the help of the Kote Raja might have known someone with the name, Mootooyen Naiger or Outia Naigue. Since the old Malayalam and Kannada names are not clearly written or spelt in the old English writings it is still difficult to find out correctness of the name Mootooyen, Outia, etc. However, one thing is clear, that there have been a lot of inter-district influx between Malabar

Malabar and Coorg, and there have been many inter-castal marriages and mixtures. Mootooyen Naiger, the supposed father of the above petititoner and claimant, Achuta Nair, must have been the same Outia Naigue or Uthaya Naik, or Uthayavar or Wodeyar, who sought the British help against Tipu Sultan in 1783. This man must have been of Horamale Devappa's clan, or a Kodava Naik who had nourished his desire to enthrone himself with the justified reason that those Haleri chiefs, the Lingayats, were all outsiders or intruders.

The above petititoner, who signed as Acheya Naiger, must have been definitely, Achayya Naik- a Kodava, son of Mootooyen or Muthayya or Uthayya. He said that he was sent as far as Travancore by his father, perhaps, considering the safety of his son who was only eight years old then. Achayya, no doubt, became a perfect Malayalee, having been outside Coorg, and in Kerala, for over fifty years. This young Achayya Naik, must have been sent to Travancore in the year 1785, and when he wrote his above letter in 1834, he must have been about 55 years old. Unfortunately, he did not make his or his father's identity and antecedents clear in the letter. If he had written a long note about himself, it would have been historically an interesting document. When he says that Iroopeyen, probably Viraraja and his men, were all usurpers, he comes close to truth, because Viraraja the Elder's father Lingaraja I, was certainly a usurper, because he came up by the help of Hyder Ali who deprived the claim of Devappa Raja of the Horamale branch. However, one thing is clear. The above petitioner, Acheya Naigue was not a Malayalee by birth, but he was definitely a man of Coorg, but, whether he was a Lingayat or Kodava, that he did not make ~~it~~ clear because he did not take the trouble of explaining much of himself or of his father. Of course, his 'Veppoonauto' was certainly Beppu-nad, and the word Iruppeyen was Virappa, who was later called Viraraja when he became a Raja. On the whole this is a mysterious document that offers some curiosity to the students of Coorg history if the Malayalees would not like to twist the whole thing to their advantage. In fine, the Commissioner of the Mysore Affairs, wrote on the 1st May 1834, to Col. Fraser, acknowledging Achayya Naik's letter, and said:

"A man from Travandrum, Achuta Nayar, (also called Acheya Naigue) wrote a petition setting forth certain pretensions to the sovereignty of Coorg.

"The Commissioner desires me to add that though he has no recollection of the writer of this petition or of any pretender to Coorg having addressed to him any petition in Travancore, he has no doubt, if that he correctly stated, ~~that~~ the document referred to will be found in the records of the Travancore Residency."

"Sd) The Secretary to the Commissioner, 1st May 1834, Mysore."

The Raja on the Move:

The deposed Raja, Viraraja the Younger, was on his move, and the British were extra careful in respect of his custody, his treasures, his companions, and things like that. On the 27th April 1834, Col Fraser wrote to Capt. Forbes, Commanding the Raja's party, that:

"With respect to the treasure which may fall into your hands, whether in sealed bags or otherwise, I am of opinion that it should be opened and a correct account of its value furnished for the information of the Governor-General."

Sd) Col. Fraser, Political Agent in Coorg, 27th April, Mercara."

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In the meantime, the Raja himself wrote to the Company Government, from his Sirlicote camp, on the 27th April, stating that:

"-----Arrangements for us should be made by the people I now directed, and you are aware that they are to be paid. If you will, therefore, write to two of the Dewans it will be a good assistance and convenience to us, otherwise, if you will direct Dewan Ponnappa and Karnik Laxminarayana to accompany us, it would be a great favour-----".

On the same day, Col. G.M.Stuart, of the Raja's party, wrote from Sirlicote camp, that:

"At Jambur, they (the Raja's party) waited for tents------On the 26th morning-----We passed through populous village of Haranghy. The people turned out on roadside to see the ex-Raja pass. Dewan Ponnappa accompanied the Raja to the border. He found it difficult to fetch more palanquin bearers.

"Next morning we crossed the Kaveri at Hebbale, and now encamping at Sirlicote. I propose reaching Bettadpur tomorrow.

"The Raja and family are in good health. They seem to be given up the hope of remaining in Coorg." Sd) G.M.Stuart, 27th April, Sirlicote- Camp."

On the 27th April, the office of the Political Agent in Mercara, got a letter from Col. Foulis in Virarajpet, testifying to the activity of one Bhavani Singh Kotwal, who obtained a certificate from Capt. Macdonald in Cannanore about a year later, which said:

"This is to certify that Bhawani Singh Kotwal of Cannanore accompanied the Western Column, Coorg Field Force, and performed all his duties of his situation with zeal and efficiency. Sd) James Macdonald, Cannanore, 3rd Sept, 1835."

Col. Stuart's another letter, dated the 28th April, from his Bettadpur camp, to the Secretary to the Governor-General, said that:

"------Reached Bettadpur. Coorg bearers will be relieved here tomorrow. The female attendants in the group are tired by walking. I hope to be able to convey them in country carts------The Governor-General's note not to allow the Raja to remain in Srirangapatna was conveyed to him, and he expressed himself much disappointed."

As the Raja was proceeding towards ~~the~~ his unknown destination, the Company Government in Coorg began to introduce their administrative system, and F. Clementson, Collector of Malabar wrote concerning the extension of postal lines, and said that:

"-----On the occasion of the Tahashildar of Kote (or Cotiote district) posting a set of runners from Cannanore for the purpose of facilitating the communication between the former station and the Western Column of the Coorg Field Force, he was also directed by Col. Foulis to extend the establishment from Stony River to Mercara, and as the persons so employed are all people of this district, I beg to submit a memorandum of the pay due to them and to request that you will favour me with an order-----."

The Coorg Situation- Discussed:

The Political Agent in Coorg wrote to the Political Secretary to the Governor-General, on the 29th April 1834, about the revenue department in Coorg as worked out during the days of the Raja, and then added that:

"------I find that the Dewans are of little use to me, and the most influential among them, if indeed there be any,------is yet absent with the Raja. They seem very ignorant, and the habitual tyranny by which they have been long oppressed, renders them not only still fearful of expressing any opinion with regard to the affairs of the Government but of affording any information even on the most trifling points, excepting such as is to be elicited by a great sacrifice of time and long cross examination. No hereditory honours or employment, but a very slight distinction of official rank, have ever obtained in Coorg, and upon my enquiring today from one of the Dewans whether he had even suffered

suffered corporal punishment by order of the Raja he immediately replied that it had been inflicted upon him such innumerable times that he could not remember them.

"There was no medium between the Raja and the rest of the people. He was the absolute and uncontrolled despot, and all the rest without exception were his slaves. It arises as a consequence of this former state of things that the Dewans possessed no inherent power, their orders, if considered a part from my own, will now be but little respected and perhaps but little likely to be obeyed. The people look up to the direction of a superior authority and to prevent the indefinite and powerless system-----which might produce much mischief, I have deemed it necessary to assume protempore more direct and personal administration of the country than I had at first apprehended would be necessary.

"Puttur people wanted to be under the Company rule and that area they wished to be reunited to Kanara- I told them to bring the consent of the people with their signatures in order to be sent to the Governor-General.

"Annual revenue of Coorg, I believe, is within Rs. 2,40,000 and the expenses of collection is Rs. 62,000. The Raja's expenditure, I believe, was very great, amounting sometimes the whole of the revenue.

"It is not yet known how much the population is. I guess the number of fighting men, or the grown-ups, both above and below Ghats, is 10,000.

"Civil suits were decided by Panchayats composed of a Dewan assisted by Subedars. Criminal ones are always decided by the Raja on the report of the Dewans. Corporal punishment to extract truth was often given.

"The people in general of Coorg appear to me to be naturally a fine race, quiet, docile and obedient, and I have no doubt that under judicious management the inhabitants may not only be rendered perfectly happy and contented, but that in every point of view the condition of the country will be susceptible of great amelioration-----".

"Sd) Col. J.S.Fraser, 29th April 1834, Mercara."

Some New Developments:

The Raja's movement from post to post is going fast, and he had already nearing Mysore by the end of the month of April 1834. In the meantime, his formidable enemy who caused the entire trouble to him, his brother in-law, and his own sister, Chenabasava and Devammaji, were informed by the Residency officials in Bangalore that they could now return to Coorg. In response to that, on the 29th April 1834, Devammaji, wife of Chenabasava and Raja's sister, wrote to the Political Agent in Coorg, that:

"------We have received your letter------We may return to Coorg without apprehension when we please; we will inform you what equippage we require for our journey. The Huzoor will provide the same. During the life-time of our parents all our expenses were paid by the Sarkar, but after our brother's (the deposed Raja) succession to the Government, he subjected us to many troubles and designed to kill us. Therefore, in order to secure the safety of our lives we have taken refuge under the Company's Supreme SAMSTANAM. In consequence of this, all our property has been taken by our brother----- as we are anxious about our child we will proceed to that place in May-----(and) will cause the property of our followers to be restored to them-----We shall not forget in our lives the kind treatment we got from them when we quitted the country-----(We may need) two palanquins, bearers, three Dhoolis, five carts etc etc-----"

Sd) Devammaji, Bangalore, 29th April 1834."

Col. Fraser wrote to the Governor-General something about Dara Shah, an old confidant of the Raja as well as the English. On the 30th April, the Colonel wrote that:

"------I deem it my duty to recommend the Parsee Dara Shah to the favourable notice of the Governor-General. Before I left Bangalore many offered services to me assuring they knew Coorg. They seemed to be mere pretenders who have no other object than to obtain money.

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"------Dara Shah's intimate knowledge of Coorg, is derived from his having had commercial transactions here for thirty years, and his having been employed as an agent by three successive Rajas, gave him advantage that no other man could possess.

"He resides in general at Tellichery, and, engaged in trade------He is a subject of our Government------and has intimate acquaintance of the ex-Raja------He is greatly esteemed in Coorg, and, a friend of the Dewans. I recommend with reference to his valuable services he has performed, that a reward may be conferred upon him by our Government------He deserves a pension also------."

The Political Agent in Coorg, by a notification of the 30th April 1834, said that:

"------Inventory of all cattle and property of the ex-Raja to be prepared. The merchants offer to buy the whole paddy of Government property now at different PANYAs. A committee is set up to go into it, and that includes a Shanbogue, a Patel or a Gowda, a principal merchant and a peon."

During this time, that is, on the 30th April 1834, the MADRAS HERALD, a South Indian newspaper of the day, reported that:

"Preparations are being made in the Bangalore Fort for the reception of the Coorg Raja. The weather is very hot. It was reported that Col. Fraser had remonstrated against the King's 39th Régiment being kept in Coorg during the monsoon."

About Raja's Treasures:

For a long time there has been some talk and even an intense search to find out the treasures of the Raja, and the Company Officials were busy finding out the hidden wealth of the erst-while chief, as and when reports about it came to their knowledge. Colonel Stuart who was in camp- at Kittur, ten miles from Bettadpur, wrote to the Secretary to the Governor-General, on the 30th April 1834, that:

"------Dara Shah informed that he had discovered that the Raja had more money in his possession than it has been intended by you that he should be in possession of. He requested to be allowed to take this money with him to be delivered to you. This, however, I declined to allow and upon directing that it might be produced a sum of about Rs.25,000 in gold, was produced and deposited in a tumbrill-----I did not consider it expedient to open the bags which were sealed-----.

"Dara Shah had informed me that the Raja had already had a sum of Rs. 6,000 and that two more would be consequently required to make up the stipulated amount of Rs.10,000. This was by Dara Shah's arrangement paid over to Dewan Ponnappa.

"I think Dara Shah has exercised the complete control over the whole of the Raja's pecuniary matters------I further deem it improper to mention that two Dewans (who had accompanied the Raja) left the camp on the 28th evening without so much intimating their intention to me, although I had, in consequence of your wish that they should return as soon as possible, made enquiries regarding them during that day-----."

Capt. Forbes of the Raja's party, wrote to the Political Agent, on the 1st May, that:

"As reports daily reach me of treasure being still buried and concealed in various parts of the country but without directing attention to the precise spot where it is found------I request, you will obtain sanction of the Governor-General to my offering an advance reward of five per cent for such information as may directly lead to discovery. Sd) Capt. Forbes, 1st May 1834."

On the ARAMANE PANYAs or the lands managed by the palace directly, Col. Fraser said that those were a loss to the Raja. They were not well-managed. He said, "I have sent orders to the heardmen to tender them on farm to the ryots within the respective Nads where Panyas are situated-----The business is conducted peacefully, and the revenue is being determined."

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Further, the Political Agent was told by the Government, on the 1st May 1834, that:

"-----With regard to Puttur, his Lordship will determine-----whether it shall be transferred to the district of Kanara or remain united with Coorg.

"------You will be pleased to issue a proclamation-----stating the grounds of transfer assuring the people that they shall not again be subjected to native rule; that civil rights and religious usages will be respected------etc".

Sd) W.H.McNaughton, Ootacmund- camp with G.G.'s party."

In the above letter, the Secretary to the Governor-General also said that the elephants sent to Bangalore or those in Coorg "may be disposed of at Hyderabad or any other place where in the opinion of prize agents same may be affected----". He also said:

"The treasure left in Mercara may be unsealed and counted or weighed in the presence of the Committee of officers-----This is not considered as prize-----for the sake of greater security it may be removed to Bangalore. It should be kept apart from the rest of the property.

"The property which you may cause to be removed to Bangalore under the instructions should of course be sent in charge of troops------and it should be consigned to the custody of the Commissioner in Mysore to whom an inventory should be furnished."

The Search of Baggages:

During the Raja's journey, he saw that some of the heavy bags that was filled with jewels and money are buried in some safe places, and that he got done at the places where he camped during the first two or three days of his travel. In fact, the later evidences said that the treasures were buried in places near Sirlecote, Bettadpur etc. The reports on all this was promptly sent to the supreme Government, and in response to that, the Secretary to the Gpvernor-General wrote to the Commissioner of Mysore on the 1st May 1834, that:

"------When the ex-Raja and the whole of his followers and baggage shall have entered the Fort (at Bangalore), the Commissioner will be pleased to apprise him that it being understood that he has carried out of Coorg a much larger quantity of money and effects than was authorised, the Governor-General has been pleased to order a strict search to be made and any excess found to be set apart and retained in safe custody until the receipt of His Lordship's further instructions------.

"The mode of conducting the search-----that men of equal and superior caste should be employed to search the palanquins of the females of his family------It is not the wish of His Lordship that they should be deprived of any ornament which may be worn on their persons-----A tent might be pitched in the vicinity of the house prepared for the reception of the ex-Raja and his family, and the females might be required to enter the tent one by one submitting to the necessary search they being enjoined in the first place to take nothing out of the palanquins which the females have left them might afterwards be carefully searched-----so also the baggages-----.

"All sums of money exceeding Rs. 10,000 and all property in excess of what was allowed to be taken out of Coorg should be retained until further orders under the seal of the Commission. Sd) W.H.McNaughton, Secretary to the Governor-General, 1st May 1834."

The Raja's party was in Yedatore camp on the 2nd of May. Col. G.M.Stuart wrote to the Governor-General of India on the 2nd May, that:

"The Commissioner of Mysore Affairs has provided 335 bearers and 25 country carts to escort Raja, his men and baggage. Those came from Coorg left-----The seven eunachs who escaped were found lurking at Bettadpur. Sd) Col. G.M.Stuart."

He also added that the "the Raja is having slight fever. This morning he is better The hot climate here has put many of them into trouble. Attention is paid to the general health of the troops." Camp-Yedatore, 2nd May 1834."

Those Kanara Districts:

There was a serious and esrnest request from the people down the Ghats, and those adjoining the Kanara coast, that they definitely wanted a change by their taluqs annexed to the Kanara district instead of Coorg district, as it then existed. The reason they gave for this change was varied, but mainly they said that they were tired of the oppressive rule of the Coorg Raja, and they would henceforth try to be happy in the district ruled by the Company Government. To that end, the people of the taluqs of Amara and Sulya said in a petition to the Governor-General, dated the 2nd May 1834, that:

"When this country was under the rule of the Rani or princess of Nagar (or Ikkeri) the Raja (of Coorg) requested her to confer the Government of it on him, which was accordingly complied with. Agreeably to the orders of these Rajas, we paid land taxes, and during the time of Hyder and Tipu and during their rule over Coorg and this taluq (Amara and Sulya), we paid the rents and supported our families.

"The Coorgs having rebelled against them------They were forced to be sent to Mysore, and the Coorg Rajas were kept at Peryapatna. Coorgs escaped from Mysore and committed outrages, and later the Raja also came and collected the people. They plundered all our houses and assumed hostility against Hyder and Tipu. By fighting against them the Coorg people settled in jungles. They invited them also and threatened of killing of our families, if we did not join them. They removed some ryots to Nads and gave land to them, but most of them died because of the climate. The lands below the Ghats left uncultivated and their arecca and coaoanut trees were destroyed.

"We represented our trouble to the Rajas and they told us to go back to the districts. We paid the usual taxes. The Coorg people ran the Government. People between ten and fifty years old were forced to do hard labour carrying stones on the head, etc. They even whipped people unjustly; we were asked to prepare arms, match-locks, swords etc.------ We pray for the remission of taxes. We suffered from Coorgs very much. We cannot remain under the authority of the Coorgs; if we are forced to be under that situation we may have to quit the country-------.

Sd) By 47 leading men of 'Amarada Magane' Sulya district. 2nd May 1834.

From this it was clear that the Raja had been perpetrating harsh and atrocious rule with the support of the gallant Kodavas, and those poor people below the Ghats had to force the Government to separate their taluqs from the Coorg district. But when they came to know that the Raja was no longer in control, and the Company Government had taken charge of Coorg, two parpathigars and two Shanbogues again took the views of the local people if they still wanted to be separated from Coorg, after the change of the old despotic regime. Those people in those days, as they are even today, were coming to Coorg in seasons to work in the fields and farms. Col. Fraser said that from Puttur about 1,000 people were sent monthly to Mercara to work as coolies. After their work was over, they would return. Therefore, even those of Puttur, in a memorandum, urged the British Government to annex their taluqs to Kanara district. It was also known that there were about 1,500 slaves attached to the Raja's farms or PANYAs. The people had no way to protest but had to be condemned to perpetual slavery.

Letters from Army Units:

After the Coorg expedition the British Army units and Columns that came by different routes were stationed at different places, and those were there as a measure of national security, but those men in the Army were given some civil service activities as though [illegible]gencies. The military roads, highways across Coorg, some bridges like

like the one over the Kaveri near Siddapur and several such projects were then taken up with the technical help of the Army engineers. In this connection, the Political Agent in Coorg wrote to Lieut. Detmas, commanding Sappers & Miners, on the 3rd May 1834, that:

"I have the honour to acquaint you that it is in contemplation to make three good military roads through the district of Coorg.

"FIRST, from Peryapatna through Siddeshwar, Siddapur, Virarajpet, Heggala Ghat and Malabar.

"SECOND: from Peryapatna through Nanjarajapatna to Mercara, Western Ghats, Amara-Sulya, Puttur and Kanara.

"THIRD: from Hosakote to Kodlipet, Somwarpet, Mercara, Virarajpet through southern taluq of Kiggatnad, descending the Ghat through Wynad.

"It is possible that these three main roads may be susceptible of a much better direction than the one by which they are carried on at present----.

"I shall be much obliged by your favouring me-----a rough estimation of the expenses of building a stone bridge over the Kaveri between Peryapatna and Nanjarajapatna, as well as over the same river between Mercara and Virarajpet."

The above list of projects of public works department, was taken up shortly after, and the different units of the Army were split up, and, in fact, the MADRAS HERALD of the 3rd May 1834, said that:

"All the Coorg Force is broken up. The 36th Native Infantry is to remain and all the other Corps move to Bangalore, Mangalore, Cannanore, Bellary and Shikaripur. They have found about ten lakhs of rupees as prize money."

Col. Fraser's report to the Secretary to the Governor-General, dated the 5th May 1834, said, that:

"Excepting the Sappers & Miners, the rest of the regiments stationed in Coorg were thought to be removed. But then monsoon was setting in. Even the road work could not be taken up by the Sappers & Miners-----People of Coorg are keen to see to get the both Kannada and English schools opened.

"At present there is not a man in all Coorg----and above the Ghats, who understands English. Hindustani, however, is very commonly known-----The records are written in Kannada and others in Hindustani as well-----.

"The land revenue of Coorg having been always paid both in money and kind, there are at present considerable quantities of gram belonging to SARKAR in all the Nads and taluqs-----". Sd) James Fraser, Mercara."

Four Kodavas to see Lord Saheb:

Certainly, the dawn of a new era in Coorg after the deposition of the tyrant Raja, was, no doubt, for the benefit of the people. The people of Amara-Sulya and Puttur had very many complaints against the former regime, but Col. Fraser ordered that "all complaints of the people of Puttur should come to me and their complaining to the authorities in Kanara (Mangalore) should be discouraged." The Raja, by now, had passed Mysore, and on the 5th May, he camped at Krishnaraja Katte. Col. Stuart wrote, that:

"The Raja's health is satisfactory. We are 16 miles from Srirangapatna. Raja's behaviour is good, and has resigned himself to my direction. Capt. Carpenter ably assists me-----". Sd) G.M.Stuart, 5th May 1834."

At the same time, Fredrick Chamers, Secretary to the Commissioner of Mysore, informed Coorg Government, on the 3rd May, stating that:

"-----You will have goodness to take such measures as you may deem fit for the relief of the guard escorting Devammaji and her husband Chenabasava at Bettadpur, where they are expected to reach about the 14th May."

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But the biggest news of the day was that the four prominent Kodava officials of the day, with the freshness of the new spirit they inhaled under the new and enlightened regime of the Company Government, mustered courage and enterprise, and then wrote to the Dewan Apparanda Bopu or Bopanna, stating they intended to go to Bangalore to see Lord Saheb, the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck, during his visit there. The four men who sought permission for such a trip were Iypanna, (family name not known) Subedar of Virarajpet, Codanda Madayya, Subedar of Puttur, Mandepanda Monnayya, Subedar of Amara-Sulya and Karneravanda Muddayya, an official at Kiggatnad. They wrote on the 6th May 1834, as below:

"We are employed in doing SARKAR duty at Beppunad Katchery. Having given orders to the other four Subedars, our colleagues, and two parpathigars attached to the Nad offices, to carry on public business, we the four Subedars and eight parpathigars along with two or three ryots of each Nad have set out this day to pay a visit to H.E.Lord Saheb, at Bangalore.

"Pray, convey the intelligence to Col.Fraser Bahadur at Madikeri.

"Sd) Iypanna, Madayya, Monnayya and Muddayya, Subedars, 6th May 1834."

'Madakaray Became Mercara:

The original name of Mercara was Haleri as the modern Mercara was at that time was only a hill, perhaps, attached to the Haleri village, a few miles away. Later from about 1800 or so it came to be called Mahadevapet in memory of Rani Mahadevamma. Even before that the new township that was emerging around the hill was called Madhukeri or Madikeri, and the name Madikeri became officially used from about the year 1823 during the time of the last Raja. The British had begun to say Madakkara or Madakkaray in their records from about 1795 although in some papers they used the name Mercara, but from the 7th May 1834, Col. Fraser officially declared that all correspondence thereafter would be as Mercara instead of Madakaray or Madikeri.

Well, as to the Army placements in Coorg, the MADRAS HERALD reported on the 5th May, that "Either the King's 39th or the 57th was likely to be stationed in Coorg with five regiments. The 19th Native Infantry will return to Bangalore."

Parsee Dara Shah, who was assigned to investigate about the Raja's finances informed Capt. Forbes who wrote to the Political Agent, on the 6th May, as below:

"Dara Shah-----has informed me that the money does not belong to the women (Ranis) (as reported by the Raja earlier) but to the Raja himself, and moreover that the account of the amount placed on the bags is false and incorrect. With such evidence of deceit and fraud on the part of the Raja as we have already seen developed, I am inclined to believe Dara Shah's statement." Sd) Capt. Forbes, 6th May 1834."

Another bad evidence against the Raja came from Syed Mustaffa, a Turk of Egypt, who said that he was commissioned by the ex-Raja to kill Devammaji and Chenabasava. He also said that the Raja gave him money and horse. This Mustaffa, in black dress, large knife and an axe had told the Raja that he was a Fakir. A correspondent on the Coorg campaign reported on the 6th May 1834 in one of the 'Couriers' that:

"The Raja has marched for Bangalore. His eventual destination is unknown----- His minister, the cause of the war, escaped into the jungle. Col. Fraser offered Rs. 1,000 for his apprehension and he was found hanging in the jungle-----The troops will

will get some prize money; I dare say- four or five lakhs of rupees----.

"What a fool (the Raja)- the fellow was given in! His country is perhaps the strongest both by nature and art- in the whole world-----Had he defended his country as he had ample means of doing so, the capture would have cost us months of labour, and probably the loss of some lives. But our good fortune has triumphed-----.

"The first thing to be done now is to open the roads and passes-----The next to hold out inducements to the people to settle in the country, for, I hear it is thinly populated and that the jungle has enriched by the cultivable land. The revenue is estimated at the trifle of two lakhs and eighty thousand rupees----The Raja is completely humbled-----". (A British Correspondent- dated the 6th May 1834).

About the Raja's Family:

The Raja, perhaps, in a hurry, left his money at different places, and all that booty the British collected had gone up to nearly Rs. 10 lakhs. They found Rs.80,000 in Nalknad besides two valuable howdahs of ivory and silver. The Political Agent wrote to the Secretary to the Governor-General on the 7th May, that:

"I have reason to believe that the ex-Raja has taken some of the records of his Government, especially books containing political correspondence. I request-----the Commissioner of Mysore Affairs, may be instructed to send me back any papers or books found in the Raja's baggage on his arrival at Bangalore-----".

As to the taluqs of Puttur, Bellare, Amara-Sulya etc, it was found that only fifty percent people favoured their merger into Kanara. So the matter was set at rest for some time. Col. Fraser wrote that Dara Shah preferred to take for his services land at Bombay or Surat instead of the pension of Rs. 300 sanctioned to him. He also said in another letter of the 7th May, that:

"Several parpathigars and other principal men of the country having proceeded with the Raja to join him on his route to Bangalore, I request you will be pleased to instruct all those persons including Dewan Ponnappa to return forthwith to Coorg-----All persons beyond the exact number of persons whom the Raja is permitted to retain, should be ordered out of your camp----". Sd) Col. Fraser to Col. Stuart of Raja's party.

The MADRAS HERALD reported that the Raja was scheduled to arrive in Bangalore by the 10th May, and the Fort is made ready for him to stay. In another news-report of the 7th May, the same paper said that:

"All the common necessaries of life are very inferior (in Coorg). It is difficult to get eggs, ghee etc- not procurable and those are double the price than Mysore----.

"It is reported that Rs. 15 lakhs have got in hand. One and a half lakhs of rupees were found in the underground near Nalknad, and about 150 of the Raja's horses were to be sold as prize money."

From an account like this, it seemed that the amount of booty was rising high, and the Raja had been treating Coorg as his private property and was not spending anything for the benefit of the people out of the tax recovered from the people. About the family of the Raja, Col. Fraser wrote on the 7th May, that:

"Viraraja the Elder's daughter Devammaji had four children who are all dead. No heir is left now; the youngest died a natural death; the three others were recently murdered. The oldest was married to one Mallappa who is still alive and has furnished me with useful information. I have applied to every part of Coorg to obtain an account of the Raja's family-----.

"The extreme mystery in which the whole affairs of this country are enveloped has only lately admitted of my becoming acquainted with the fact that besides the females

females at the palace-----There are others in Haleri------The sister of the ex-Raja has just arrived from Bangalore and she also claims support upon this point.

"The ryots waited upon and asked for remission in the assessment. The administration machinery is being over-hauled-----Coorg remains tranquil and obedient-----".

Some Administrative Measures:

On the 8th May 1834, Col. Fraser wrote to the Governor-General a long report on the administrative changes and measures that had been undertaken in Coorg. The Army that was in Coorg, was combing for the wanted people here and there. A company of the 9th N.I., under Capt. Roberts guided by some Kodavas, captured the family of the late Dewan Basava. Further, the Political Agent's report said, that:

"After the Raja's departure, he was joined by many headmen-----The business of the respective Nads was in consequence much neglected and some degree of inconvenience and confusion ensued. I sent Shirestedars and officers to Nads and remedied the confusion---.

"It may also be remarked that I received some days ago a letter from Dewan Ponnappa requesting that I should permit him to proceed to Bangalore and to remain there with leave of absence for a month to arrange the Raja's affairs. To this, I sent no reply----.

"While I was with the two remaining Dewans and the Karnik, when the business of the day was over----a letter was delivered to one of the Dewans- Bopu. (That letter was that the four Subedars- Iypanna, Madayya, Monnayya and Muddayya desired to go to Bangalore to see the Lord Saheb)

"I expressed my surprise that the Subedars should have quitted their posts without my permission, and immediately ordered peons to be sent to bring back the whole party to Mercara-----even by force, if they didn't come willingly. The Coorgs have long been accustomed to be ruled by a stern, cruel and unrelenting despotism and although this is no longer necessary, they still require and continue to do so until the affairs are set in order.

"Two of the Brahmin Munshis gave me private intelligence that one or two of the above party had been with the ex-Raja at Bettadpur and had been received Rs. 1000 from Dewan Ponnappa to return to their Nads for the purpose of inducing others, to join them with a view to their proceeding to Bangalore to petition the Governor-General to permit the ex-Raja to remain in Mercara.

"Dewan Bopu (Apparanda) whom I regard as one of the best men in the country-----came to me this morning and stated that he thought the order I had given was perfectly right and even indispensibly requisite.

"I do not attach any importance to the incidents------but if a communication continues to be maintained between the country and the ex-Raja at Bangalore-----I would beg permission to recommend that the Raja be removed to a distance sufficiently great to guard against the further consequence of bribery and intrigue."

Apart from the above law and order measures, the political Agent in Coorg had many other subjects to be consulted after a thorough discussion with his advisers. There were demands to start schools, build roads etc, but it was too early to take up all that as the situation had yet to be normalised. In a letter of the 8th May, the pension of Dara Shah and his son "for their valuable services during the late military operations". It was also ordered to offer "a reward of five per cent for such information as may directly lead to the discovery of property (or treasures) hidden in Coorg".

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Fresh Evidences on Raja's Atrocities:

An Inventory of Property:

This is an account of the detailed inventory made on the ex-Raja's property, as it stood on the 9th May 1834, and as reported by Capt. J.D.Forbes, Mercara: These figures were just an estimated value of the things:

Silver coins and ingots at Nalknad----	Rs. 4,69,371
Gold " " " "	2,546
Gold coins left at Mercara-----	5,63,875
From Amara-Sulya- sent for payment of troops-----	6,000
Sale of 131 horses and saddles-----	8,097
Articles in go-downs------	1,945
Proceeds of sale effects-----	2,000
Nineteen elephants------	25,000
Three howdahs with net trappings------	10,000
Two silver elephants-----	2,000
Throne-----	2,000
Ten valuable guns and rifles-----	5,000
Musical Instruments-----	2,000
Sundries and furniture-----	3,000
50 Candies of Cardamon-----	15,000
Copper and brass vessels- about 2000-----	16,000
Rice, paddy, etc-----	10,000
Sandalwood- 150 candies-----	7,500
Ivory- three candies-----	1,650
About 2500 heads of cattle-----	7,500
Money got by Col. Stuart on the way to Bangalore-----	25,000
Two trunks of plates and a few jewels-----	25,000
Miscelleneous------	500
Total (roughly)	Rs. 12,50,000.

From Puttur area no correct account of the assets was given because of the confusion among the officials there. Col. Stuart later wrote to the Commissioner of Mysore, that "a sum of money equal to about Rs. 25,000 was made over to my charge by Dara Shah who described it as being in excess of the sum which Col. Fraser had allowed the Raja to bring with him." This amount was immediately sealed, and not counted. The inventory taken on the Raja's baggage on the 12th May revealed the following:

Eleven cases containing double-barrelled fowling pieces,
Three " " pistols,
Four " sabres of sorts with scabbards,
Seven Coorg knives set with ivory,
One dagger and seven spears,
Four cases with gun-powder, losse balls etc,
Five peon's belts with silver badges, leather belts, etc.

Evidence By Imamdar Erappa:

Another report on the Coorg expedition appeared in one of the leading "Couriers" of India, on the 12th May 1834, and that said that:

"The Coorg war was at an end. The Dewan, the supposed instigator of all the evils that happened, killed himself. The sun of the glory of the Raja is set- the career of his sovereignty came to an end. He goes to the "splendid sepulchral mansions provided by the liberality of the Government for obstinate and unrule chieftans, a fresh illustration- another living monument of the generousity of the British of the case---"

To decide about the Raja's future destination, the Company Government were keen to know some more of his past actions and commitments while he was the chief of Coorg. Therefore, an elaborate panchayat court enquiry was instituted, and Col. Fraser himself was one of the leading interrogators in the inquiry proceedings. On the 12th May 1834, they interviewed one Imamdar Erappa, and the proceedings were as below:

Name: Chikkatoloo Erappa, Gowda by caste, and ryot by occupation!
In the time of the Raja what were you? "Imamdar of ten peons"
Manner of job? "I commanded a guard over the storeroom in the palace and any other work I would undertake if ordered."
Did the Raja cause any persons put to death after the death of Lingaraja?
"Yes, about fifty persons from that time and till now".
How many of those were the Raja's relations? "All of them."
What was their crime? "I do not know."
After the flight of Chenabasava and till now, how many were put to death?
"6 men, 5 women, 8 children, 3 girls, 5 boys. I am not sure of relative number of sexes. The children were of 2 or 3 to 7 years old and women of 15 to 20."
Can you let me know the names of those? "I can't. Subedar Iypanna can do so."
If you know those persons' names you need not be afraid of telling them?
"Somayya, Rudrappa, and two other men and both of them of the name, Manjappa."
Can you tell me the women who were killed? "They were the relations of Chenabasava".
How long ago is it since Devammaji and her sister Muddamaji were put to death?
"About two months after Chenabasava's flight."
Was the young man Mallappa's wife among those women?
"Yes, she was Devammaji's daughter (or grand-daughter of Dodda Viraraja)."
How long ago Mallappa's wife was put to death?
"Either a day before or a day after the arrival of the British forces at Mercara".
Was it at Nalknad or at Mercara? "It was at Nalknad."
Were the other children of Devammaji put to death, besides Mallappa's wife?
"Devammaji had three children- two boys and a girl. The boy of two years old died a natural death while the other two were killed in a garden behind Nalknad palace."
Two or three months after Chenabasava's flight a young woman was taken in the night by Dewan Basava to a jungle, and was put to death there. Can you tell who she was?
"That woman was hanged after about one-and-a-half months of chenabasava's flight. Her name was Mounie (?) and I heard Dewan Basava tell a Paraya (a low caste man) that she was a wicked person and a relative of Chenabasava, that she had eaten the salt of SARKAR and was accompanying the fugitive without informing the Raja."
Was she handsome or fair? "Yes".
Did she say anything when killed? "She merely joined her hands and uttered the name of God- Shiva."

Some Current Political News:

On the 14th May, Col. Fraser sent three copper plates with ancient inscriptions on them, found in the records of Mercara, to the Secretary Fort St. George, stating that the script could not be deciphered and therefore requested that some learned Brahmins attached to the College of Fort St. George, to get it translated, as it was "of importance with reference to political history of the country." And, Sometime during the week, on the 9th May 1834, the Raja of Kumbla requested Col. Fraser to allow him "to call upon and speak" on some important subjects. He also added that:

"I further beg that you will be pleased to issue order that my 25 armed attendants, 12 bearers, 10 coolies and 13 Brahmins including my officers, may not be prevented to accompany me as far as Coorg."

In reply to that, Col. Fraser replied to him that communications should be made with him through the Collector of Kanara. (This communique was sent on the 14th May.)

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A report in the MADRAS HERALD, dated the 14th May 1834, said that:

"-----The scenery (of Coorg) is beautiful, resembling greatly the Nilgiries-----and the country is capable of vast improvement. It is in that spot very thinly inhabited, a few people met with apathetic and astounded, but this, it is fancied, may change to feelings of joy when they learn the Raja's removal from the country. They are perfectly quiet and come in fast to our forces but are yet dubious of our intentions, whether we actually propose depriving the Raja of his throne and the management of his country. The latter does not much stomach his reverse and talks now of not submitting quietly to removal out of the country-----.

"The force was all well and in good spirits but growing somewhat tired of their present inactivity, and not altogether comfortable having left tents and baggage behind at Peryapatna. The sporting characters enjoyed a wide range of pursuits-----The company of the 9th N.I. under Capt. Roberts, guided by some Coorgs, started on the afternoon of the 14th, and after a forced march, captured in the night the wife and family of lame Dewan Basava who was the adviser of the whole war and thus induced the ruin of the Raja. He had declined coming in when sent for, and a reward of Rs. 1000 had consequently been set up on his head but he had since been discovered dead hanging to a tree and his body is expected to arrive immediately to Mercara.

"About Rs. 80,000 were found in the trunks at Nalknad palace besides two valuable howdahs of ivory and silver, but the prospect of the prize money was in appearence a very poor one."

As the ex-Raja reached Bangalore, the Governor-General issued an order on the 19th May, appointing Capt. Carpenter of the 48th Regiment, N,I. to be in charge of superintending the affairs of the ex-Raja, and on the 15th May, there was another letter to say about the "means which are available for the accommodation and custody of the ex-Raja at Vellore." That showed that the Raja's stay would be not at Bangalore but somewhere else. The Government, by this time, had decided to annex Puttur taluq to Kanara but the programme was postponed because of other urgent business elsewhere.

About Assets & Treasures Again:

The Raja's assets were again examined and listed as he reached Bangalore, and Capt. Forbes, who was in charge of the deposed chief, wrote to the Governor-General on the 16th May, giving a detailed account of the things as below:

"----Took account of the money-----No prize agents are appointed-----Inventory of treasury and property proceeding to Bangalore under the charge of Capt. Haldane with a wing of the 4th Regiment N.I. is taken and that is as below:

13	bags of gold-	red seal	4,35,875
4	"	" " "	1,28,000(one pearl necklace)
one	"	" and silver	3,385
34	"	silver	67, 931
7	"	" ingots	13, 974
3	"	"	6, 000
179	"	" black-sealed	3,58,000
14	"	" " "	28,000
one	"	"	627
one	"	"	1,149
one	"	"	1,746
one	"	" and a little gold	2,005
		Total-	Rs. 10,46,692.

Property:

1) Black seal ii) Microscope 3) Pocket compasses 4) two broken gold watches 5) 104 bales of cloth 6) one silver howdah 7) one painted howdah 8) one ivory howdah 19) two bundles of howdah cushions 10) two silver elephants 11) one state umbrella 12)

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I2) one duck gun I3) one air gun I4) seven guns and rifles in cases I5) one pair of pistol in cases I6) two large boxes with new sarees I7) one large box with new sarees I8) two smaller boxes containing ornaments I9) two teak boxes with plates and other articles 20) two silver candle sticks 2I) three bundles of umbrellas 22) five silver pawn boxes, etc etc.

Capt. Carpenter who took charge of the ex-Raja in Bangalore wrote on the I6th May I834, giving some more details concerning men and women around the Raja. He said:

"----Syed Muhammad was kept in custody in Commissioner's office in Bangalore. He had four swords, one Coorg knife, one shield, one small axe, one pistol, etc- all seized.

"When ladies were searched on their arrival in Bangalore, the ex-Raja expressed much regret. He was told that it was a necessity as a result of the intelligence that a large sum of money he had possessed, and it was the order of the Governor-General.

"In one of the tents, on the way they buried three or four gold bundles----ten bags of gold pieces, five or six bags of gold coins and three or four bags of gold pagodas containing about three hundred pieces.

"There is no mark whatsoever to denote the spot. It was burried two or three days after the Rs. 25,000 were given up to Col. Stuart by the Raja through Dara Shah at Bettadpur. So he must have burried the above at Kittur or Yedatore camps or at Krishnaraja Katte- camp.

"The Raja was also told that he was not made known of the fact. He replied that he was afraid of the consequences if he had revealed all his wealth-----He added that no human being was aware of the treasure having been burried except his ladies and himself-----He believes that the holes (or pits) were two feet deep."

Governor-General's Tributes:

In another letter written by Capt. Carpenter, to the Secretary to the Commissioner, Mysore Affairs, dated the I6th May, said that:

"-----I beg to inform you that no parpathigars accompanied the Raja beyond Bettadpur from whence those who did so are stated to have returned.

"Dewan Ponnappa is with the ex-Raja, and I beg to suggest that he may be, if possible, be permitted to remain for the present, as his services are of consequence in the way of arranging supplies etc, and he appears also anxious to attach himself to the fortunes of his master.

"I do not apprehend the slightest evil is likely to accrue from the said Ponnappa or indeed of the Raja's servants, being permitted to have access to the bazaar etc, of Bangalore-----." Sd) J. Carpenter, Bangalore, I6th May I834."

From the above letter, it was seen the British estimation of Dewan Ponnappa who was clever enough to adjust to the situations. He had the knack of being in the good books of both the rival parties, and that same trait has been seen in some of his descendants as well. The British Army officers who were in charge of civilian posts after the expedition of Coorg did a good job in restoring law and order and towards the smooth transition of the entire course of events. The Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief of India, both observed on the I7th May, in a joint statement from their Ootacmund camp, as below:

"The Governor-General and Commaner-in-Chief has much pleasure in expressing to Brig. Lindsay CB. his entire approbation of the manner in which the military operations under his command and general control against the Raja of Coorg, have been brought to a speedy and successful termination-----To Col. Stuart who commanded a Detachment from the main Column under Brig. Lindsay, the expression of His Lordship's satisfaction is also due for having successfully overcome all the obstacles opposed by the enemy to his progress and for having effected in obedience to his orders, a junction with the Column under Col. Foulis' command.

"The Column under the command of Col. Waugh met with complete failure. The loss of many brave men is to be deplored and of none more than of the gallant Lieut.-Col. Mill-----Waugh is not justly chargeable with blame-----The conduct of Lieut.-Col. Jackson in command of the north-west Column being under investigation, His Lordship refrained for the present making any remarks upon the operations of that part of the Force.

"The Governor-General cannot omit to mention the eminent services of Lieut.-Col. Fraser to whom was entrusted the conduct of our negotiations with the enemy-----."

Deposition of Linganna:

What was most interesting was that even after their victorious expedition to Coorg, the British never lost sight of their responsibility to make the world know all about the inner affairs of the palace politics of the Raja when he killed a number of his own people due to his own viciousness and crookedness. The British wanted to get into the depth of those horrors and wanted to know to the best extent possible all about those tragic incidents. Here was a man who was questioned in the presence of Col. Fraser himself at a Panchayat court, and this time it was one Imamdar Linganna. On the 19th May 1834, the court of Inquiry asked him as below:

What is your occupation now? "Cultivation".
During the Raja s time, what were you?-"Jamedar of 10 peons."
Raja has killed many on different occasions. I wish to know who those persons were; Mention successively and the circumstances; you need not be under any apprehension. You acted under the direct orders of the Raja-----You are not responsible for those killings. Mention the first name.
"I do not know the names."
Never mind; let me know the time and circumstances? "The first were the women".
When? "About a years ago".
Were they of Chenabasappa's family or Raja's own relations? "I don't know".
Where were they killed? "In the store room".
In what manner? "I do not know".
Then how do you know they were killed? "I saw ropes round the neck."
Where did they come from? "I don't know."
Who were present? "Dewan Basawappa only".
Would he alone be able to hand them? "He called us in and told us to carry away the dead bodies from there."
When you went in, was it suspended from the roof or lying on the ground? "They were on the ground".
Who was in the room when you went in? "Dewan Basawappa".
Do you think they had been hanged or strangled?
"I can't tell; there was nothing on the beam to suspend them from."
Was there a brick door into the apartment you speak of?
"There was, but none could come through it except Dewan Basava and eunachs."
Where was the Raja at this time? "In a small bungalow outside the fort."
Were the two women young or old? "I don't know; their bodies were covered with mats; I never saw them alive. I think they were young."
Where were they buried? "In a jungle near 'Coongugere' barrier gate."
You have no idea who those two women were? "None".
What were the next deaths you witnessed?
"Four women were taken from Mercara to Nalknad about a year ago, and were put to death by strangling in the garden behind the palace in Nalknad about the time the English troops arrived in Harranghy."
Who were present? "Dewan Basava, myself, Chikatolo Erappa and five Kaplas."
Who actually drew the rope? "The Kaplas; but before the women were quite dead, Dewan Basava beat me and Erappa and forced us to assist in drawing ropes."
What were the age of women? About twelve to twenty years old."
Do you know who those were? "No, I never saw them before."
Were they handsome and well-dressed? "Yes, yes."

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Any ornaments they wore? "They had usual jewels".
What became of those jewels? "Dewan Basava took them?"
What did the women say before they were killed? "Not a word".
Did they not cry or exclaim? "They did not!"
Where were they buried? "The Dewan and the Kaplas carried the bodies into the jungle, but Earappa and myself did not accompany them."
Can you say who the women were? "I can't, but I think they were of Raja's family".
What other deaths were you present at? "Of four or five children."
When and where? "In the garden behind Nalknad palace the same day the women were killed.
Who killed them? "The Kaplas strangled them."
Did you assist? "No".
Why Earappa was there? "We were there by orders of Basava."
What were the ages of the children? "Between four and ten."
Do you know these children? "No; they were put to death after the women. The kids cried but said nothing. The bodies were carried away by Kaplas.
Where was the Raja then? "He was at Mercara?"
"About eight years ago, I asked Basava whether he had orders for executions, on which he snatched a knife from a Coorg man standing by and threatened me with it saying that this was no business of mine and that he had full and perfect orders for what he did."
Who were the persons Basava killed eight years ago?
"No one was killed. What was stated above took place when Basava absented himself one day from the prison in the palace where he was in the daily habit of coming to see the prisoners when I asked him why he had not come as usual. I witnessed no other execution. Sd) Col.J.S.Fraser, 19th May 1834.

Evidence of Rajammaji's Husband:

On the 20th May 1834, the Commissioner of Mysore wrote to the Officer Commanding Vellore for providing accommodation within the fort of Vellore for the ex-Raja of Coorg and his party. At the same time, a note from the Governor-General, dated the 20th May, asked Brig. Lindsay "to take steps for giving effect to the instructions relative to the disposal of the Coorg booty which may be remitted to the general treasury at Fort St. George, by the Commissioner of Mysore. All this went on side by side when the panchayat court at Mercara were hearing evidences against the Raja's cruelties. Rajammaji was the legitimate daughter of Viraraja the Elder, and her husband Mallappa was from Yadavanad. On the 20th May, he said in the presence of Col Fraser and others that his marriage took place six years ago to Rajammaji, and that his mother was the sister of Devammaji's husband. He then added, that:

"I lived with my wife for four years. Now we are separated for two years because of the erst-while Government. Later we were in Gurangadur, six miles from Mercara. From there my wife was taken to the palace saying that Chenabasava fled from Coorg.

"How could that be a reason?"

"God knows. After that I was sent as a prisoner to Kaggodu-nad. Later for four months I was in Doddabane Koppa. Dewan Laxminarayana and Basawappa and Karnik, Shanbhogue and Munshi came there and prepared five vessels of boiled ghee. They then asked me and four others- Manjappa of Moodugere-nad, Sidlingayya or Horur-Nuroklu, Manjappa of Yedavanad and Gunigoor Siddappa of Yelusavirasime whether it was out intention to follow Chenabasappa and his wife, or if any other persons had instigated us to do so. We replied that we had no such intention and that nobody had instigated us to do so. We were then ordered to plunge our right hands into the hot ghee and to take out a ring which had been previously thrown into the vessel.

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"After that?

"After that we were made to double our hands which were wrapped up in the castor leaves and sealed at the wrist. We remained this way for four and twenty hours. When our hands were opened, my hand and that of Sidilingayya's were burned. We were then carried to the place of execution where the Dewans, Karniks, Munshis and also the Raja had gathered. We, whose hands were not burned, were made to stand on one side and the other three on the other. The Raja then said to Dewan Basava why the hands of these two were un-injured while the others are not burnt. The Dewan replied that we were innocent, and the others are guilty. We were then released.

Manjappa is husband of the		illegitimate	daughter of	Linga Raja II.	
Sidlingayya	"	"	"	Viraraja the Elder,	
Manjappa (Yedavanad	"	legitimate	"	"	"
Siddappa	" "	illegitimate	"	"	"

"Before I left the place the Raja told Basava to restore my property and my wife to me. He neither restored my property nor my wife so far. I am 25 now and have no children. When we started to Gurgandur my wife secretly told me that we would not see each other anymore. She said so when the palace peons came to take us. My wife is I8 years old, very fair; I heard she is dead and had a violent death.

"I heard that she and four other women were tied and carried to Nalknad a year ago. When the English troops reached Mercara, and before the Raja left Nalknad, a boy reported to me that he had given flowers to these women one day and later on they were taken by Kaplas to the jungle. With this I am convinced she is killed.

"Was it by the Raja's order?" Ans: "I think so".

"Manjappa, the boy, was a water carrier in the palace and for the women at Nalknad, and he must have then known my wife. She had gold ornaments, necklace, silver anklets, etc. I heard that my mother-in-law Devammaji and her sister-in-law Muddammaji, were killed in the palace at Mercara after they came from Guragandur, about I8 months ago, and sometimes after Chenabasava's flight. Devammaji had two sons and one daughter. The elder son, Nanjappa, was 7, a girl of 5, and a boy of one year. My wife was the eldest. All these were brought up from Guragandur to Mercara. I imagine they were killed.

"I made long enquiry about my wife, but nothing was known. My father-in-law was Basawappa. "What happened to him?".

"Six months after Devammaji was brought to Mercara, Basawappa came to the same place on some business of his own. On the second day of his arrival here, his (my father-in-law's) body was sent to Guragandur with information that he had died a natural death. When I and some other persons saw the body we supposed it had been killed because the blood was flowing through nose and mouth.

"Devammaji then said that her husband was long labouring under an infinity, but she never saw blood flowing from the nose, and, therefore, she believed that he was put to death by the order of the Raja. The three persons who were taken after the ghee episode, I believe, died a natural death.

"Do you believe so?" Ans: "Yes, I believe so."

Deposition of Iyappa:

On the 2Ist May I834, one Iyappa, formerly a Karbaari Subedar in Raja's service deposed before the Panchayat and in the presence of Col. Fraser stating that his occupation was to supply provision for the palace and troops and to settle police cases. He was in service for 35 years, and further revealed as below:

"I have known that the Raja put to death about 24 people------All those were put to death after Chenabasava's flight------A white man from Cochin, who was an English writer was the first to be done to death in Nalknad------A portuguese English writer named Samuel Pereira was killed and I can't say what the nature of his crime.

"A Coorg and a Bunt- named Kariappu, went to Nalknad. Their crime was that they had ~~had~~ given some false information against some Karbaari writers. Muddayya Munshi, the

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the brother of Chenabasava, was poisoned. His crime was that his brother ran away. Devammaji and a sister of hers, the legitimate daughters of Viraraja the Elder, were secretly imprisoned. They were killed after Chenabasava's flight. An illegitmate daughter of Lingaraja II, wife of one Siddappa, was killed at Nalknad after the Raja left, and so also the wife of Manjappa, an illegitimate daughter of Viraraja the Elder or Lingaraja (I am not certain).

"An illegitimate daughter of Appaji Raja was killed. She was a widow of a Coorg named Nanjappa, and so also a son of this woman, about four years' old too was killed. A son of about 7 years old of the above said woman too was killed. Appaji Raja's lawful daughter Rajammaji too was killed. Another illegitimate daughter of either Lingaraja or his brother, was murdered. Devammaji's daughter Rajamaji, was the wife of Baloor Mallappa, and she too was killed. Devammaji had a son of about eight years and some other children, but I do not know what happened to them.

"At Nalknad, there was an eunack, Ismail Khan; he was killed. Among others who were killed there were Lingayya and a Christian named Dooma. A servant of the Raja was also killed along with them.

"I never saw personally anyone being put to death. I don't know what happened to Chenabasava's child. Anyone talking about those things would be put to death in those days. I don't know anything about the Raja's correspondence with the Raja of Mysore. I know that one Arab or Turk received Rs. 50/- from the Raja and went to Mysore. I don't know if he was asked to assassinate Chenabasava. Yes, in Nalknad I saw a Maplah talking to the Raja. I don't know the authors of the Hindustani and Persian translations of the Proclamation.

"I don't know if Dewan Basava committed suicide or others strangled him. Only relations left of the Raja are his sister Devammaji, wife of Chenabasava, Neelammaji, daughter of Viraraja the Elder, and also a sister of the Elder Viraraja. Both these latter women are above 60, and are the widows of Tipu Sultan.

"I don't know why they killed so many people. Basava alone would not do it without the orders and knowledge of the Raja, and not even a stick could move in Coorg without the Raja's orders. However, in regard to the above-said murders and cruelties, I believe, the Raja frequently acted under the persuasion of the late lame Basava."

Sd) Signed by the Panchayats and Col. Fraser. 21st May 1834."

A Palace Servant Spoke Out:

A man called Jogee, of low caste, a Paraya, and a worker outside the palace, was interviewed and interrogated by the Panchayat presided over by Col. Fraser, on the 28th May 1834. Answering questions, the Balagai Jogee said as below:

"I was a peon in the Kumbalgere barrier under one Earappa. I can describe the Rajas putting to death of the people for the last 35 years. I can now explain what happened after Chenabasava's flight. Twelve men were brought one night from Doddabane Koppa to the Kumblagere barrier about a month after Chenabasava left. A pit was dug by Dewan Basava's order at the side of a small tank. The twelve men were then successively beheaded by the Dewan and those heads and bodies were burried in the pit.

"Those persons were one Jangama Chenavira and a brother of Chenabasava. I don't know the names of all these. The Dewan said nothing to them. He told us that if we spoke of what then took place we and our families' heads would be cut off. The twelve men did not say anything before dying. After five days, Dewan Basava brought a stout and fair male child of a year old out of the palace at night, and tied a rope round its neck and strangled it with his own hands. Then he delivered the body to us to bury in the jungle near the Kumbalagere barrier. The Dewan strangled the child at the big gate behind the palace underneath the rampart,

"I don't know who the child was. Before strangling the child, he put a cloth into its mouth to prevent crying. The child was brought by a palace Jamedar of Yedavanad. Next, a young woman was brought at night, a week after that. She was taken into the

the jungle to a distance of a gun-shot, from the road, when I was ordered to climb a tree and pass the end of a rope over a branch. This was tied by Dewan Basava round the neck of the woman and then he drew the other end of the rope. She struggled a little and died. Before that she said, "Oh, Swamy, I depend upon thy feet". The Dewan removed all her silver chains and the symbols of her Lingayat mark. We burried her in the same spot. She was about I7 years old and fair. I don't know who she was.

"Eight days after this, dead bodies of young women were brought out of the palace, and were ordered to bury them in the jungle near the Kumblagere barrier (?). I didn't know them. They were Shivachar caste. We didn't see Dewan Basappa. Bodies were brought by Jamedar Puttayya and two peons. Three days after this the body of a Coorg woman who was middle-aged, was brought there. I didn't know how they were killed and there was no mark of rope in their necks. Nose was cut off. Four days after, I was asked to take a body of an old woman from the Daswal prison, and, perhaps that was a natural death.

"A week later, Dewan Basawappa beheaded a young man with a Coorg sword. The man said nothing. When he knelt, Basawa called him a traitor.

"Chenabasava fled through Kondangeri, crossing the Kaveri. There was a Moplah in charge of the ferry." (Signed by the Panchayat and Col. Fraser, the 28th May I834.)

Syed Mustaffa's Deposition:

Amidst a few main witnesses who were interviewed by the Panchayat court of Inquiry, there were a few minor figures also, and one of them was Sharvagaura Earappa who said on the 28th May I834, as below:

"One of my peons told me that a dark man in European dress who taught Persian, died in Doddabane Koppa four months ago. Then after the Raja left for Nalknad, the bodies of some young Coorgs were thrown in a night over the rampart of the Fort------I was ordered to bury them. I didn't see any wound or mark in the bodies.

"Could the persons be put to death by the Dewan without the Raja's knowledge?"
"Without the Raja's knowledge or order no man could do anything."

After Earappa's above deposition five other persons were interrogated. Syed Mustaffa's turn came on the 2nd June, and as usual, Col. Fraser was also there. The Syed said:

"I was in jail for three months. Due to some quarrel with people, I was sent to Mysore. I was detained there. Later on I came to Coorg. The Raja presented me Surat Rs. 40, one DUPTA, etc. The Raja asked me if I knew Syed Muhammad, a Turk. I said 'Yes'. The Raja then said that he had appointed him to assassinate Devammaji and her husband, and to carry out that work he had given him Rs. 400, pistols, three swords and a horse. The total cost is Rs. Rs. 600. This I heard from others also.

"Every one was talking about that. Then I left Coorg for Mysore and thence to Bangalore. There I met Syed Muhammad. I asked him if he had carried out his mission. He said that he was not idling but only waiting for an opportunity. He also said that he was short of money for his expenses. He wrote a letter to the Raja and gave it to me with Rs. I0/- and get some money from him. I received a horse also. I don't know how to read and write.

"First I went with all that to Mr. Casamajor and then to Mr. Macleod and told everything. Next day I was sent with a Kotwala to identify Syed Muhammad. When the Governor-General came to Bangalore, I was there. Then I came to Mysore, and the Kotwala there put me in chains.

"The letter that Syed Muhammad gave me was sealed------Auka Ali was an Arab whom Syed Muhammad caused to be put in prison by the Raja."

After this deposition, Syed Muhammad was summoned before the Court of Inquiry and in the presence of the Col. Fraser, he said on the same day, the 2nd of June I834, as stated below:

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"I spoke to the Raja many times. I don't know the names of interpreters. I was confined in Mercara outside the fort in the hut. I was under the charge of Appanna and others. Syed Hussein of Mysore and Abdul Khader of Turkey testified that I was Turk. I knew Syed Hussein only in Coorg.

"The Raja gave me Rs. 200. I took only Rs. 50/- and the rest I distributed among Raja's officers. I cannot recollect their names. The Raja was not present when the money was paid. The Raja gave me horse also. Three persons brought the horse, but I don't know their names. I was presented all these because I was a Fakir.

"I lost things in Cannanore and I lodged a complaint but I could not get redress. Then I went to Nilgiries. Being anxious to see Coorg, I came here. I was not commissioned to kill Chenabasappa, for they hang me if I was anywhere near his house. People also say that I was sent by the English to kill the Raja and that I was a disguised Englishman.

"Raja's people accompanied me till Yedatore to show me the way."

Deposition of Puttayya:

This puttayya was a tappal peon or a mail-runner. He was also called a daffedar. He was also one of the interrogated in the presence of Col. Fraser, on the 3rd June 1834. Puttayya said as below:

"I am a Christian by caste and I knew Manuel Pereira. He was an English Munshi, and was always interrorgated. The Raja appointed four Coorgs to guard him. Pereira and he reported this to Subedar who sent for Pereira. Then Pereira without answering for the Subedar's enquiry, gave him a kick. I did not see this but I heard it from several persons, and Sudebar himself went to the lame Dewan and reported the incident to him. The whole trouble started with Pereira using some abusive words one day to Jamedar Biddoo who complained about this to Subedar.

"The lame Dewan was highly incensed and soon collected several persons, came there and gave Pereira such blows that all his face and body were swollen and covered with blood. At last he tied his hand and having directed four persons to guard him with drawn swords, he went to the Raja and reported stating that the English Munshi grossly abused Biddoo and kicked Biddanna, the Subedar. I have very often, the Subedar said, seen him guilty of other acts of misconduct, and, therefore, I have just chastised him a little, and having tied his hands, am come to your Highness to report the case, but I beg to observe that he is not fit object to be permitted to live, for he is a man of bad character.

"The Raja then stated that he was coming out of the Fort, but desired that Pereira should be kept until that time in the same state. About 3'0 clock- the Raja came out. The lame Dewan, having a little before that sent a Paraiah (a low caste man) to bring a number of old slippers and keep them in readiness. When the Raja had gone as far as the arsenal near the fort, he gave an order that Pereira should be brought there whereupon two or three Coorgs of Yedenad and several low caste men put him into a blanket and carried him to the Raja and with whom was the lame Dewan and the palanquin bearers. Later Pereira was carried to a place used for fighting elephants. I don't know what they did to him, but I saw him being carried with chains in hand and rolled in a blanket to Doddabane Koppa where he is still alive when they put him down.

"The lame Dewan had also slept there for some nights. Eight days later, the Raja came alone one day about 12 noon, mounted upon an elephant and made the animal stand under a tree close to it. I had gone for some business to the next hill, but immediately on my seeing the Raja, I had myself observed from within the bushes what was going on.....The Raja made his elephant kick him twice backwards and forwards and kill him. He then returned to the palace. Four days after this a Paraiah informed me that the Raja killed the English Munshi by having him trampled by his elephant.

"Tell me the names of the Yedenad Coorgs and of the Paraiah who brought slippers to beat Pareira.

"I can't say, but among the Coorgs, there was one Linganna, a brother of Karyakar Kalinga——". Sd) the Panchayat and Col. Fraser, 3rd June 1834."

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After Daffedar Puttayya's deposition, one Aukaa Ali was called to the presence of Col. Fraser, and this Ali deposed on the same day- the 3rd June 1834, as below:

"My name is Ali Baig and I belong to Sheik tribe from Baghdad. I am 36 years old and have been in Coorg for five months. I saw the Raja but didn't see Syed Muhammad then. The Raja was preparing for elephant fighting when I represented my distress to him. He called me near and asked me if I had seen anyone on horse-back. I said 'yes' and he asked his caste. In reply I said that I didn't know.

"That man had a pass from Virarajpet side. He had long hair with a Turk dress and a young horse. The Raja sent for him back from Virarajpet and called me from the mosque where I was staying. The lame Dewan Syed Husein and many others were there and enquired why the man was going to Bangalore. Syed Husein and the lame Dewan both answered saying "to kill Chenabasappa; he is clever man and would certainly kill him."

"I told the Raja that this was discreditable to him and told him not to do that. The lame Dewan said, "Why do you interfere in this?" I was sent away. Afterwards all of them implied that I was sent by the English government to kill the Raja, and, therefore, I was confined.

"After some days the Raja called me from the jail and told him that he was forced to believe that I was sent by the English, because for some time now they have been sending men to kill him.

"Syed Mustaffa told me that he being given by the Raja Rs. 40/-, a kerchief, and about his going to Mysore. "In directing Syed Muhammad to the act of assassination, the Raja was not guilty-----". I talked to Syed Muhammad near the Das tank (Daswala-?)"

After this, Daffedar Puttayya, the chief of the tappal peons, was again called for interrogation, and he said as follows:

"I know Syed Muhammad, the Turk. The Raja made clothes to him through special tailors and gave him Rs. 500, two pistols, sword, shield and a horse with a horse-keeper. All this was given to cut off and bring the head of Chenabasappa.

"I know this because my brother went with him as far as Bangalore. I told Syed to be careful as my brother was not that clever fellow. The same day Ali Baig, a Mughal, came here. Syed sent back my brother after crossing the Coorg border, directing him to bring Rs. 500 more from the Raja. When my brother came and asked for money, the lame Dewan threatened him as to why he returned without fulfilling the object. You were not his servant but that of the Raja's, and, saying thus, he did not pay him anything but sent my brother again back to Syed. Mr brother went to Bangalore and searched for Syed who told him to get back and if he went near him that he would shoot him. But my brother and the other man kept watching Syed in secret and they found him doing his own work and not that of the Raja. They came back and reported to the Raja that Syed was simply squandering the money and moving about in the city. When I told him everything, the Raja gave up his intention, altogether.

"When I was going to Syed in Bangalore, the other two Coorgs who followed me were Bollanda Appanna, the Jamedar, and Bolloo, a Sepoy.

"My brother was sent to Bangalore twenty days before the war to bring intelligence. He returned saying that the English troops were coming. On hearing this, the lame Dewan accused him of treachery saying that he spoke in favour of the English and should be imprisoned, and it was done. When the war commenced I went to Gaddige and Siddapur to fight. I returned and requested the Raja to release my brother when the lame Dewan answered that he had already died of bowel complaint.".

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CHAPTER XIX.

The Raja's Treasure as he Marches Ahead.

The Men who Followed Raja:

A thorough investigation was made on the Raja's character and atrocities in order to justify the capture of Coorg, and it seemed that the British were making a case stating that the Raja was exiled and Coorg was taken over mainly on humanitarian grounds. From the reports the Political-Agent in Coorg, Col. Fraser gathered, it was clear that that the Raja was not that good and he was also a tyrant like his predecessors, while the people outside never knew all about the murders that took place inside the palace through the cruel manouvres of the lame Dewan Basava. However, the Panchayat that was created after the Raja left Coorg, unearthed a good lot of information and all those were sent as confidential reports to the Imperial Government, and those records are plenty to say that the British action was justified. On the 22nd May 1834, Col. Fraser wrote to the Secretary, Mysore Affairs, Bangalore, that:

"------Just discovered that three children were delivered over by the deceased Dewan Basava under the orders of the ex-Raja to one of the Kudiya caste residing in thick jungles six miles beyond Nalknad with instructions that they should be taken care of.

"The children are on the way to Mercara. The Kudiya man says that the children were given to him by Dewan Basava on the day Kalpati Karunakara Menon was sent away from Nalknad to proceed to the British camp."

"-----Two brahmins, Krishna and Narasimha of Hassan, reported that they can show the jungle where Kenjal Nayak, Nadiga Basava, Chika Narasu, Dodda Narasu and others were hiding. These men were wanted by the British, and now we have ordered them to be captured and confine them in irons-----."

The Raja, in the meantime, was temporarily housed in Bangalore, and Capt. D. Carpenter had taken charge of him. There were a good number of Kodavas and others who had followed the Raja, partly out of loyalty to him and partly out of a desire to secure money from him. The list of those people who had accompanied was sent on the 24th May 1834, by Capt. Carpenter, and that was as below:

5 Ranis,	Jamedar Devayya,	8 Shivachar cooks,	Karyakar Puttayya,
16 Women,	" Mandayya,	Dewan Ponnappa,	Ali Mapilla,
Raja's sister,	" Appayya,	Munshi Thimmayya,	Subedar Appachu,
3 women of the	" Karumbayya,	" Appayya,	" Appayya,
Elder Viraraja,	" Muthanna,	" Aiappa,	Jamedar Poonacha,
13 women of his	" Achayya,	" Budradeen,	" Mandappa,
father Lingaraja	" Subbayya,	Karyakar Bemappa,	Karyakar ~~Aiappa~~
2 Infant children,	A brahmin clerk	" Aiappa,	Karicha,
38 women attendants	Shamayya,	" Monnayya	" Kalinga,
13 Eunachs "	4 others,	" Bolloo.	

In all there were 110 persons. There were two Shanbogues- Ponnappa and Muddayya, and 24 Sepoys or Chavudikaras, and the total number of people was 155. In the above list Dewan Ponnappa was of Cheppudira family, Munshi Thimmayya was of Mandepanda family, Karyakar Aiappa must have been Boverianda man, Karyakar Monnayya must have been again Mandepanda and Subedar Appayya must be of Mandepanda family who was serving in Yelusavirasime Hobli.

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Chenabasappa Warned:

Capt. Carpenter wrote to Coorg Government to make arrangements to the return of about seventy people who had accompanied the Raja, most of whom were coolies, bearers, and others, and the passports for their return to Coorg, ~~was~~ be also arranged. Col. Fraser was busy in Coorg at his court of inquiry on Raja's atrocities, and on the 24th May, he sent to Madras Government papers relating to Manuel Periera's death. On the same day, The MADRAS HERALD reported that the Coorg Field Force with 39th and the 4th Native Infantry and a Company of Artillery, left Mercara for Bangalore through Srirangapatna, on the 11th May 1834. The paper also said that they carried with them Rs. 12 lakhs prize money three splendid howdahs, and, with innumerable sundries.

The Government had another important thing to do and that was about fixing up of the pensions to the members of the Raja's family including the fugitive Chenabasava and his wife, who were, of course, trying to assume a kind of authority or a title as Raja and Rani of Coorg or some such ~~ting~~ thing. Col. Fraser noticed all that and warned Chenabasava not to assume such titles in his writings to the British, ~~and~~ In his letter of the 26th May 1834, to the Governor-General, he said that:

"-----The monthly pensions to the Raja's family have been sanctioned at Rs. 200 for females------Devammaji and her husband (Chenabasava) received their late allowance of Rs. 250 per month------.

"Having desired Chenabasappa to furnish me with a memorandum of what would be requisite for himself and his wife, he has done so to the amount of Rs. 2,143 per month or nearly Rs. 26,000 a year. I acquainted him that this was quite inadmissible but that I should recommend to the Government the allowance stated above. In this he acquiesed with the usual submission of a native but requested that instead of it lands might be granted to him of nearly similar amount. To have complied with his request would have involved the cession to him of the whole of the SARKAR estates, instead of their being farmed out to the ryots of different Nads------.

"This would have placed at his disposal a large proportion of the district of Coorg and among other portions of it that particular one where he possesses most relations and adherents and which is already known for its former disposition to insurrection----- I at once told him that it could not be complied with and that I should expect him to live either in the palace at Virarajpet which he and his wife had already selected for the purpose or on his own lands about four miles from Mercara (in Appangala) which I have recently restored to him.....

"Chenabasava------in his appeals------has assumed a Kannada title which is equivalent to that of the Raja-one that he never took before in Coorg-----I sent for him this morning and reprimending him for his presumption- warned him strictly against its repetition-----The only excuse he could give for this foolish attempt was that he had done the same thing at Bangalore, and that he had heard he was right in so doing.

"I have ordered that all his lands acquired by the ex-Raja to be restored to him and even his personal properties------It is said that even the treasury of his and Dewan Basava, were taken by the Raja and were added to his own personal treasure-----Among the family, there is one Mallappa, the husband of the eldest daughter of the late Devammaji. He is going to marry again from a Gowda family, and requested for help. I gave him Rs. 200 which I understand is rather less-----.

"Monthly salaries for more than 35 people of the Raja's family were paid. Chenabasava's wife Rs. 150, Lingaraja's concubine Eravva Rs. 13/50, Appaji Raja's son Virappa's wife- Rs. 23/50, Eravva, Gowravva and Kalavva, the concubines of ex-Raja, Rs. 23/50 each, and Devammaji, a sister of Viraraja the Elder- Rs. 28/50."

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Those Horror Stories:

When the new Government took charge of the territory of Coorg, they unearthed a good lot of information about the Raja, and they kept the Supreme Government of India informed of their findings. In another letter of the 28th May 1834, Col. Fraser wrote to the Governor-General of India, as below:

"-----They relate to persons who have been privately put to death-----from the time of the flight of Chenabasava to Bangalore up to the period of surrender of the ex-Raja last month------These depositions have been obtained with very great difficulty----- those were given under the influence of terror which has long been habitual with the people of Coorg in all issues concerning the affairs of the state-----.

"The general inference I draw from these depositions is that with the exception only of the three females not a single legitimately born persons by the ties of blood, remained alive. Those three women are i) Devammaji (who died on the 24th May 1834), sister of Viraraja the Elder and a widow of Tipu, ii) Neelammaji, the daughter of Viraraja the Elder and also a widow of Tipu, and iii) Devammaji, sister of the deposed Raja.

"I believe that the members of Chenabasappa's family were put to death or mutilated by order of the Raja under the impulse of mere revenge-----Devammaji, the daughter of Elder Viraraja with her three children (the youngest of the four died a natural death) and her sister Muddammaji, and perhaps all related to her by blood, were murdered for the purpose of removing all lawful claimants to the property left Viraraja to his daughter Devammaji.

"From the information given by Dara Shah, and from other circumstances-----the question is as to whom the property in Company deposits belong? I don't find the copy of Viraraja's will among the numerous papers handed to me by either Mr. Graeme or the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George.

"From Persian letters in the Dafarkhana in Mercara, I found two letters of the Governor-General conveying his regard to the succession of his daughter to the Government of Coorg- one to George Barlow on the death of the Rani and the other to Lord Minto. Upon referring to these papers, I find that the letters alluded to have been removed and others upon different subjects substituted in their stead, as clearly indicated by a differently coloured paper and ink and the derangement of the regular numbers of the pages of the volume.

"With respect to the same letters in Kannada they have not only been removed but the Kannada index has also been taken away and another one substituted in lieu of-----.

"The hand-writing of those which are substituted in their stead is ascertained to be that of Kannada and Persian Munshis now with the Raja at Bangalore, and who did not enter into the service until many years after 1809.

"This I conceive is to be ascribed to the treachery of Lingaraja who having by intimidation or other means obtained from Devammaji a forced renunciation of her claim to MUSNAD, and a consequent recognition of his own right by the British Government-----and desirous also of burying in oblivion or at least of concealing from public knowledge in Coorg the right of Devammaji to that property which he was appropriating for himself.

"The will of Viraraja the Elder was dated the 23rd May 1809, a few days before his death on the 9th June-----If I don't find a copy of this at Fort St. George or Residency in Mysore, it would not be found at all. I believe the copies of all the papers relating Coorg contained in the records of Fort William have already been transmitted from thence-----.

"I lately received information of three children supposed to belong to Raja's family being concealed in a thick jungle, near Nalknad palace under care of the Kudiyas who live in inaccessible places. I had the whole family seized at once and brought before me without previous notice which might have led to the destruction of children or their removal to some more obscure and distant spot. It is said that Dewan Basava delivered those under the order of the Raja only two days before the return of the Raja from Nalknad to Mercara- to a Kudiya, without informing him who they were.

"The man was really ignorant. I sent the children to the place where females were living and from them ascertained that: i) a boy, two years old, no name given, son of one Siddappa and Nilamma, illegitimate daughter of Lingaraja, ii) a girl Chinnamma, about four years old, daughter of one Manjappa, and of an illegitimate daughter of the Elder Viraraja, iii) a girl Neelamma, four year old daughter of another Manjappa and Eramma, a daughter (illegitimate) of the Elder Viraraja.

"The females of the palace having expressed a desire that the children should be delivered over to their care, I complied with their request and they have taken them. The man who ~~had~~ previously had charge of the children seemed well-pleased with this arrangement and I dismissed him with a suitable present.
Sd) Col. Fraser, Mercara, 28th May 1834."

Dewan Ponnappa Changed Side:

There were many letters that were written by Col. Fraser when he took to sweeping the entire mess after the take over. In another letter of the 28th May, he wrote to the Commissioner of Mysore Affairs, that:

"The Raja tells that when the British invaded, Dewan Basava asked him what to do with the children. The Raja desired to return the children to their relatives. The Dewan said that it was difficult to find relatives at that time of confusion and asked if some person could be found to hand over. Accordingly in Nalknad they gave the kids to the Chetti Kudiyas.
"These kids of an illegitimate daughter of the Elder Viraraja, were not seen by the Raja himself, according to his own statement.

"I am trying to find out the fate of Devammaji, the daughter of Elder Viraraja. The Raja assured that she had died shortly after Chenabasava fled. When I hinted that she did not die, he denied it positively."

On the 29th May the MADRAS HERALD reported that the Raja of Coorg had been "safely housed in the Bangalore fort." Those who had accompanied the Raja were going hither and thither in Bangalore. Some stayed with him, some settled in Bangalore and some returned. Among the Kodavas, Biddanda Somayya stayed with the Raja, while Dewan Cheppudi Ponnappa, Mandepanda Munshi Thimmayya and others returned, but all these were amply fed by the Raja with liberal grant of money and other things. The Dewan ponnappa, therefter changed his loyalties to the British. In a letter written by the Commissioner of Mysore, to Col. Fraser, dated the 31st May 1834, said that:

"-----As Dewan Ponnappa seems, in the opinion of the Commissioner, to be a quiet and inoffensive character, and as the ex-Raja seems very anxious to retain him near his person, the Commissioner would leave it to your further consideration whether he should be now recalled. It may be added that Ponnappa is ready to return to Coorg to afford you any aid or information in his power, being allowed to come back to the Raja to whom he has expressed a desire to attach himself altogether-----."

Ponnappa's dual loyalty was not tolerated by Col. Fraser who wrote to the Commissioner to send him back forthwith. In the meantime, the Secretary to the Governor-General sent letter sanctioning the pension ~~of~~ to those family members of the Raja, and it was also approved to restore Chenabasappa's land to him. Capt. Donolson, of the Bangalore Fort, reported to Brig. Lindsay stating that some soldiers have unlawfully received money from the ex-Raja, and in his letter of the 1st June 1834, he said that the money was stated to have been paid by the Raja "to the men who have from time to time have mounted guard over the Raja."

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In another letter of the same date, John Deane, Sergeant, said that a gold ring was received by Thomas Nolon, Rs. 4/- in silver was received by Patrick Henry, and several others too got some other presents. Henry said that the Raja was in the habit of sending fruit to the guard in which was deposited the money. It was also said that one soldier, Fitzgerald, received a valuable ring from the Raja, and Henry too got one, but it was too large for his finger. From this it could be said that the Raja was clever in winning friends and favours by any means. But the Raja was warned by the Resident that any repetition of such iregularity like clandestinely through the medium of fruit, money, ring etc being conveyed- will subject him to greater personal restrain." When asked about this, the ex-Raja seemed to have said that he had done so all along his trip from Coorg to Bangalore.

Search for Treasure:

From all the reports that Col. Fraser collected with great sagacity and integrity, he was of the opinion that the ex-Raja was "entitled to no consideration and to no indulgence, whatsoever,", and he wrote to the Governor-General on the 3rd June, that:

"-----Whether the ex-Raja should be treated with the indulgence must depend, I presume, in some measure on the light in which his character is regarded by the Governor-General, but my own view of it would lead me to express a very decided opinion that he is entitled to no consideration and to no indulgence whatever beyond what have already been guaranteed to him, and from which we cannot deviate.

"The absence of Dewan Ponnappa from Coorg has been productive of some inconvenience but this does not now continue to be experienced in so great a degree as to induce me to oppose his remaining with the ex-Raja if this measure be deemed proper or desirable in other respect."

Now as to the buried and unburied treasure of the Raja, Col. Fraser had taken great trouble to find out the secrets, and in his letter to the Governor-General, dated the 3rd June, he went on to say as below:

"I am happy to say that I have succeeded in securing the attendance of Karyakar Woothu (Mandira Uthayya)- the person-------principally concerned in assisting to bury certain treasure- the property of the Raja at Kanive. This was effected without his being at all aware of the object for which he had been directed to attend.

"Immediately on his appearence, I took him aside and told him that I was fully acquainted with all the circumstances attending the concealment of the treasure at Kanive though I was ignorant of the exact place. I gave him the option of at once telling the truth and pointing out the spot with a promise of a reward for his doing so, or of being forthwith placed in confinement-----.

"But he boldly asserted that the whole account I received was a fabrication-----and that he knew nothing about it nor did he see treasure----Then I ordered the guard to take him to prison. He learnt that I was serious. Then he admitted that he had himself buried the gold and that he was prepared to show the spot.

"I directed Major Wiggins, commanding 30th Native Infantry, to proceed to Kanive through Nanjarajapatna as the direct route is not passable because of swollen rivers and streams. Only six who joined in burying have so far returned to Coorg from Bangalore. If Woothu deceives, the whole of those six will be sent for-----for further interrogation----." Col. Col. Fraser. 3rd June 1973."

Dewan Laxminarayana:

Among the four Dewans of the ex-Raja, the lame Dewan was dead. Cheppudi Ponnappa

had gone after the Raja to bid good-bye to his erst-while master. Dewan Bopu, Apparanda, was busily conducting the state duties, but then the most cleverest of all was Dewan Laxminarayana. In the past there were two more treacherous brahmin ministers. The story of Nagappayya, the Governor appointed by Tipu Sultan, was in fact a much hated man in Coorg, and the Kodavas drove him away. One Karnik Subbarasayya of the time of Viraraja the Elder, who incidently became son-in-law of his crafty minister, did not at all win the favour of both the Raja or the people, and he was found conspiring to kill the Raja. Now this Laxminarayana was found to have been planning some bigger thing and in about a year or so the whole plot was revealed. Well, on the 4th June 1834, J.W. Rundall, made an enquiry near Yedatore, when he learnt some facts as below:

"Having learnt that we were in search of treasure, he wished to inform us that after the escort of the Raja had quitted, one of the Dewans by name 'Swamy'- or Swami Laxminarayana remained behind, went down the river near the village and having bathed, visited the pagoda where he distributed money to 29 brahmins. He then went to a house in the village and there also gave gold and silver. Having left three bags of gold PANAMs, a writing desk and other articles at the house, he proceeded to join the escort. This testimony of the Kotwal was corroborated by the testimony of four bazaar men-----We deemed it necessary to search the house hearing the owner had left it. We found it closed------We could not go in; our search was unsuccessful. Anyway the four men gave us 104 gold PANAMs-----The men are employed and examining the ground lately occupied to camp by the Raja."

The Raja, in the meantime, had been asked to leave Bangalore and arrangements were made for his march to Vellore. The 35th and 48th Native Infantry were made to escort the Raja "to the retreat of ancient glory", as the Madras Gazette had reported. The adverse reports sent constantly against the Raja did not help him to remain anywhere near his so-called kingdom of Coorg. The Secretary to the Governor-General wrote to the Political Agent in Coorg, on the 5th June 1834, as below:

"-----With regard to the------murders perpetrated in Coorg------I am desired to observe that these atrocities are of such a description as to render it exceedingly doubtful in the opinion of the Governor-General whether any indulgence beyond those of granting him his life should be extended to the author of them-----.

"His Lordship, however, deems it but fair that the ex-Raja should have an opportunity of knowing the circumstances that have been disclosed, and of offering any statement, which he may deem calculated to exonerate himself from participation in the atrocities of which he is suspected.

"(Efforts could be made by D.Carpenter by explaining the nature of his crime, his killing of several diplomats and of other murders. The copy of your letter shall be sent to the Commissioner of Mysore and through him to Capt. Carpenter.)

"------It seems to the Governor-General that the spots where heaps of the victims are stated to have been buried, have been clearly indicated, it might afford a satisfactory verification of the statements of the deponents if search were made in such spots for human remains. But there seems little reason to doubt the accuracy of informers' statements coupled as they are with the disappearence of the several members of the family, and, therefore, you will set upon the above suggestion according to your own discretion-----.

"You will furnish a copy of the will of Viraraja the Elder, dated the 23rd May 1809, and of the two letters to Sir George Barlow and Lord Minto-----These contain the request of Elder Viraraja when in March 1809 he paid into the Resident Treasury at Mysore the sum of 1,86,840 pagodas." Sd) McNaughton, Secretary to G.-G."

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Desire for Modern Education:

When there was a fervent desire on the part of the Company Government to take out the old skeletons from the Raja's cupboard in order to see what and where went wrong during the last few years of his reign, there were also administrative measures taken to modernise the country. Apart from the opening of the new roads and lines of communications, postal facilities, vaccination and some elementary schools were also introduced during those short two months. The people themselves saw a new ray of light peeping from inside the office room of Col. Fraser, the officer-in-charge of Coorg. In a letter to the Governor-General, dated the 6th June, 1834, he wrote that:

"-----On the subject of transit of Western tappal through Coorg------(it was proposed to open new lines)------As the people of Coorg have no prejudice against the vaccination, and, on the contrary, have expressed a great desire that it should be introduced among them, I request Mr. Birch, the surgeon of the 36th Regiment, to procure supply of the vaccine------There are 662 native Roman Christians of whom 420 are in Virarajpet. The spiritual director is a Roman Catholic priest from Bombay to whom the ex-Raja was giving a small allowance------I have continued to pay him some allowance-----.

"I have on a former occasion mentioned the great desire of the people of Coorg to possess the means of education, and more particularly in the English language, a system of instruction, if established on a proper footing, would require that schools should be established at eight stations, but as it would be difficult to find competent masters---- it may be well to try first on a more limited scale. I am procuring two school masters from Mysore who have been well-recommended and whom I proposed to station at Virarajpet and Mercara. Their pay has not yet been determined------Elementary books, both English and Kannada, I am endeavouring to obtain from Madras and Bellary and other places where they are likely to be found.

"------I am informed by the officer, Nalknad, that Devammaji- a sister of Viraraja the Elder and a widow of Tipu, died (on the 24th May).------I am sending Rs. 100/- for funeral expenses. Another extremely aged female, a concubine of the ex-Raja's father, died in Haleri. I ordered Rs. 20/- for expenses."

During the first week of June 1834, a new officer emerged at the Mysore Residency, and he was the future Sir Mark Cubbon who served the state with great distinction for over thirty years. Taking charge of his new assignment, Mark Cubbon reported to Fort St. George Government on the 6th June 1834, that:

"I have the honour to report------that I have this day taken charge of Mysore Residency from J.A.Casamajor Esqr., in compliance with the orders of the Rt.hon'ble Governor-General. Sd) M.Cubbon, Lieut.-Col., 6th June 1834. Mysore Residency."

At the same time, on about the 13th June 1834, the Governor-General, still in camp at Ootacmund, resolved that the appointment of Lieut.-Col. James S.Fraser as Resident of Mysore and Commissioner of Coorg Affairs, be notified in the Fort St.George gazette.

Puttur Wanted to Separate:

Events were moving fast! The people of Puttur and those beyond the Ghats, who had been within Coorg Government for over thirty years since about 1802, now clamoured for separation from Coorg, and they wrote petitions to the British Government. The Raja was attacked by those people and they must have also found the Coorg officers posted there as very harsh. There was also a lot of whispering going on in those areas in favour of the Raja and even to try to reinstate him. Col. Fraser began getting fresh reports about all this as he collected evidences towards the Raja's atrocities when he was the Coorg chief.

chief. He wrote to the Governor-General on the 7th June as below:

"------I have for sometime entertained that considering the whole of the circumstances connected with the residence of the ex-Raja at Bangalore, it will be desirable that he be removed without loss of time to Vellore.

"I apprehend no actual political danger from him, and unless possessed of money which he might make use of as a means of corruption, I should be but little disquieted by knowing that he were at this moment at large in the heart of Coorg.

"But his proscinity to this district with the pecuniary means------his having still in his service Dewan Ponnappa and all the ablest Munshis through whom he was in the habit of carrying on his treasonable correspondence with Mysore or other countries, as well as many menial servants through whom he exercised much of the shocking cruelty of which he was guilty, the political condition of Mysore itself where there are discontented and factious persons enough to take advantage of the ex-Raja's presence, and turn it into evil account- all these circumstances together seem likely to prove a source of inconvenience and possibly of some degree of embarrassment to the British Government---".

"He (the Raja) is cunning, false and hypocritical, and well capable of deceiving those about him who happen not to be aware of the past events of his life. But in my opinion he has forfeited every claim to indulgence and I think that his atrocious character would render it discreditable to the British Government to concede more to him than what was guaranteed when I demanded his surrender, namely his life and outward observance of respect. I need scarcely remark that the latter part of this promise would never have been made, could I have been then foreseen the extent of his guilt which enquiry has since brought to light.

"I beg to add-----that it might be proper------to enforce the original orders of his Lordship respecting the number of attendants whom the Raja is permitted to retain, and especially that neither Dewan Ponnappa nor any Munshis, whether Kannada or Persian, should be allowed to remain in his service. These persons could be a source of mischief only------"Sd) Lieut.-Col. J.S.Fraser, 7th June 1834, Mercara."

As Col. Fraser wrote in the above out-spoken style, he received representations from the people of Puttur. They wrote to him on the 7th June, that:

"-----It is now thirty years since annexation of Puttur to Coorg took place. We have suffered much during this period. In consequence of our having prepared arms since three years for fighting, and as all men were engaged this year in the performance of the SARKAR business, neglecting their own, the Raja issued orders for the remission of the balances which were due by us, and the land taxes. It is requested that these remissions should be granted as promised by the Raja-----.

"We do not like the present Subedars and parpathigars- in all ten, and also we dislike the appointment of Coorg people and Gowdas to the SARKAR situations. They should be dismissed------The institutions of enquiries into cases of debauchery and the levy of fines, the infliction of lashes by whips and disgracing the ryots, should be discontinued as in Kanara and expenses which the ryots incur in repairing the canals should be paid. Officers should be appointed for enquiring and settling civil suits in Kanara".

Again on the same day the ryots from Puttur wrote to Col. Fraser, that:

"The ryots of this taluq express their wish of being transferred to the district of Mangalore for this reason:

"The Coorg ryots who would otherwise pay a tax of Rs. 10/- enjoyed a remission of Rs. 5/- because they performed military and other services, but although we paid land and other taxes, we have nevertheless made to perform the same service as the Coorgs. As a result we have become poor and our lands have been laid waste-----We are glad to remain attached to Coorg in the hopes that as the old servants are continued in their employments our grievances will be listened to------."

Sd) The Ryots of Puttur. dated the 7th June 1834.

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About ex-Raja's Family:

On the 8th and the 9th June, Col. Fraser gathered some information concerning the Raja's family as the British were still anxious to find out as to the exact number of persons the Raja got killed, and especially his own family members. On the 8th June, one Sheik Imam told the Court of Enquiry presided over by Col. Fraser, that:

"I am 25 years old. I was employed by Dara Shah. Yes, I went to Mysore very often. Two persons used to accompany me and we went on official business-----Hoblidars Yenkata, Bomma and Subba and many Sepoys were also going to Mysore-----Yes, after my return from the battle, I was with the Raja in Nalknad. Yes, I know that Coorgs carried seven people to be killed. I saw them with my own eyes. But when they came near, I was ordered to turn round and stand still which I did.

"I don't know those persons; it was night. One of the men was Ismail Khan, Jamedar of eunachs. They carried those people from a house behind the palace.....Basawappa (the Dewan) and Earappa walked behind them."

From all these identical reports, one thing was clear, and that was the fact that the Raja, with his lame Dewan Basava, killed a number of people, but who were those people was the question. A good many of the family people of the Raja were missing and there was clear evidence to the fact that some women and children of his family were all killed. As to the correct account of the family members of the last three Rajas, Viraraja the Elder, Lingaraja II and Viraraja the Younger, one Basave Gowda told on the 9th June 1834, to the Panchayat court in Mercara, as below:

"I belong to Wooluguly Moodugery. My son was Mallappa------and his wife was Devammaji, the legitimate daughter of Rani Devammaji. After Chenabasappa's flight she was brought to the palace in a palanquin. What happened to her, I don't know. She had two sons and a daughter- aged 7,3 and 2. The daughter was the eldest. They were also taken to the palace.

"Rani Devammaji and her children were also brought to the palace. Her sister Muddamaji had no children. Her next sister and third daughter of Elder Viraraja, Rajammaji and her husband, died a natural death on the same day. They had a son of five years and he was taken to the palace. What happened to all these at the palace, I don't know.

"Mallappa, my son, had possessed I,000 butties of land. It was a free Jaghir. After his death, it was confiscated by the SARKAR-----".

This Basava Gowda later called on Col. Fraser in regard to some money affairs, and then told him again all about the so-called palace murders. He said that none saw the above-said people after they were taken into the palace. There is no correct record of the fact about the Elder Viraraja's wives and who amongst them were Kodava women. Rani Devammaji was married to Honnah Basawappa, and her daughter married ~~myson~~ Mallappa. Elder Viraraja's third daughter Muddammaji was married to Palanganda Chennavira, son of Muddayya. Of course, Chennavira died mysteriously.

Names Recounted Once Again:

One more account of the family members of the last three Rajas of Coorg came to the knowledge of the British. It was known that one of the wives of Viraraja the Elder was the daughter of Brahmin Nagappayya, and her name was Mahadevammaji. Perhaps, Mahadevapet in Mercara was named after her who was said to have been his favourite wife. One of the wives of Lingaraja II, was Devamma, daughter of Palanganda Appanna. Linagaraja

and Devamma's daughter Muddammaji was married to Mukatira Iypanna ALIAS Chenabasava, and after the death of Muddammaji, her sister Devammaji was married to Chenabasava.

Viraraja the Younger, the exiled Raja, had five wives. The first wife was the daughter of Karnik Subbarasayya, the second wife was the daughter of Ithichanda Kuttayya, the third wife was the daughter of Biddanda Bopu, (probably the sister of Karyakar Somayya), the fourth wife was the daughter of one Kotera karyakar, whose name is not clear, and the fifth wife was the sister of one "Canari" (?) Machoo. After the death of his first wife, the last Raja married the daughter of Mukkati Kuttayya of Beppunad. These five wives were living when the Raja was deposed. On the I4th June I834, Chenabasappa gave a petition informing to some extent about the Raja's family, and that was as below:

"Dodda-Viraraja, Lingaraja and Appaji were own brothers, and of the same father and mother. I married Devammaji, daughter of Lingaraja. Those who disappeared are Devammaji, a cousin of my wife, her two sons and two daughters. In all five.
On Rajammaji's side, six people disappeared.
Illegitimate daughters of Dodda-Viraraja and their six children,
Appaji's daughter Rajammaji and illegitimate daughter Nilammaji, and her child.
The illegitimate male children of Lingaraja- in all six.
The illegitimate grandsons of Dodda-Viraraja- five in all.
My own son- a young child- thus the total number of persons disappearing is 32.

"After I go to Appangala and Virarajpet, I will make further enquiries. From my house five Lingayat women and their children were seized. Of those ~~who were~~ seized on the way to Mysore were two men and two women- all lingayats. Among others there was one Jangama priest, one Kodava- Aiappa by name, and a carpenter.

"These were seized when I left for Mysore, and their bodies mutilated by having their noses and tongues cut off. Some of them are Ponnamma- wife of one Ganapathy, a mother of one Achappa, and a sister of the above-said Ganapathy, and some others."

When questioned on the I4th June, as to the causes for these numerous murders even about twelve years prior to that in I822 when Chennavira was sent back from Mysore to Coorg, one Munshi or Mutsaddi said that the Raja must have wanted to cut off every individual of his race excepting his own immediate descendants. Col. Fraser wrote, that:

"One of the most respectable and confidential Munshis, has privately acquainted me that soon after Chennavira was sent back to Coorg from Mysore in I822, about 22 males were put to death by the Raja of ~~them~~ Ikkeri seven or eight were his own half-brothers, the natural sons of Lingaraja II, and about the same number of sons of his uncle Dodda-Viraraja--- That of the natural sons of his father being at the time very young, those were permitted to live but were put to death later at Nalknad about the time the women and children were killed. The ages of these boys were between I3 and I6- the youngest of them was only two or three months old when Lingaraja died."

About Annexation of Puttur:

The Taluqs of Puttur, Amara-Sulya and Bellare were all formerly the parts of Ikkeri kingdom, but later under some agreement, those were transferred to Coorg. But when the Ikkeri kingdom fell, Hyder ceded those areas, and later, they became part of the East India Company territories. After the fall of Tipu Sultan, and for the services rendered to the British in the war against Tipu by Dodda-Viraraja or Viraraja the Elder, the British Government transferred these taluqs to the Coorg Raja as a mark of appreciation of his services to them, and that annexation of these taluqs to Coorg took place in I803.

Excepting the Coorg officials sent from Coorg to govern the taluqs all the rest were the local people who had no attachment to the people of Coorg, whatsoever. Now, the time had come again to see that these taluqs of Puttur, Amara-Sulya and Bellare are ceded to the South Kanara district which was then a part of the Madras Presidency. Discussing this annexation, Col. Fraser wrote on the 9th June 1834 that:

"The taluq of Puttur, if annexed to Kanara, should, I think include the same extent and have the same limits, as when we transferred it to Coorg in 1803. This will include Adoor-----in the north of Amara-Sulya. All these were originally belonged to Kanara. The Maganes of Adoor and Anekal are shown in Lieut. Connor's map as belonging to Amara-Sulya. There are only five Coorgs now working in Amara-Sulya but they will return-----."

A communique dated the 10the June 1834, from Coorg, recommended to the Governor-General, stating that:

"On this day, Col. Fraser recommended the Governor-General, the propriety of placing the taluqs of Puttur and those below the Ghats, under the Collector of Kanara, as contemplated in your letter of the 21st------The measure be carried into effect without loss of time-----."

Some details were also given in the same letter stating that the people below the Ghats to say that they had no ties with the people of Coorg, whatsoever. The Collector of Mangalore, E. Maltby, wrote to the Fort St. George Government, on the 12th June that:

"I have the honour to bring to your notice that as the house in which I am residing was purchased by the former Raja of Coorg and became the property of the last Raja on his succeeding to the sovereignty.

"The house was, I am informed, purchased by the former Raja from Col. Ogg in about 1809, and was intended by the Raja for his residence in the event of his visiting Mangalore. Mr. Stokes lived there for some years with the Raja's permission, and some others also later lived there with the Raja's consent.....

"The terms that they should keep it in repair-----and those residents who spent on their up-keep should receive by their successors the money they spent on it, as Mr. Dickenson had arranged. Mr. Cameron, the Collector, allowed me to occupy that in December 1831------.

"Now-----the Government-----either sell or convert it into a public building------ or I should be allowed to rent it------Awaiting orders.

"According to the estimated cost of the building, it is Rs. 7,000. The present value with reference to its condition is about Rs. 2,000. (The rent realised from 1832 to June 1834 was Rs. 620, but on repairs Rs. 929 was spent.)

Sd) E. Maltby, Collector, Mangalore, the 12th June, 1834."

The Raja's Removal to Vellore:

The Governor-General who was in Ootacmund, informed through his Secretary in a letter of the 11th June, to the Resident of Mysore, in Bangalore, that:

"-----The immediate removal of the ex-Raja to Vellore has been now resolved upon.

"Concurring His Lordship fully does in the propriety of Col. Fraser's suggestions, I am directed to request that the Commissioner will at his earliest convenience take the necessary steps for removing the ex-Raja to Vellore under the escort of the Native Regiment------.

"Neither Dewan Ponnappa or any Munshi, either Kannada or Persian, should be allowed to remain in the Raja's service, and the Commissioner will be pleased to send all these persons back to Coorg-----The females may have accompanied him unwillingly----- It is better they are told of their leaving for Vellore-----.

"The Raja should be apprised the object of this arrangement- is solely to prevent the compulsory removal of persons who have committed no offence towards the British Government, and he may be assured after he has left Bangalore that the free permission will be accorded to those of his family who may be desirous to go with him."

Col. Fraser, in the meantime, sent a statement of accounts on the sum spent on some people for their special services, and the amount spent was as below:

Cash advanced to Dara Shah- Rs. 500
To four Kodavas who found Kunta Basava's body hanging- Rs. 100,
To four ~~mutilated~~ women of Chenabasappa's party to buy clothes etc Rs. 100,
To Tirumulachari, Kannada Munshi (for many months)- Rs. 790,
To Ghulam Dastegar, the Persian Munshi- " " Rs. 700,
To Mr. Strange, the English writer " " Rs. 400,
To Mr. D'Silva " " " " Rs. 320,

Some other clerks were also paid together with this amount. Rs.10 was given to a Chety Kudiya for bringing back the children, and Rs. 115 was paid to the copy-writers of the Kannada proclamation about the new Government. Total expenses for two months was- Rs. 3430/-. Sd) Col. J.S.Fraser, 14th June 1834. Mercara.

A copper plate or plates that were found in Mercara, which was called the Treasury Plates- on the Ganga dynasty of the rulers, and signed as Vishwakarma, were sent to the Secretary of the College Board, Fort St. George, Madras, for deciphering and translating. That was the first inscription found in Coorg within a month after the British took charge of Coorg.

Digging & Burying of Treasure:

Capt. D. Carpenter who was in charge of the Raja continued his probe on the buried treasure of the ex-Raja of Coorg, and on the 16th June 1834, he wrote to the Secretary to the Commissioner of Mysore, as follows:

"-----I have the honour to express------my regret at having been partially deceived by the Raja as I have now reason to believe that other persons than those he mentioned were concerned in burying the treasure alluded to in my communication, and that in addition to the coins, there were several heavy ingots or bars of gold.

"Two of the Raja's followers, Timmappa Munshi and Budan Uddin, the Persian Munshi, came to me secretly this morning and offered to show me the spot where the money was hidden, adding that they themselves had assisted in depositing it with eight or ten others and that the ex-Raja, a few days ago sent some of the party to remove it to another place.

"I have desired the two persons to attend to the office soon for the purpose of investigating their statements and estimate proceeding------."

The two Munshis, Timmappa and Budan Uddin, stated in the presence of Capt. D. Carpenter, on the 16th June 1834, as below:

"When the ex-Raja left Mercara, he brought with him in palanquin and Doolies, lumps or ingots of gold, pagodas and Mohurs amounting about to two lakhs of rupees. We have no exact account of the sum.

"On arriving at the second stage, the palanquin bearers complained of the ~~wt~~ weight of PALKI, and that the Raja apprehensive that the fact would be known, had two holes dug near the roadside at Kanive, and having deposited 28 bags of money, he had covered them with earth------.

"After this both during and after his arrival to Bangalore, the Raja sent some of his people with orders to remove the money from the spot in which it had been placed and have it buried in another spot.

"A person mentioned that the money was removed from the place where it was buried. We have doubts whether in removing the money they have deposited the whole sum or played some tricks------If 25 days leave be given to us we will go and search for the money. We will point out the spot-----If they have removed it we will make enquiries of it----- Having thus stated all we have to say is that it will rest with you to protect our character. The persons who covered the pits where treasure was buried while at Kanive were:

Dewan Ponnappa (Cheppudira)	Karyakar Somayya (Biddanda),	Poonacha, C.
Karyakara Uthayya (Mandira)	Munshi Thimmayya (Mandepanda)	Thimmayya A.
Biddanda Muthayya (or Uthayya)	Woothu B. (Bolakaranda)	Kuttayya,
Chaudikara Belli	Chaudikara Somayya (Machimada)	Belli,
" Soma (Somayya)	Karyakara Devappa,	Aiappa.

Mandira Uthayya, Chaudikara Somaya, Kuttayya and Belli were employed in removing the treasure to another spot. Karyakara Somayya has stated that the money was removed eight days ago, that on about the 8th June, to another spot by means of Karyakara Mandira Uthayya. Here the prominent men in the whole secret burials and removals of treasure were Dewan Ponnappa, Mandepanda Thimmayya, Biddanda Somayya and Mandira Uthayya. The first three men seem to have been amply rewarded by the Raja for their loyalty.

The Coorg prize money collected to an extent of Rs. I2 lakhs in hard coins and some valuables or property were stocked in Bangalore. The property was advertised for public auction at Bangalore, according to the "Madras Herald" of I6th June. The British Government arranged for a party of employees to dig the treasure at the spot specified by the confidential agents, and that was mostly around Kanive and Sirlecote areas on the Coorg border and on the banks of the Kaveri.

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CHAPTER XX.

Political Changes & ~~Fresh~~ FURTHER Revelations.

The Taluqs Below the Ghats:

The people of Amara-Sulya and Puttur taluqs were writing to the British Government to separate them from Coorg and annex those taluqs to South Kanara district. Col. Fraser had known about their desires even earlier, and hence wrote about their intentions to the supreme Government. On the 5th July 1834, the 31 leading ryots of Amara-Sulya said in a petition as below:

"We sent our application expressing our wish to be transferred to Kanara-----This was due to the fact that we entertained in consequence of a rumour that prevailed in the district that the Raja would get back to his country by entering into an engagement that he would pay Rs. two lakhs. We beg that you will excuse us for this misunderstanding, and you will afford your protection to us------We sent this petition for the second time since we wished to remain attached to Coorg (but under the British). We understand now that our districts will be annexed to Kanara as according to you previous memorandum, and we are surprised because i) The ryots of Amara-Sulya have one house in Coorg proper and another here. Some members of our families reside in Coorg. ii) We were till now the devotees of Kaveri, and we followed religious customs just as those of Coorg. iii) If we are now separated, perhaps, our families would suffer. We could go to Mercara, the capital, in one day but takes six days to reach Mangalore-----".

Acknowledging all these petitions, Col. Fraser wrote to the Governor-General on the 7th July 1834, stating that:

"I have as yet heard nothing from the Government of Fort St.George in regard to the annexation of Amara, Sulya and Puttur to the district of Kanara but I think it will be desirable that this question be determined as soon as possible because until it is so the minds of the ryots remain in an unsettled state and that I am myself necessarily leaving many points of arrangement suspended, which ought to be decided without delay by the authority under which the two taluqs are ultimately to be placed."

The problem of the taluqs beyond the Ghats seemed to have been a serious issue on account of the pressure from the people of that side. They had seen much good in the Company administration of the Kanara district. When Col. Jackson's troops were stranded between Kumbla and Amara-Sulya, people came to him and told that they were free that Coorg was freed and that they would like to join Kanara. There were many representations of the people of those areas describing the atrocities of Coorg officers. A good many of them wrote stating their wish to remain in Coorg but under the British rule. About fifteen leaders from Puttur saw Col. Fraser in that connection, and the British had decided on annexing Puttur taluk to South Kanara. It was said that the people of those taluqs beyond the Ghats, and under the Raja had suffered more, temples were in a state of dilapidation and men spent most of the time fighting. They also said, that:

"The practice of receiving a premium in the exchange of Surat Rs. at 4/- per pagoda should be discontinued and the system of permutation in Kanara should be ordered to be observed."

Those Taluqs were Finally Annexed:

There were many causes for the people of Puttur to request the British to annex their Taluq to Kanara. Once an appeal of about 157 ryots of Puttur praised Col. Fraser and the British, and denounced Coorgs saying that they "have annoyed us very much". Oth-

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Otherwise, they said, Mangalore was ten days' journey for them whereas Coorg- only two days. They found that the British in Coorg doing well, and said that the ryots needed protection.

However, the question was finally settled. In the middle of July 1834, the Coorg Government received orders from Madras on the question and the annexation of those two taluqs with South Kanara was decided. Dewan Laxminarayana, a strong supporter of the ex-Raja was then in Amara-Sulya. Col. Fraser wrote to him on the 16th July, that:

"Orders have this day been sent for the annexation of Puttur and Amara-Sulya taluqs to the district of Kanara. If the boundary line which separates Amara-Sulya from Coorg be not clearly shown now, difficulties will arise hereafter. You are therefore to avail yourself of the experience of some old people of the district and point out to the servants of the Kanara district the boundary line which existed in the time of Viraraja the Elder in 1803, and thus prevent any part of the land belonging to Coorg from being detached------". Sd) Col. Fraser, 16th July 1834, Mercara."

To the Collector & Magistrate of Kanara, Col. Fraser wrote, that:

"The taluqs of Puttur and Amara-Sulya having been under the orders of H.E.Governor-General annexed to the district of Kanara, I have the honour to acquaint you that necessary instructions have been sent to the native authorities there to be prepared to deliver over their offices and records to whom you may depute------."

To the Subedar of Puttur, Col. Fraser wrote, that:

"------Offices and official records may be handed over to the persons concerned------ You are hereby directed to order the people of the district to deliver up all official records and offices to the persons who may be deputed to receive charge of them by the Collector, Kanara."

To the Subedar of Amara-Sulya also, Col. Fraser wrote on the same lines as above and then added, that:

"-------You will be prepared to point out the authorities who may be directed by the Collector of Kanara to receive charge of Amara and Sulya the boundary line that separates those taluqs from Coorg agreeably to the detailed instruction which will be given to you by Dewan Laxminarayana in Amara-Sulya." Sd) Col.Fraser, 16th July 1834.

"Keep Coorg as a Province":

The first three months after the British expedition into Coorg in the first week of April 1834, was a period of drastic changes and alterations in the structure of the erstwhile native state of Coorg. With the bifurcation of the taluqs of Puttur-Bellare and Amara-Sulya to the district of South Kanara, the area of Coorg was reduced, and the people of Coorg, mostly the Kodavas, requested the British to keep Coorg as a small province. In the end of July 1834, there was a great petition signed by 96 signatories of Coorg who included two Dewans, one Karnick, 17 Mutsaddis, two Subedars, 23 Parpathigars, six Shanbogues and 45 ryots. They together represented to Col.Fraser, that:

"We humbly beg your pardon for intruding on your time with this memorandum------Your petitions in the past served the ex-Raja but now the Government of this country has been transferred to the hon'ble Company, and the Raja is removed from here, and you (Colonel Fraser) assumed charge of the Government and confirmed us in our respective offices and without disturbing in the slightest degree our usages and customs. You are governing this country affording protection to us. The circumstance is redounded greatly to your honour and reputation. The whole of the people are well-satisfied and pleased with the attention which you have paid to their grievances and your name as well as that of the

the Rt.hon'ble Governor-General will for ever be remembered by us and our posterity. We are praying that your honour will continue to remain at this place for ever protecting us in this manner. It is the unanimous wish of the whole of the people that you should cause the same system of administration to be pursued hereafter.

"If this country is made over to the Collector, all of us who are here from time immemorial will lose our situations, our usages and customs, and everything will be neglected and fresh rules will be introduced and thereby we shall be much harrassed. The servants, the ryots and others have therefore presented this petition in the hope that you will BE PLEASED TO CAUSE THE SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION WHICH YOU HAVE PURSUED TO BE CONTINUED. WE BEG THAT OUR PRAYERS WILL BE CONSIDERED."

Sd) 96 leading men of Coorg including three Dewans.

Forwarding this great petition to the Governor-General of India, on the 2Ist July I834, Col. Fraser wrote that:

"------It has been written, I understand, under an impression that because the taluqs of Puttur and Amara-Sulya have been annexed to Kanara and subjected to the usual administration of the civil officers of the British Government, it was possible that the latter measure might be contemplated in regard to Coorg proper to which it appears that the petitioners would have a great dislike.

"------I have acquainted the persons who presented the memorandum to me that it should be submitted to the Governor-General but there was no ground for the apprehension they seemed to entertain. I explained the great distinction that prevails in every respect between the district below and above the Ghats and showed them that the reasons that existed for the measure lately adopted with respect to Puttur and Amara-Sulya were not applicable to Coorg proper, and finally communicated to them the principles of administration on which the Governor-General had already determined that the affairs of this district should be conducted.

"------With this the petitioners seemed highly satisfied------I dismissed them saying that this memorandum should still be forwarded to the Governor-General as I was desirous that on all occasions their wishes and sentiments should be made known to me without reserve and through me to the British Government-----."

Tombs for Devammaji & Others:

With the new arrangements adjustments of Coorg and adjoining taluqs, the ex-Raja's house in Mangalore was put into auction, and the Collector of Kanara advertised the news in the Fort ST.George Gazette and other papers on the 26th September I834, and by the end of that year all arrangements were made to bifurcate the taluqs below the Ghats from Coorg, and thus Coorg was retained as a compact hilly state under the direct administration of the Government of India with Resident of Mysore in charge of that.

Col. Fraser's court of Inquiry on the ex-Raja's misconduct was still functioning. They wanted to know the extent of the Raja's cruelties and also about his buried treasure, which, as Coorg Prize Money alone they had gathered up to about Rs. I2 lakhs. Writing to Major Wiggins, Commanding Mercara, Col.Fraser wrote on the 23rd June, that:

"Depositions have been given in regard to a vast number of secret executions carried into effect under the orders of the ex-Raja and the spots where the victims are buried, having been clearly indicated, it has been thought necessary and satisfactory verification of the statement of the deponents may be furnished if search be made in such spots for human remains.....

"One of the spots thus pointed out is the vicinity of Koomlaghery barrier (?). The Committee of which you are the President will, therefore, assemble at the said barrier when the weather permits, and proceed to the execution of this duty, furnishing me afterwards with a detailed report of all the circumstances-----The remains should be re-interr

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re-interred in the same places where they have been found, which will be afterwards marked by suitable memorials.

"Some of the Coorg people will be directed to attend the investigation, and it is probable that Chennabasappa, in compliance with his own desire, will be among them, whose and many of his relations are supposed to have been among the murdered victims-----".

From this it could be seen how a civilized society looked at the human values and how much respect they showed to human life and dignities. The suggestion of Col.Fraser to mark the graves of those victims with 'suitable memorial' was indeed a heartening aspect of the future of the country. It showed that the people were being lifted from barbarism to modern age of respect for human lives and values. Writing to the Secretary to the Governor-General of India, Col. Fraser said, that:

"-----There can be little or no doubt that the remains of married daughter of Devammaji and her two murdered children are buried in the jungle behind the Nalknad palace, besides those of numerous victims of the ex-Raja's remorseless cruelty-----I have ordered plain tombs to be erected over the graves at Koomlaghery barrier (?) at Nalknad.

"Chennabasappa claims the restoration of his property. He looked feverish and was shivering. I asked him to use warm clothes and he said that he had no money to buy. A pension of Rs. 150 was given to him, but I now recommend Rs. 300 for his expenses----.

"When he fled from Coorg, it is said, he carried a considerable quantity of gold but in the scuffle ensued, he lost the whole thing------."

The Victims' Bodies Exhumed:

There was a Committee to find out the truth of the ex-Raja's alleged atrocities and cruelties, and those consisted of Major Wiggins, Lieut. J. Martin and Dr. Birch, the surgeon. These men tried to exhume the bodies of those murdered or tortured by the orders of the ex-Raja and the lame Dewan Basava. The actual killers were the Junglee Kudiyas or the Kaplas. The Committee members took immense trouble to go all the way to the spots where graves of those victims were found in and around Mercara and near the palace at Nalknad. This Committee of three men said in their report on the 25th June 1834, as under:

"------The Committee proceeded to Koomlaghery barrier and into the jungle to the left of the small tank situated below the varrier, then followed the track of a small pathway---- The Coorgs indicated a spot where the painful and solemn duties were to commence. Besides the Committee, there were Dara Shah, Chennabasappa and several others. The first grave that was opened and examined was said to have contained bodies of twelve men-----decapitated and interred by the Raja's orders. About eleven square feet being opened and to the depth of five feet, twelve bodies were discovered------The heads and bodies were all taken out, eight of which, the suregon says-----being decapitated from the appearence of vertebra.

"Chennabasappa- who was anxiously intent on all that was passing on observed a body lifted out, having long drawers on the legs, exclaimed with agonized feelings, "that's my brother; if I had not fled, I should have been in the same hole-----."

"The Committee members then proceeded to another part of the jungle where three other graves were pointed out, and those contained bodies of a male and female child-----recognised from the smallness of the bones-----and feelings of Chennabasappa was again agonized in beholding the remains of his only child murdered by lame Basava.

"The Committee then proceeded to the fifth grave that was described as containing the bodies of two females which were found, a skull with hair, and Chennabasappa remarked, "that's the head of Devammaji." Dara Shah also agreed to this and so also others. There were three other graves- two were seen- but they were not opened as it was late. In all seventeen bodies were found- all victims of the secret executions."

The Search for Buried Treasure:

In those days when there were no better means to hide or deposit money and gold, people had to simply bury their treasure after filling that in mud pots or brass vessels. In that way that kind of depositing money was considered safe in those days, but the ex-Raja's situation was different. When he was being exiled from Coorg, he secretly managed to fill in his palanquins with money and bars of gold, and as a result the palanquins became too heavy to bear. The Raja had no choice but to bury a good portion of his gold and that he did at the way side stations where he had camped, especially at the Coorg borders. No doubt, there were many unreliable rascals in his party who were quick to betray him and report to the British all about the buried wealth. Col. Fraser wrote to the Commissioner of Mysore on the 20th June 1834, that:

"As it leaves me uncertain how long it may be before Munshi Thimmappa and Badruddin will return to Coorg, I shall immediately take measures for recovering the money alleged to ~~be buried~~ have been buried near Ramaswami Kanive.

"The person most wanted for this purpose seems to be Karyakar Woothu (Mandira), and this man had already committed offences which had been brought to my notice; I had given orders------for his being apprehended-----and brought to me at Mercara-----He should be sent back immediately here under charge of a small guard-----He is of doubtful character."

Writing to the Governor-General of India, Col. Fraser said that the copy of the letter stating that Viraraja the Elder had paid 1,86,840 pagodas in March 1809 (twenty-five years back), was not found in Mercara. Together with that he also informed about "the establishment of a direct tappal to Malabar through the district of Coorg." At the court of enquiry that was held by Col. Fraser, a man known as Kencha gave this information, and that was reported as below:

"The Raja gave a Muslim who came to Mercara a pair of pistols, a piece of blue velvet, a horse and some money and then sent him to Bangalore to kill Chenabasava.

"I was the person who gave the pistols to the Raja's hand and he gave it to the Muslim. Yes, these were the pistols I gave; these long English pistols-----."

This testimony was given in confirmation to what others had already said about the Raja sending that Muslim to Bangalore for the purpose of assassinating Chenabasappa. Capt. Carpenter, in-charge of the ex-Raja, was informed by Col.Fraser on the 23rd June 1834, that:

"-----I suggest that the Raja should not only be instructed in the plainest of terms to transmit all his letters direct through yourself but that he should be deprived of all means whatever of acting otherwise, and that you should invariably be made fully acquainted with the purport of his correspondence------."

And, to Major Wiggins, Commanding Coorg, Col. Fraser said that:

"Woothu (Mandira Uthayya) must be detained until further orders, and he must be prevented from communicating with others. In the event of the recovery of the treasure, a guard must be posted there in batches in all the places."

Some Buried Pots Found:

In the course of the Enquiry by the Panchayat, some facts concerning the preparations for war and some such topics also came out. For instance, one Muhammad Murtaza, said to the Panchayat on the 23rd June 1834, that:

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"I reside in Mysore. I carried a letter to Latif Khan at Mysore, in which the Raja desired him to go to Coorg with as many brave men as he could procure, and not less than 400 or to an extent of one-thousand. I didn't carry any letters to Srirangapatna."

Another man from outside, one Venkata, deposed before the Panchayat court, on the 24th June 1834, stating that:

"I am a Telugu by caste and I reside in Murnad. I was a Sepoy under the Raja and now I am unemployed. I don't know about different letters that were passed between Srirangapatna and Bangalore. About eight months ago (in November 1833), I was sent by Dewan Ponnappa to Mysore with a Muslim. After three days we returned-----".

The party of hunters of the ex-Raja's buried treasure, led by Major Wiggins, were busy searching for the money pots at the border areas near Kanive, and Mr. Wiggins wrote to Col. Fraser, on the 24th June 1834, that:

"The mission on which I ~~sent~~ was sent has been fully executed------I arrived here yesterday with the Coorgs and in safety. This morning when I wished to proceed to R. Kanive as directed, the Coorg (Kodava) with whom the secret of the money prevented my movement saying it lay quite in opposite direction, and consequently I followed him.----- We proceeded by the road leading to Virarajpet, the one by which Col. Stuart's detachment marched. On reaching the Nad of Lakatore (?), the Coorg (Mandira Uthayya) came into the jungle a little beyond the houses and in a small Nullah, he pointed out the spot where the treasure was buried. There-----I found two burried pots full of gold of various kinds of coins. After having fully ascertained that no more than two earthen pots were buried in this spot, I proceeded to the place where it was said to have been placed for the first time. I dug there but found nothing.

"I had no time to count the treasure but I will send you information tomorrow. I should think that there are loads for seven or eight men. The Coorg (Kodava) informs me that he has shown all. He has behaved well-----I have a carriage and everything fit for transporting the treasure to Mercara; both the elephants will be available tomorrow----.'
Sd) Mr. Wiggins & Lieut. Vallancy (of the search party), Nanjarajapatna."

The Coins and Gold Accounted:

The men who got the excavated wealth from the buried pots, came to Mercara and unloaded all their exploits. A party of a Havaldar and twelve men under an European officer, were sent to Nanjarajapatna, and they joined Lieut. Vallancy's party and helped to carry the treasure safely. In an official communique, dated the 25th June, Col. Fraser ordered that:

"-----Lieut. Vallancy will proceed to Kanive and remain there until the arrival of Munshi Thimmappa and Munshi Badraudeen. They will show the treasure as stated by them in Bangalore. Mandira Woothu may be kept strictly under guard. Lieut. Vallancy will proceed to other places if he is made to understand of the burying treasure. After the whole thing is got to Mercara, a committee of officers will be ordered to assemble for the purpose of ascertaining the exact amount and to inform the Governor-General."

Ensign Nicolls arrived in Mercara in charge of the treasure recovered by Vallancy. A committee with Major Wiggins and Lieut. Lamphier, staff officer-----was constituted to see to the treasure and count the value. The bundles were as below:

i) A cloth bundle containing Portuguese coins was opened. Those 4961 coins are put into a bag and sealed-----The native estimate each coin at Surat Rs. 5/-.
ii) A second cloth bundle is opened. It contained 437 PANAMs amd 498 gold MOHURs.
iii) The third cloth bag contained 6756 Portuguese gold coins; each valued at Surat Rs. 5/-.
iv) The fourth bag contained 4115 Portuguese coins- as in Number iii.
v) The fifth cloth bag contained 3732 Portuguese coins, just as above.

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vi) The sixth cloth bag contained 5000 Portuguese coins, and,
vii) The seventh contained 8500 coins and the eigth 6096 Portuguese coins.

While counting the money it was found that a few coins were mixed with the Portuguese or Venetian coins and with a few odd pieces. The value of such pieces was Rs.466. It was believed that the bulk of the property was in Venetian coins which was estimated at about nine shillings for a coin. One PANA, one gold Mohur and another foreign coin were taken out, and those were not included in the account that was sent to Capt.Forbes, the Prize Agent, to ascertain the values. The actual amount in Rupees was as below:

Bag	i)	Surat Rs.	24,805	Bag	iv)	Surat Rs.	42,500	Bag	vii)	Surat Rs.	42,500
"	ii)	" "	23,136	"	v)	" "	18,660	"	viii)	" "	30,480
"	iii)	" "	33,780	"	vi)	" "	25,000	"	ix)	" "	466

Total Surat Rupees- 2,19,402.

Members of the Committee: Sd) Capt. Wiggins, (later Major)
") Lieut. J. Martin,
") " W.H.Lamphier, Dated the 25th June 1834.

Some More Money Found:

There have been an effort on the part of some of the confidants of the Raja to share the loot among themselves after trying to dig and hide gold and coins given by the ex-Raja on his way to exile. Lieut. Vallancy wrote to Col. Fraser on the 4th July 1834, that:

"------Immediately after your yesterday's note, I proceeded to the spot pointed out by Jamedar Mukkati Kuttayya, where the two bags were buried, and as stated, I found them there. It contained 2110 cash coins, about 500 gold Mohurs and one pagoda. The bags on being touched went into pieces; the seals of the bags are with the Hawaldar of the guards.

"Munshi Thimmayya (Mandepanda) says that "a bag of 1000 coins was given to Sowkar Niraul Chetty of Bettadpur and the same amount to Jangama Chenabasava. All this was arranged at Kittur, but next day, on the way to Chinchenkatte, Dewan Ponnappa, not being able to place confidence in Niraul Chetty, took the bag from him and gave to Jangama Chennabasava, after counting the money. I forwarded the receipt that I got for that Rs. 2000 or so to you------Thimmayya acknowledged having given cash to Niraul Chetty---- I am proceeding to Bettadpur to obtain truth on all this."

On the 6th July, the Committee met at Mercara fort with Major Wiggins, Lieut. G. Vallancey and Lieut. Lamphiers. The two bags that were obtained contained 2093 Portuguese coins. One pagoda was equal to four Company coins or rupees and one gold Mohur was equal to 15 Surat rupees. The first bag contained 7,519 Surat rupees, and the second one Rs. 10,465 Surat rupees. On the 7th July, Col. Fraser wrote, that:

"We have succeeded in recovering two more bags of gold valued at Rs.17,984-----I am trying to recover from Jangama Chennabasava the two bags of Venetian or Surat money that was entrusted to his care under the orders of the Raja-----."

About the leading persons who were with the Raja when all this money was buried and their role and their deposition when the money was actually dug out and the things pertaining all that will be told in the pages ahead. But one thing was clear out of all this: The Raja was surrounded with people who did not know what actually they were doing and that in a way, was beneficial for the British officials in Coorg to get at the truth of the whole secret dealings of the ex-Raja.

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The Exact Amount of Money Got:

It took some time to come to a definite conclusion on the total amount of money the British officials collected from Coorg treasury after the Raja was deposed. They had been very liberal in allowing the Raja to take a substantial amount for his personal expenses, and the fallen chief took several loads or bags of his money and jewels when he left Mercara, and much of it was hidden and sneakily smuggled out by him. Capt. J.D. Forbes, in charge of Finance, wrote from Bangalore to Col. Fraser, on the 7th July 1834, that:

"I transmit-----the extract of the report of the Committee (of Coorg Finance) about the treasure brought from Mercara on the 11th May, which after duly sorted, weighed and accurately counted- totalled to an amount of Madras Rs. 10,39,389.

"Of this sum which has been paid over to the Commissioner for governing the territories of Mysore, Rs.4,395 is the ready money derived out of sales-----The reminder, with the exception of Rs. 5,000 brought in from Amara-Sulya was found, as formerly reported, at Mercara and Nalknad------Sales of sundries Rs. 843, horses Rs.6460, musical instruments- Rs. 2,006, and by the sale of the property brought from Coorg and then auctioned, has so far gone up to Rs. 18,000-----."

"The estimate of the total value of the treasure found at Nanjarajapatna, is Rs. 2,07,496, and some small amounts were derived by the sale of some Portuguese coins, Venetian coins and Surat gold rupees-----The property sold at the auction included gold and silver wares, sarees, silks and satins, Brussels carpets, satin umbrellas, velvet, coarse broad cloth, China silk etc etc.

"Extract from the proceedings of the special Committee to count the treasure from Mercara arrived on the 29th May (1834), and the money had been deposited at the Commissioner's office, on account of the Coorg booty:

"The total value of the Bahaduri pagodas-	Rs.	4,60,558
" " " " Surat- "	"	12,757
" " " " Sedaki (?)-	"	16,293
" " " " In-gots value-	"	23,240
" " " " Coorg Mohurs-	"	20,621
and, various other coins, bullions etc etc	"	5,53,819

The coins consisted mostly in Madras Rs. 3,361,137, the Surat Rs. 59,727 and the rest in several local currencies. The total amount in coins was- Rs. 4,85,570.

The remarks of the Committee was as under:

"The Committee deemed proper to state that the rate of exchange they have affixed to these different coins is as near their rate value as they can possibly ascertain---- The entire money is sealed and lodged. Every bag is sealed with red wax and the bags of silver are sealed in black wax.

The total in gold: Rs. 5,53,819, and in silver- Rs. 4,85,570.

Total amount- Grand total- Rs.10,39,389. Sd) J.D.Forbes,Capt.

Some Kodavas Behind the Raja:

It was already said that behind the Raja there were a good many Kodava opportunists and ultra-loyalists, and some names of such people have already been said. Among the men who were with the Raja in Bangalore, were the Munshis Thimmappa and Badruddeen- one a Lingayat and the other a Muslim. They were sent back to Coorg, and they reached Kanive on the 27th June 1834. The Secretary to the Commissioner of Mysore, wrote to Capt. Carpenter, in-charge of the ex-Raja, on the 30th June, stating that:

"I understand that Dewan Ponnappa and Munshi Iyappa have followed the ex-Raja of Coorg from Bangalore (on his further journey). I am directed by the Commissioner of Government of Mysore, to request that they may be immediately sent back------".

In reply, Capt. Carpenter who was leading the Raja and his party to Vellore, wrote on the same day, the 30th June 1834, that:

"-----I have directed Dewan Ponnappa and Munshi Iyappa to return this evening to Bangalore enroute to Mercara, and they are accompanied by three other Kodavas-----In the course of a conversation with the Raja, I told him about the discovery of the hidden treasure, and I said that more would be found at Mercara fort. He hastily asked, "Has it been found there, too?" I replied, "I don't know". Then he changed his manner and said, "There is none there." However, I am of opinion from the tone in which he interrogated on the point, I submit this subject may be referred for the consideration of the Commissioner for Coorg Affairs."

"As I found the Raja's followers likely to be productive of considerable expenses, many of them being persons of rank, I am anxious to be honoured with the Governor-General's decision on their maintenance."

Sd) Capt. D.Carpenter, Camp-Allengonta (on the way to Vellore) with the ex-Raja.

When the subject of treasure came up, the British Government were in touch with many of the confidants of the ex-Raja, some of whom served him faithfully, but later they had to change their loyalties to the new Government. Mukkatira Kuttayya one such associate of the top-men in the in the ex-Raja's company. On the 2nd July, he told the Panchayats who included Col. Fraser, that:

"Soon after the ex-Raja reached Kanive, he asked Karyakar (Biddanda) Somayya to select some men for digging pits. Somayya took me, Belli, Machimanda Somayya, Chendanda Poonacha, SyrKaryakar Devappa, Karyakar Iyappa, Mandira Uthayya, Munshi Mandepanda Thimmayya, Dewan Cheppudira Ponnappa, Biddanda Muddayya, Bolakaranda Uthappa and a Jamedar to the tent and then directed us to dig pits. Accordingly we dug two pits and then were ordered to go. I don't know what happened afterwards.

"SyrKaryakar (Biddanda) Somayya told us that the Raja had given two bags of cash to be distributed among us as recompense for digging pits. Next day Somayya, Belli and myself took two bags from Sirlekote to R. Kanive and concealed them in a rising ground opposite to the revenue office. Later we returned. Karyakar Somayya employed Machimanda Somayya to watch the treasure buried in the pits.

"After the arrival at the camp at Kittur, Munshi Thimmayya (Mandepanda) delivered a bag of money to Sowkar of Bettadpur saying that he should keep the money in his charge and return it to him when he came back. He gave me Rs.10/- as present. He also gave another bag of cash to Jangama Chennabasava of a Mutt in Betiatnad and a receipt was taken from him to which I affixed a signature as a witness.

"As I was sick, I returned to my house from Yedatore. About 20 days ago Karyakar Uthayya told me that he and Somayya had removed the treasure from the pits to another place. Later Belli and myself went to Machimanda Somayya who told us that the pots they buried were full and that part of the treasure should be put into another pot. For the purpose we took another pot and went to the spot but we were stopped on the road due to the rain. Therefore, we returned to our houses. That's all I know-----."

About a Letter to Hyderabad:

Much was said about the ex-Raja's communication with the chiefs around his small kingdom and even with the one of the distant Hyderabad. The Enquiry Committee or the Panchayat asked the Munshis Venkata, Sheik Imam and others if they were employed by the Raja to carry letters from Mysore to Hyderabad. Munshi Badruddeen said that Lala Ramprasad had been to Hyderabad, and one Dost Muhammad was sent to Mysore. Among the officials interviewed, one Venkata Hoblidar, gave his testimony on the 25th June, as below:

"I carried letter to Mysore for some medicine and also letters ~~from~~ for Mr. Casamajor. Once I was sent with a message to Mamoo Imam and it stated that "the English Sarkar has the intention of declaring war against us. My country is small one; you are a Muslim and a Bakshi, and, therefore, you are requested to help us. God will do you good.

"Mamoo Imam then said, 'This Company Sarkar will never at any time declare war against your country. I am on the receipt of the salary from them, and, therefore, I cannot take arms against them. If they declare war against the Raja, I would give up my situation in this Sarkar and help you, if you confer on me a handsome salary.'

"Having said thus he desired me to take to the Raja a pair of pistols and get him the sum of Rs. 200 as he was in need of money. I said that I would inform the Raja of his pistol etc and then bring the money if he (the Raja) agrees. He agreed to that and told me to meet him at Bangalore. I told the Raja what had happened and he with the consent of the lame Basava agreed to give the money but later on forgot to do so.

"Yes, I was sent with letters to Hyderabad. About eight months back a letter ~~to~~ was addressed to Mubarak Doulah; it was carried by me. Murtaza Salah and others. Later I missed Murtaza and others on my way and I carried the letter alone. In Hyderabad I found Mubarak's place but learnt that Chandulal had placed him under restraint. I went to him and told about Coorg Raja's letter to their master but Chandulal said that I should bring a Nuzzur of Rs. 1000 or an elephant if I wished to see the authorities there. They asked me to show the letter but I refused to show as I had orders to give it only to Mubarak Doulah and no one else. But as I was told that it was not possible even to see Mubarak without Nuzzurs, and, as I had no money in hand, I left the place back for Coorg.

"As a result of my having seen Murtaza and others in Hyderabad, I took them to the city and introduced them to the attendants of Mubarak, and they too gave us the same reply. Then we returned to Coorg. I am not aware of the contents of the letter that we carried. I didn't carry letters to anyone else, but I know that Hoblidar Nallappa was sent with letters and presents to Krishnappa Nayak, the Paleygars of Chitradurg, Maddagiri and others."

Syed Badruddeen Spoke:

Col. Fraser's court of enquiry on the ex-Raja's past deeds continued to take statements on every alternate day, and that afforded a good lot of information on the Raja's activities in Coorg. One of his letters sent to Hyderabad Nawab with eight or nine of his servants who included, Venkata, Subba, Murtaza and others, in about the month of August of the previous year (1833), said that:

"To the Nawab of Hyderabad------A friendship has subsisted between this Sarkar and that of the hon'ble Company from a long time, and it has been usual that if any person fled from this country to theirs he was given up by them and vice versa. A few days ago a person belonging to this Sarkar escaped from this country and Mr. Casamajor gave him protection and refuses to give him up. It said that the hon'ble Company intends to send troops to fight against this country. You are an independent Sovereign and if you bring troops I shall accommodate them here and afford you every assistance-------."

This was the essence of the letter that was sent to Hyderabad and in which the Raja had sought help from there in the event of the British coming with the troops into his country. Such letters were also sent to the Paleygars of the districts around Coorg and Mysore. One Narayana Bhat was sent to the Raja of Charakal. The Raja approached one Kelu Nambiar of Malabar and one Daud Khan of Ganjam and some others- all in connection with the seeking of assistance in case of a war. Most of those letters were in abusive terms against the English, and Abbas Ali wrote a good many of them in Hindustani and also the Raja's proclamation of war. ~~One~~ Syed Badruddeen of Ammathi, and a Munshi, deposed before the Committee of Enquiry on the 5th July and again on the 16th July 1834, that:

"I am Syed Badruddeen of Ammathi-nad. I was a Munshi but now no job. I was writing Persian and Hindustani letters. Lala Ramprasad and Dost Muhammad were also there as writers. After the Raja's arrival at Bangalore, Lala Ram left for Hyderabad and Dost Muhammad to his village in Mysore. Dost was in service for eight years and myself and Lala for I4 years, and we wrote the political correspondence of the Raja to Mysore, Bangalore, Srirangapatna, Hyderabad, etc etc-----.

"About twenty days before the Company troops entered Coorg, Daud Khan and Ismail Khan, merchants of Ganjam, sent letters to the Raja stating that they were ready to afford their aid, and the Raja replied that he would require their help-----.

"Abbas Ali and Ghaznafar Ali were in the habit of going to the Raja who have Ghaznafar Saheb Rs.I000/- at Nalknad when he was about to quit and then surrendered to the British at Mercara. Daud Khan, a Sepoy, came from Srirangapatna. Most of these men were merchants. Fakiruddin, a peon of the Raja, went with his master as far as Bangalore. Ghaznafar, a doctor, came from Mysore and later he returned."

Karyakar Woothu and Kuttayya:

When the ex-Raja was in Bangalore, the new Government of Coorg were busy taking inventories of the Raja's wealth and properties, and the report of the same were sent to the supreme Government from time to time. After that the sanction of the entire expenditures and allotments on the Raja and his people had to come from the Governor-General, and one such letter of the I8th July I834, from the Governor-General, was as under:

"-----To the Raja, his family and servants, a monthly sum of Rs. 2440 was allotted. Capt. Carpenter attending the Raja wrote from Bangalore that it was sufficient, and strict instructions were given to him to consider the Raja as a close political prisoner and not to permit him to go beyond the compound of the dwelling house assigned to him as his place of residence-----."

In the Raja's party there were six cooks, four washermen, eleven water carriers, two flower suppliers, four scavengers, five Mahouts, seven horse-keepers, seven grass-cutters, four tailors, one Munshi, one Subedar, two Karyakars, five barrackers, one Shanbogue, one head Maistry, fifteen Sepoys, two peons, one barber, and one cobbler, and the above said amount sanctioned met the expenses of all these men. The Raja and his party were looked after well because the British had an obligation to do so after succeeding in getting a good amount of money as buried treasure or as booty. About fifteen lakhs of rupees from a small principality such as Coorg was no small amount, and that huge amount not only increased the prominence of Coorg but also of the ex-ruler of the State. Explaining on how they were able to collect so much of buried treasure etc, Col. Fraser wrote to to the Governor-General who was still in Ootacmund, on the the I8th July I834, that:

"I have the honour-----that in conformity with the promise I have given to Karyakar Woothu (Mandira Uthayya) and Jamedar (Mukkatira) Kuttayya, previously to the discovery of the spots where the treasure recently was dug up, I presented Woothu Rs. I000/- and Kuttayya with Rs. 200/-. Karyakar Woothu was the means of our securing Rs.2,I9,402 and Kuttayya Rs. I7,984 and, although no further demand has been made or seems to be contemplated by the parties, I would yet beg to be informed whether the remuneration I have made to them is deemed by the Governor-General sufficient or if our promise of a reward of five percent for the discovery of buried treasure be considered to be applicable to these cases.

"If Woothu and Kuttayya to be deserving of more than they have received and entitled to the superior award, it would be a question whether Munshi Thimmayya and Munshi Bad-

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Badruddeen should not participate in it as the persons originally indicated to us the concealment of the treasure------."

An announcement by the Government at that time, said that:

"It is hereby proclaimed that a reward of five per cent will be given to any person who shall furnish such information as may directly lead to the discovery and be the means of securing Sarkar property hidden in Coorg."

For some time there was an intense search for buried treasure near Coorg borders— near Nanjarajapatna and Sirlekote, and at Mercara and Nalknad. Most of the Government files on political correspondence of the time of the ex-Raja were also found missing, and it was said that the Raja had nine volumes of those papers when he had reached Bangalore. Later a good many of them were lodged at the Mysore Residency after Col. Fraser wrote to the Raja to return those documents to Coorg. Even with all that the Raja had taken three volumes more of his documents when he proceeded to Vellore, and out of which two volumes were returned to Capt. Carpenter who was in charge of the ex-Raja.

Mandepanda Thimmayya's Evidence:

The Panchayat court enquiry of the ex-Raja's affairs continued. Mark Cubbon wrote to Col. Fraser that Munshis Thimmayya and Badruddeen denied knowledge of any correspondence of the Raja with the chiefs outside but then that was not true because Badruddeen had already admitted that of having been in the know of things. Those Munshis were afraid to speak out openly in Bangalore because they were near the Raja but after their return to Coorg they revealed all that they had known. The names of the prominent Kodavas who moved about the Raja were already given behind, and Thimmayya was one of them. Dewan Ponnappa, Karyakar Biddanda Somayya, Mandira Woothu, Biddanda Muddayya, Machimanda Somayya, Bolakaranda Uthappa, Chendanda Ponnacha and Mukatira Kuttayya were the others. In answer to Col. Fraser's letter about the reward paid to those who showed them the buried treasure, Governor-General wrote on the 25th July 1834, that:

"----Neither they (Jamedar Mukkatira Kuttayya and Mandira Uthayya), nor Munshis (Mandepanda) Thimmayya and Budraddeen have acted up to the terms of proclamation but the latter two deserve consideration, they having afforded the clue by which the hidden property was discovered, and, therefore, you will be pleased to confer upon them a reward to such extent as you deem fit-----."

At the Panchayat court assembled on the 10th July 1834, the one important person who gave evidence on the Raja's affairs was Mandepanda Thimmayya. His version was given weight because he was an important Munshi during those days. He said as below:

"I am a Kodava of Yedenalknad, and I belong to Chembebeliyur village. I served as Munshi for eleven years, and I have no job now.

"Yes, about six or seven years ago the Raja received letters from Ghulam Muhammad ALIAS Mamoo Imam in which it was stated that one Boray Gowda had sent message------in favour of the Raja-----and, in return a bird and a pair of black shawls be sent to him, and he would present them to 'a great man' (means- the Raja of Mysore who was also dethroned at that time) and speak to him and later would inform of the outcome of the meeting. Mamoo Imam said that the letter should be destroyed after perusal. The Raja replied through Subba Hoblidar that he was arranging for bird, shawls etc. The bird died later.

"After a month the Raja sent another letter to Mammoo with Venkata Hoblidar but he fell ill on the way. That was written by Munshis Badruddeem and Kalingayya. These two

were Munshis for twenty days, just before the British troops came into Coorg. The Raja sent another letter to Mamoo, and in that he said:

"The hon'ble Company Sarkar have now declared war against me; you have been put up to this time saying that you were interested in my cause; this is a good chance; you should join me and fight against them. If you were in want of money you should let me know of it."

"Daud Khan delivered this message to Mamoo Imam who answered as under:

"I received the message-----When I learn that war has commenced at that place I shall excite a rebellion at Bangalore. I have got influence over the people here. I am in need of money."

"Three months before the war started, the Raja got a message from two Muslims at Ganjam stating that they had under them 2,000 men with arms, that they were in favour of the ex-Raja, that they did not require salaries before the country which might be ordered by the Raja, was seized.

"The Raja sent a memorandum with Fakiruddeen. At the same time Daud Khan sent Mamoo Imam to the above two Muslims of Ganjam stating that they should send an agreement according to the draft which was prepared and delivered into the hands of Fakiruddeen, as he did not approve of the verbal message. The two Muslims prepared an agreement as the Raja wanted and then sent to the Raja whose memorandum was as below:

"To the Subedars and Sepoys: A War will take place between us and hon'ble Company Sarkar. Many persons are already in my favour. If you should also join me, I would give you salaries more than the hon'ble Company (would pay), and presents will be conferred on you. This is an opportunity which we cannot get any more."

"In consequence of Karyakar Woothu having sent an application to the Raja from the Siddeswar gate stating that many native Sepoys were disposed in the Raja's favour and they wished to know what salaries would be given to them. The Raja forwarded to Woothu by post ten copies of the above memorandum, five written in Kannada and the rest in Hindustani."

The Conclusion of this Volume:

The Panchayat court continued to collect evidences from many other people. It was the rainy season, and the month of July had usually have heavy downpours. The troops in Mercara were sanctioned extra monsoon allowances for their coats and boots. There were some Muslims who had to be interrogated. Syed Muhammad, a Turk, had reached Tellichery and the Magistrate of Calicut wrote that he had to be deported to Persian Gulf. On the orders of the Governor-General, he was held in custody in Tellichery. It was said that he had seventeen books and more than sixty lose papers. Some other men involved in the politics of the Raja were also going about hither and thither.

By the end of July the whole situation in Coorg had changed for the better. The Kodavas began to speak out, and they found a new lease of life under the British system. Those traitors who went after the Raja had returned and then adjusted to the new set up and some of them were able to earn compliments of their new masters. The Raja was now in Vellore and his story would continue in the next volume together with the detailed account of the new system of Government in Coorg and the changes that had taken place thereafter!!!

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Volume III.

THE COORG RECORDS.

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I. M. Muthanna 25/6/74.

(Dr. I.M.Muthanna)
dated the 25th June 1974.

IM/-

THE COORG RECORDS.

VOO L U M E III.

CHAPTER I.

The Modern System of Administration.

"Security, Comfort & Happiness":

"The conduct of the Raja of Coorg has for a long time past been of such a nature as to render him unworthy of the friendship and protection of the British Government."

"Unmindful of his duty as a ruler, and regardless of obligations as dependant ally of the East India Company, the Raja has been guilty of the greatest oppression and cruelty towards the people subject to his Government, and he has evinced the most wanton disrespect of the authority of, and the most hostile disposition towards the former, from whom he and his ancestors have invariably received every degree of kindness and protection."

These are first two paragraphs of the proclamation of the war with Coorg, and this was dated as the I5th March I834. There were ample evidences to declare a war, and after the occupation of Coorg, the British officials proved almost all the accusations made against the Raja. After the annexation of Coorg, the proclamation of the British, dated the 6th April I834, was as under:

"Whereas it is the unanimous wish of the inhabitants of Coorg to be taken under the protection of the British Government, H.E. the Right hon'ble Governor-General has been pleased to resolve that the territory heretofore governed by Viraraja Wodeyar shall be transferred to the hon'ble Company.

"The inhabitants are hereby assured that they shall not again be subjected to native rule; that their civil rights and religious usages will be respected; and that the greatest desire will invariably be shown by the British Government to augment their security, comfort and happiness.

"Sd) Col. Fraser, Lt.-Col, & Political Agent, Mercara, 7th May I834."

With this announcement, the British Government started a new era of "security, comfort and happiness" for the people of Coorg, and with that also began a new administrative system. That was the time when the provinces, states and districts all over India, that came under the British after their conquests, began getting a thoroughly modernised administrative system which had not at all known till then. As the new reforms were introduced the people felt a great relief. The new orders stopped overnight such cruel practices of whipping, killing people on flimsy grounds, early marriages of infant girls, killing of the widows in the funeral pyres of their husbands, and ever so many primitive customs of the barbarian times were all stopped.

Respected Liberty and Equality:

The British system, moreover, respected liberty, equality etc. They maintained the system of law and order jealously and thus saved the ignorant people from the hands of the cruel and tyrant chiefs. The British also respected native culture, customs, religion, language, etc and, in fact, those were the people who came into this country to completely sweep the rut that was India and thoroughly overhaul the entire administrative structure. Much could be said about all this but much more has already been writt-

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written on the benefits of the British administration during the last two centuries beginning from 1757 in general and from 1782 in particular.

Now, as far as Coorg was concerned, the province being small, the change into a new system seemed to have been clear and complete, and that was evident by the fact that the local people began admiring the Western system of administration. They also clamoured for Western education, western system of social justice, law and order, etc.

In the earlier publication of this author, A TINY MODEL STATE OF SOUTH INDIA, an attempt has been made to give the departmental history of the Coorg Government which began from the year 1834, and those important departments included the administration of land revenue system, administration of justice, the departments of forests, education, and so on. With the introduction of coffee ciltivation and other agricultural experiments, the revenue department was systematised and the state revenue increased. From about 1860 some of the above-said departments got a new impetus on account of the increased awareness of the people.

However, on this subject of departmental history of Coorg government and about the social and economic evolution of the original inhabitants of the land, who were mainly the Kodavas, many things have been written in the past. The objectives of this narration, however, would only be to bring all the available records of the past together as there is a need to get the entire scattered material in one or more volumes, and, in fact, that's all that is being done here.

Col. James S. Fraser who was responsible for the smooth transfer of power from the Raja to himself, was a capable officer that in four months of his stay in Coorg as the Political-Agent of the Governor-General, he did lay a firm foundation of departmental structures of the Coorg Government. Col. Fraser saw and also proved that the Raja was an undesirable fellow, and the courts of enquiry that he conducted for many days revealed gruesome facts about the murderous reign of a wicked ruler and his unscrupulous minister, the lame Basava. In that, Col. Fraser showed for the first time, and with ample proof, that the Raja did not deserve any sympathy from any quarter. It was perhaps the luck of the deposed Raja that he was not punished with the death penalty for all the murders that he caused for so many of his own people.

It was Fraser's decision to depose the Raja and exile him not only to Bangalore nor Vellore but to the distant Benares. His reports to the Governor-General about all that were exhaustive. In the beginning he had no able civil servants to carry on his job and especially to introduce new reforms and yet he did it with the cooperation of the British civil servants and military officers. The Coorg Prize Money and the buried treasure of the Raja- together of which went to the extent of Rs. 15 lakhs, did give them immense hopes and confidence in the potentialities and resources of Coorg. The posts of the Dewans were continued and so also the posts of Subedars and Karyakars till the new changes were made in the set up of the civil service.

The Recordings of the Statements:

When many major administrative changes were taking place in and outside Coorg, the new Government of Coorg continued its inquiry on the past misdeeds of the ex-Raja of Coorg, and here are a few of those men who gave their versions on the happenings of those days. One Vokkaliga Chowdlu Kalayya of Yedavanad, and formerly a Munshi, said on the 10th July 1834, that:

"I served for ten years. I wrote Roze Namah, the daily diary in Kannada, and that was connected with the Raja's hunting amusements. Munshi Subbarao also helped me do this. The Raja gave orders that Roze Namah should be destroyed. He received letters from the Muslim officers in Mysore. One Venkata Hoblidar carried those letters from there. Those letters were written about six months ago by the Persian Munshis. I am telling the truth.

"Yes, it is Raja's signature. I know that the Raja sent letters to Hyderabad. I saw an Arab to whom he gave a pair of pistols, a horse, clothes etc as presents. I don't know what passed on between them."

Chowdlu Kalayya's deposition continued a week later, and he said, that:

"-----The Raja used to send Hindustani letters secretly. One Boray Gowda came to him and had confidential talks. About six years ago, the Raja sent a bird to Mamoo Imaam, and I don't know through whom it was sent. Many messengers were there to carry letters. A month before the war, messages were sent to the chiefs of Surapur, Chitradoorg and other places-----Two Muslims of Ganjam sent a message to the Raja a few days before the war. Narayana Bhat was carrying letters to Malabar, maybe, to the Charakal Raja. The Raja used to talk secretly with those messengers-----."

Kalayya's deposition resumed after two days, and he said that:

"I know Murtaza brought from Mysore one Latif Khan. He remained in Mercara till it was captured by the Company a month later. A peon from the Paleygar of Bellary came with a sword from his master and presented it to the Raja-----. A tall and dark Fakir came just a month before the war and told the Raja that he would induce all his Muslim desciples to assist him. The Raja gave him Rs. 200 and a pony and sent him saying that he should ask Muslims to help him in the war. Some time later the Mapillas came offering help. They were given an elephant. They did not return-----."

The Raja Plotted Viciously:

Some more depositions confirmed the fact that the ex-Raja of Coorg was viciously plotting against the British, and in turn his arch-enemy, Chenabasappa who was then in Bangalore under the British protection. All those people who gave statements before Col. Fraser and other members of the Panchayat had taken oath as telling the truth. One Sheik Hussein deposed on the 12th July 1834, that:

"I am a Muslim. I don't know my age. I am a head Mahout of elephants. I am staying in Kaggodlu. About 14 months back I was sent by the Raja with two others to see Chennabasappa, and, if opportunity arose, kill him with a pistol which the Raja gave us. We went as far as Mysore and then returned. We had no orders to kill his wife-----I heard that lame Dewan Basava beat Manuel Periera and killed him-----."

Subba Hoblidar deposed on the same day that:

"I am a Telugu by caste, and 35 years old. I stay in Koggodlu. Five years ago I was asked by the Raja to bring Hakim Bakra Saheb from Mysore, and I went there and told him that the Raja needed his help. He gave me a letter for Hakim's boss, Mamoo Imaam, and also a sword, a walking stick made of sandalwood, etc.

"-----I and Hakim came to Coorg and gave the Raja the letter of Mammo Imaam. Later I went to Dara Shah of Tellicherry to bring some articles. After that Hussein, Subedar

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Subedar Iyappa, Mutsaddy Shamayya and myself were sent to Hyderabad with elephants to be sold there. We could not get good price for the animals and we incurred a loss. The Raja was, therefore, angry and put us in prison. He lost confidence in us."

Another Muslim, Kazi Hussein of Virarajpet deposed on the same day, that:

"About six years back 70 to 80 Muslims were collected by the Raja as troops. I administered oaths to those people for their faithful service to the Raja. About five months back I was sent by the Raja to the main gate where I found Daud Khan, Munshi Thimmayya, Dewan Ponnappa, Munshi Bhadruddeen and others who were preparing a letter. I was told to sit in a corner, and I could not hear what they were talking inside. After the letter was ready the Raja and Dewan Ponnappa got up and went away. The Dewan called me and said that I should administer an oath to Daud Khan to the effect that he wished to execute a mission faithfully on which he was deputed.

"The Raja prepared a letter for Hyderabad. After the arrival of Abbas Ali, he was kept concealed, but ten days before the British troops entered Coorg, Abbas Ali was brought to the mosque. There were Dewan Ponnappa, Karnik Subbarasayya, Munshi Kalinga, Karnik ~~Subbarasayy~~ Laxminarayana, Munshi Subbarao, Munshi Thimmayya and others. They directed Abbas Ali to take an oath that he would not betray the Raja.

"Two months before the war, I administered oaths to two Mapillas in the presence of Dewan Ponnappa that they should fulfil their earlier promises made. An Egyptian came to the Raja stating that he would bring eight of his own men. He was given Rs. 40/- and some cloth as present. Later another Muslim with Koran, Dewan Ponnappa and some Munshis joined them with the Raja himself going hither and thither, secretly talking to each one of them, and so on."

The ex-Raja's vain Efforts:

The Raja was unnecessarily and short-sightedly trying to seek his revenge against his arch-rival Chennabasappa, and in turn against the English. Very few of his local subjects were behind him in this venture, and for all his vicious plans he banked upon the most unreliable and mercenery Muslims of Mysore. Those Muslims were not dependable because most of those were of the working class and they needed only money from the Raja, and when they wanted some more money they turned to the British Residency in Mysore and Bangalore to serve them as their spies against the Raja from whom also they had taken money giving him hopes. Some of the Muslim names that appear here are of Mamoo Imaam, Abbas Ali, Muhammad Mustaffa, Sheik Hussein, and so on. Some others in the line were Dost Muhammad, Abdul Latiff, and Ghulam Muhammad. Most of these were employed by the Raja just for a month or two before the British expedition into Coorg, and such men could not be trusted of any kind of loyalty or reliable service. All these outsiders were in Coorg just for a couple of months, took money from the Raja and then joined the British camp. Muhammad Mustaffa deposed in July 1834, that:

"-----Muslims of Mysore, Chennapatna and other places offered their services to Coorg if they had been supplied with money. I sent a letter to the Raja to send some money. I gave one Hanumantha to distribute Rs. 150/- among the Muslims. One Neelayya said that he would go to Coorg and then speak with the killedar of Peryapatna, Konanur, Bettadpur, etc in order to bring them under the influence of the Raja. To some of them the Raja gave presents.

"Two months before the war, the Raja sent letter with Fakiruddin and Mahadeva to Ismail Khan and Daud Khan at Ganjam and asking them how many persons were there. They promised help to the Raja. Men were sent to Tellicherry, also. The Raja sent men to the Paleygars of Bellapur or Bellary but those messengers did not return.

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"Mir Muhammad, a relation of Tipu, had informed the Raja through Boray Gowda that he was in charge of ammunition in Mysore and if the Raja should invade and arrive in Mysore he would surrender the ammunition to him and plant a flag of the Raja on the fort of Mysore. The Raja did not allow Boray Gowda to go out but confined him. In a few days, however, Boray Gowda escaped."

Thus goes on the statements and depositions of those people who came in contact with the Raja's affairs just before the annexation of Coorg. They also said that the Raja wrote letters to the Paleygars of Surapur, Gundlukotha, Malabar, Chitradurg, etc. One Munshi Shripati said that he was in service of the Raja for fifteen years and the Raja, he said, got all the Munshis to write letters to various chiefs of outside districts. Therefore, with all these evidences, it was quite clear to the British Government as to what the Raja was up to. Col. Fraser had taken maximum pains to bring out the truth concerning the Raja, and that was indeed a remarkable trait of British administration. It was also clear that they did not condemn native chiefs as bad and cruel without first looking into the truth of the facts, and with ample evidences collected to substantiate their statements and future courses of action.

Kumbla Ramavarma's Letter:

After the ex-Raja of Coorg was exiled, there were a few people who showed interest to share the spoils along with the British officials. The Coorg booty, or what was called the Coorg Prize Money, had gone to an extent of Rs. I5 lakhs, or to be accurate, Rs.I4,96,735 and that was, no doubt, a substantial amount for the interested parties to put forth their claims. The Raja of Kumbla, Rama-varma, was one such man who wrote to Sir Fredrick Adam, Governor of Madras, on the I5th September I836, quoting an earlier letter of Col. Jackson, dated the I7th April I834, while the latter had camped at Kumbla, that:

"It having come to my knowledge that orders have arrived from the hon'ble Court of Directors, together with H.M.'s warrant for the distribution of the Coorg booty, amounting to Rs. I4,96,735, I have the honour to submit my claim in this booty commensurate with my rank in society and the service of my uncle whose heir I am, and the good fortune to render to the British Government during the late hostilities against the Raja of Coorg.

"In proof, I beg to enclose a copy of the certificate presented to my uncle by Col. Jackson, commanding the Western Auxiliary Column of the Coorg Field Force, acknowledging those services in having attended that officer throughout and assisted by every means in his power in procuring information regarding the enemy, the roads and in all other respects as far as possible, and also certifying that he, my uncle, was present with the Column when it was attacked in the jungle on the 5th April I834 and exposed himself with his armed men to the enemy's fire and assisted in repulssing the enemy. I also beg leave to forward two letters from Lord William Bentinck, late Governor-General, to my uncle on the occasion in question.

"It will be, I feel, unnecessary to observe that my uncle was not in the service of the Government and that he neither received nor expected remuneration by them volunteering his services. His sole ambition was to follow the example of his ancestors in their loyalty and devotion to the British, three of whom, it is a matter of history, sacrificed their lives in their cause against the common enemy, the late Nawab Hyder Ali and his son Tippu Sultan- one having been taken and hanged in I763, a third taken and hanged in I784, for no other cause than having joined and assisted the English in the wars with Mysore Government in those times.

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"I beg leave further to add that my uncle lost his life from a visit he made to Col. Fraser, Commissioner of Coorg, in a vain endeavour to obtain possession of his family belongings in that part of Coorg situated below the Ghats which had been transferred with other taluqs to the late Coorg Raja, in return for the services rendered by him during the war against Tipu, in ignorance that they were the rightful property of my family and without any indemnification for that great act of injustice. Sd) Raja Ramavarma."

Copies of Earlier Letters:

The Raja Ramavarma of Kumbla, while soliciting an early decision on his claim to the property of his ancestors, then situated within the jurisdiction of the former Coorg province, quoted a letter from Col. Jackson, dated the I7th April I834, while he had camped at Kumbla, which said, that:

"On the 4th April I834, while the Western Auxiliary Column of Coorg Field Force, was encamped at Pudampolly, the Kumbla Raja Rama Arasu, waited upon me delivering two notes of introduction from Mr. Baber and Mr. Maltby stating that the Raja was well-acquainted with many parts of lower Coorg and that he was desirous to afford every information in his power to accompany me in the service on which I was employed. Circumstances had rendered the retreat of my Column indispensable, but the Raja attended me throughout, and assisted by every means in his power in procuring information regarding the enemy-----.

"He was present with the Column when it was attacked in the jungle on the 5th April, and with his armed men exposed himself to the enemy's fire and assisted in repulssing the enemy. Sd) George Jackson, Camp- Kumbla, I7th April I834."

Raja Ramavarma had another letter of appreciation from Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of India, dated the 2nd June I834, which the latter wrote from his camp in Ootacmund. In that letter, Lord Bentinck had stated that he would see him on his way back through the Malabar coast, but the Governor-General, in his letter of the 9th September I834, seemed to have changed his route and went to Madras through Bangalore, and later regretted his inability to see the Raja of Kumbla. Lord Bentink's letter of the 2nd June I834, from Ootacmund, to the Raja Ramavarma, said that:

"My friend, I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 11th ultimo with its enclosures expressive of the devotion of yourself and your ancestors to the interests of the hon'ble Company, and bringing to my notice your recent exertions in the operations against Coorg.

"It affords me much satisfaction to find that you have so just a sense of the benefit which occur to all those who are so unfortunate as to enjoy the protection of the British Government and that you have exerted yourself by all means in your power to effect the overthrow of the enemy.

"You may rest assured that ~~although~~ though the powerful government will never permit eveil-doers to pursue their malevolent and hostile designs with impunity, it will always cherish and honour those who like yourself have evinced a sincere attachment to its rule and an ardent desire for its prosperity.

"It is probable that my route to the Malabar coast in September next, I may have the pleasure of seeing you-----." Sd) W.Bentink (Lord), Ootacmund."

About the Raja in Vellore:

When the Court of Inquiry was trying to get into the truth of the ex-Raja's affairs, at Bangalore preparations were made for the eventual march of the deposed chief to Vellore. In Vellore, the Raja was kept as a close prisoner and under careful custody. Lamps were placed at equal distance on each side of the building within the Fort to enable the sentries on dark nights to perceive anyone moving along the top of the walls. The Raja was

was not permitted to go beyond the compound. His movements were restricted to a walk around the ramparts as was practised by the late ex-king of Candy. The expense of the Raja in November 1834, was Rs. 7380. The members of his party included:

Four Ranis, two sisters of the Raja, 14 other women, 16 women of the family of the Raja's uncles and cousins, five illegitimate children of the Raja, 38 female servants, ten other associates and three eunachs, and those Dhooli bearers, guards and menial workers.

In Coorg, of course, fresh evidences were revealed about the buried treasure of the Raja, and one Jangama Chenabasava confessed that he was entrusted with two bags of gold by the Raja. This Jangama was touring Bettadpur, Peryapatna and Kampalapur and he thought that it was proper to return the money to the British Sarkar. Col. Fraser gave him a present of Rs. 200, and when he asked the Government if that reward was sufficient, the Governor-General wrote on the 1st August 1834, that:

"There is a good reason to believe that the restoration of the money by the Jangama was not altogether spontaneous on his part, and his Lordship is inclined to think that the reward already granted is amply sufficient. Sd) W.McNaughton, Secretary."

At the distant Vellore, the ex-Raja used to get all such news from his secret agents, but at the same time, he was demanding more privileges and more comforts as a prisoner. Capt. Carpenter, in-charge of the Raja, wrote on the 15th December, that:

"The ex-Raja presented to me that the quantity of clothes supplied to him and his family was insufficient------The quality was found not good also-----I told him that better stuff could not be procured in this neighbourhood."

In the meanwhile, Chennabasappa and his wife Devammaji, who had returned to Coorg and settled in Appangala, were paid pensions. A sum of Rs. 100 was paid as an advance from September 1833, and lately a sum of Rs. 500 was sanctioned as a provision to the entire family. To Devammaji, Rs. 100 was paid from October 1833 to April 1834, and this was an additional sum paid to them. When they were sent to Trichinopoly for a short time a sum of Rs. 694 was spent on palanquins, pots, beds, etc. The names of those accompanied them during their flight in the year 1832-33, were released on the 18th April 1834, and those were:

Subbayya, Appayya, Ganapathy, Uthayya, Mandayya, Thimmayya and Bhimayya.
Subbakka, Kuttavva, Ummakka and Kalavva,
The two Coorg boys were Ponna and Klinga.
One Lingayat woman was Somakka and two Nair servants- Kanna and Amboo.

Was Told to Discontinue Enquiry:

On the system of administration to be pursued in Coorg, the British did not want to make any drastic changes, whatsoever. Lieut. Samphier, the station staff officer, in Mercara, wrote to Col. Fraser on the minimum number of troops required in Coorg while the Secretary to the Governor-General wrote to him on the 30th July 1834, that:

"-----His Lordship approves the reply which you gave to the inhabitants of Coorg on the petition they presented to you------that the Governor-General has no intention of making any innovation which would be disagreeable to their feelings in the system to which they have been accustomed.

"The Governor-General has attentively pursued the deposition which accompanied

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your letter-----that contain abundant evidence of the hostile disposition entertained towards the British Government by the ex-Raja and he was probably in communication with diasaffected individuals in Mysore-----.

"His Lordship doubts the expediency of preserving in any general investigation of this nature. It may tend to create alarm without any corresponding advantage and you are authorised, therefore, to discontinue the enquiry unless you should discover proof of practices to which a treasonable character may be ascribed."

In a letter to the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, Madras, the Secretary to the Governor-General wrote on the 5th August 1834, on another important point of the payment of the interest to the ex-Raja on the money deposited. He said, that:

"-----In reply I am directed to acquaint you for the information of the Governor-in-Council that in the opinion of his Lordship, it is immaterial in whose custody the promissory note in question remains for the present but that injunction should be issued to the Accountant-General to withhold the interest payable thereon until further orders, it being clear that neither the ex-Raja of Coorg nor his agents are legally and equitably entitled to claim it."

Later in a letter of the 19th August 1834, the Accountant-General was informed to withhold the interest payable on the Rs.6,53,940 standing in the name of Devammaji, the daughter of Viraraja the Elder.

The First Death Sentence:

In the pre-British days there was never a reformed system of judiciary. The Panchayat courts were run by the elders of the society and their judgments were based mostly on common sense with the local chiefs or the Raja holding arbitrary powers to pass judgments as they liked or wished. In that way there was only terror and tyranny but no organized administration of justice. However, with the emergence of the British, regular courts of enquiry came into being and elaborate proceedings were conducted before the guilty were convicted. In that way the respect for human dignity and personality was shown in abundant measure. However, the first court of enquiry based on the modern system of judiciary was first instituted in the criminal case against a 17-year old youth and his uncle Devappa. The court passed death sentence on the youth, Madayya, and later the Panchayat court reduced it to rigorous imprisonment for three years- hard labour in roads, while the abetter Devappa, to receive three dozens of lashes. Col. Fraser did not interfere in the proceedings but only appealed to the Governor-General in August 1834 that the instigator deserved a higher punishment.

The system of paying pensions to those in service and retired, was introduced for the first time. Pensions and compensations were paid to the wives and children of those killed in war. The Madras Herald of the 18th August 1834, said that Dr. Birch MD., Asst.Surgeon in Mercara, had written on the 19th July 1834, that he disapproved the Madras Press showing sympathy to the ex-Raja of Coorg, because as the surgeon who had exhumed and examined the bodies of those people killed by ~~him~~ the Raja, Dr. Birch spoke openly what he had felt on the point.

The Fort St.Gazette published also the news that Havaldar Chokalingam of the Sappers and Miners, was confirred an honour of the award of a medal for "eminent bravery under

under the command of Col. Foulis. The claims of Col. Crewe of Nilgiries and Capt. Glover, over the booty collected in Coorg, were also recognised by the Government. Ensign Bishop of the 36th Regiment, was posted as staff officer, Mercara, and Lieut.Littlejohn was placed in command ~~was placed in command~~ of the depot and Fort at Peryapatna till about the I4th May I834 and he continued to be there even after that. On the 7th July I834, the officer commanding Mysore, was directed to be in the Committee for the disposal of the booty captured during the Coorg expedition, and Capt. Forbes of the 38th Regiment was paid an allowance of Rs. 250 as Secretary to the Prize Committee. Pensions were paid to the heirs of all those Europeans who were killed in the Coorg expedition.

Transfer Order to Col.Fraser:

In July and August I834, a series of letters emerged from the military headquarters and all those were concerned to the salaries and placements of the officers and men in the Coorg Field Force, but an important news was that Col. James Fraser who led the transition so smoothly and efficiently, was asked to quit Coorg after handing over charge to Capt. LeHardy. Col. Fraser was promoted to the rank of the Brigadier and was transferred as Resident of Mysore and Commissioner of Coorg, and the new post of Superintendant was created in Coorg, and Capt. LeHardy was the first Superintendant of Coorg. On the eve of Col. Fraser's leaving Coorg, the people of Coorg gave him an address and that was as stated below:

"Hon'ble Sir, We, the undersigned natives and inhabitants of Coorg, would ever reproach ourselves for having omitted to perform a sacred duty had we not expressed in the name of ourselves and our community our sincere and deep regret at your approaching separation from us. We are aware that although your honour is going to Mysore to assume charge of the Residency------yet you still retain the office of the Commissioner of this country and that its administration will be conducted under your orders and supervision. We should nevertheless not permit you to separate from us without acknowledging the heavy debt of gratitude we owe to your honour.

"You arrived in this country in this capacity of the political-agent to the Right hon'ble Governor-General. After the deposition of the Raja you were entrusted with the administration of this country. We are very much indebted to His Excellency for having selected a person of your excellent qualities to govern us, although you never had previous contacts with us, and yet all your acts and measures were such as to preserve inviolate our rights, civil usages and religion. Your abilities and knowledge of the customs and manners of the people deserve our unqualified praise. Your name must ever be revered for the philonthropic and benevolent disposition and liberality, which you have evinced in all your proceedings. It is ~~pla~~ with pleasure we declare that you have always shown scrupulous anxiety to maintain and protect us in religious usages and solicitude to improve our moral and intellectual faculties. We have seen your patience, benevolence, conciliating manners in your contacts with us, your unwearied assiduity to ameliorate this country in every respect and make it flourish and your desire to promote our interests and secure our happiness.

"We recollect also with delight the humane disposition you have always shown in attending to the representations and grievances of the people; this free access to you and the facility which you have afforded in obtaining justice, your honour always consulted the people in the adoption of all measures connected with the administration, and there is nothing which you have done that has not been consonant with the wishes of the community, a circumstance by which you have acquired the confidence, esteem and and affection of the people of the country.

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"It is impossible that we can adequately express our sense of obligation for all your benevolent acts nor could words satisfy our minds which feel more impressed than can be uttered by even the most laboured language. The numerous kindness and benefits which we have received from you are engraven on our hearts and they will ever be most gratefully remembered, not only by us, but by the whole population of Coorg. Your name will be revered with honour and respect even by the posterity.

"In testimony of these sincere sentiments and as a lasting memorial of the high estimation in which we hold you, we respectfully request your acceptance of a gold cup and a Coorg dress which we have taken the liberty to present to your honour.

"You will ever have our fervent wishes for your happiness and prosperity, and we will always offer our humble supplications to the Almighty that he may bless you and your family with health, long life and uninterrupted happiness."

"Signed by all the native officers and about 630 principal ryots of Coorg."

Col. Fraser's Reply to the Address:

"Dewans, Native Officers, and inhabitants of Coorg,

"I consider myself greatly honoured by this address and accept with pleasure the gold cup and Coorg arms which you have been pleased to present to me. I shall preserve them while I have as a highly flattering memorial of your friendship and kindness.

"I think myself fortunate to have been brought by the commands of my Government into official connection and personal contact with a people like the brave Coorgs for whom I entertain an unfeigned and cordial esteem.

"I attach a penuliar value to these presents because I regard them as indicating not merely a feeling of personal good-will towards myself, but as conveying also a gratifying testimony that the Coorgs are entirely satisfied with the proceedings of the English Government and an assurance that the sentiments of allegiance and fidelity which now unite this country to the British dominion will never be destroyed or impaired.

"To advert to the points that are more particularly touched upon in this address, namely, the mode of administration under which the affairs of the country are conducted and the share which I have personally had, I have only to observe respecting the former that in as far as it has proved satisfactory to the people of the country that are indebted for it exclusively to the supreme British Government of India under whose orders and guidance I have acted. The invariable object of those orders and that guidance has been the happiness of the people of Coorg. This principle of administration could scarcely fail of being attended with prosperous issue under the direction of common prudence. But if it should be thought that success was still contingent on secondary agency, I can yet assume no merit for the performance of the subordinate part that has rested with me. Let the inhabitants of Coorg take that merit to themselves for it is theirs.

"They have been quiet, respectful and obedient; open and frank in the declaration of their sentiments and equally ready to receive the expression of mine. We have in fact acted in concurrence. We have proceeded hand in hand. And what has been the consequence; why this plain and obvious one, that since the first day on which I took charge of the country I knew that all was right, that but one interest, one wish, one feeling prevailed, and that the Coorgs and myself, the governed and the instrument of Government, were associated in a ~~country~~ common bond of union. Long may this be the established system here, for while it is so, the well being of the country and the happiness of its inhabitants are secured.

"Farewell then for the present, my brave and estimable friends! I shall come and visit you sometime and I shall always be happy to meet you again. But wherever I am, and in whatever circumstances, I may be placed, be assured that the prosperity of Coorg will never cease to be an object of my sincerest wishes and most anxious solicitude.

Col. (later Brigadier) James Fraser, (on transfer and promotion to Mysore)."

Col. Fraser was given presents, and later he wrote to the Governor-General if it can be approved by him- the acceptance of the same. He wrote, that:

"The intrinsic value is not great, being probably not above Rs.1000/-, and the feelings that prompted the inhabitants of Coorg to offer me the complements would have been ungraciously required by its rejection or by a cold and procrastinated acceptance."

Further, he wrote that:

"The Coorgs had previously given me the entertainment of a dinner at which they invited the officers of the 36th Regiment, to meet me and in the conclusion of which all of the respectable native inhabitants then assembled at Mercara participated-----".
"Sd) Col. Fraser, at the Mysore Residency, 17th October 1834."

In reply, the Governor-General wrote that he should write to the Court of Directors (in England) for the sanction of receiving the present. Till then he was asked to deposit that in the Treasury. He was asked to get a verbal translation of the address from Kannada into English, and said that together with his reply it could be published in the official Gazette "to show the estimation in which you are held by those over whose interests you were deputed to preside." (dated the 24th October 1834).

Capt.LeHardy- the first Superintendant:

It was on the 9th October 1834, that Brig. James Fraser, Political Agent in Coorg was asked to handover charge to the new Superinteendant of Coorg, Lieut. LeHardy. The Coorg Prize Committee, headed by Brig.Lindsay, recommended the claims of Capt.Colebeck and Capt. Wright, the surgeons, for shares in the Coorg booty. One Kannayya of the Native Infantry was killed and his wife Yenkamma was pensioned and so also some others. Munshi Thimmayya (Mandepanda) was recommended for a reward for discovering the hidden treasure.

Capt. LeHardy was promoted in his rank from Lieutenant, and he continued his job of introducing reforms from where Brig. Fraser had left. He seemed to have been a resourceful and hardworking person. There were a few Regiments stationed in Coorg as a precautionary measure and Capt. LeHardy concentrated more on introducing new administrative schemes, open schools, establish hospitals, start communication systems etc. A temporary Field Hospital was functioning in Virarajpet since April 1834 to treat the wounded and sick soldiers and that was now developed into a civil hospital.

Politically there seemed to have been security with the Raja housed in the distant Vellore. Even then there was some internal and external unrest especially among the non-Kodavas who were the supporters of the Raja, and the Government was keenly alert to the situation. They were cautiously moving their troops and honouring war heroes from time to time. A letter from the Military department, dated the 15th November 1834, notified that:

"The hon'ble Commander-in-Chief having laid before the Council of India, the proceedings of a Court of Enquiry, assembled at Ootacmund on the 27th ultimo, of which Lt.-Col. King was President to ascertain the claims of certain native soldiers of the Madras Army, reported conspicuous for gallantry during the late operations in Coorg, and it appearing that Havaldar Chokalingam of the Corps of Sappers and Miners, has satisfactorily established pretensions to eminent bravery in the advance column under the command of Col. Foulis, the Governor-General-in-Council, as a mark of high sense of esteem he entertains of the distinguished conduct of that non-Commissioned officer, is pleased to confer upon him an honorary Medal and an increase for life of one-third of his present pay." (The Calcutta Gazette-the 15th November 1834- By G.-G,'s orders in Bangalore).

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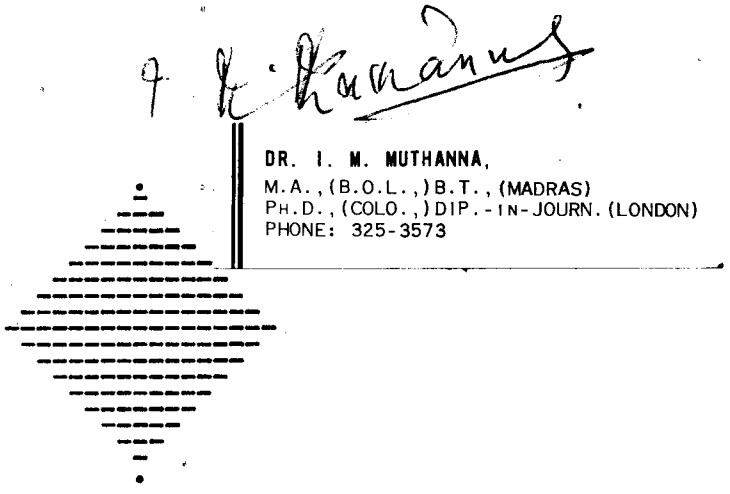
In the earlier book of this author, A TINY MODEL STATE OF SOUTH INDIA, the departmental history of the Coorg Government under the British has been given in greater detail, and from thence a true account of the administrative and economic and social development could be known. For the first twenty years from I834 to I854, the progress was slow but with the earnest start of the English schools, and especially the Central School in Mercara, there was enlightenment and awakening all round among the natives of Coorg in general and the Kodavas in particular. Together with that there was remarkable development in the fields of public works, agriculture and revenue departments, and thus Coorg, nay, the whole of India emerged as one of the developing countries in the modern world.



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CHAPTER II.

The Raja on his Way to Benares.

The Removal to Benares:

"The Government of India has directed the removal of the Raja and his family from Vellore to Benares. He will proceed thither by land under an escort command by Capt. Carpenter. Those of his followers who are willing to accompany their fallen master to such a distance will be ~~xxx~~ granted every facility to effect their return to Coorg."

Thus reported the "Madras Times of the 3Ist January I835. The ex-Raja was in Vellore only for a few months, and the prison there was repaired and painted when an escort of the 48th Native Infantry and two Companies of H.M.'s 57th Foot and Squadron of the 8th Light Infantry took him there from Bangalore. However, what caused the sudden decision of transferring the Raja from Vellore, was not clear but it was evident that in Vellore was housed a good number of political prisoners. Vellore was once the hot bed of political intrigues since the day of the mutiny ~~there~~ in I806 when Tipu Sultan's sons and family were imprisoned there. The Raja of Coorg must have thought that Vellore was a nice place from where he could direct his confidants to start an agitation against the British, and, in fact, a few of the Kodavas and many of the non-Coorgs were still loyal to him. The British sensed all these developments, and, moreover, the reports sent by Brig. Fraser about the Raja were not at all favourable to him. On the I5th August I834, Capt. Carpenter, in-charge of the Raja, wrote that:

"Although fifty unarmed followers have been authorised as attendants on the Raja, I trust, I shall be pardoned if I say that they are useless, exceedingly expensive and may be productive of considerable inconvenience-----In Vellore------this idle and dissolute habits of which they have already begun to imbibe. I therefore beg to suggest for your consideration the propriety of not renewing their passports to return to this place-----".

The Governor-General's proceedings dated the I2th January I835, said, ~~that~~ according to the notification given by the Secretary to the Government, Fort St. George, that:

"I am desired by the H.E. the Governor-General to apprize you for the information of the Governor that it has been resolved to remove the ex-Raja of Coorg and his family from Vellore to Benares.

"It is presumed that they must be conveyed by land-----They should be attended by Capt. Carpenter------Such of the ex-Raja's family and followers as are now with him should be permitted to accompany him to the place of his destination but every facility should be afforded for the return of Coorg of such men as may be unwilling to undertake the journey-----The Governor-General has not yet determined whether the ex-Raja's route shall be through Calcutta. This, however, will hereafter be settled-----".

Another resolution said, that:

"Resolved that the Collectors and District Magistrates of North Arcot, Vellore, Guntur, Masulipatna, Rajmundry, Vizag, and Ganjam to afford to Capt. Carpenter or the officer-in-charge of the ex-Raja every facility in procuring the needful supplies-----."

Those Followers of the Raja:

On the I0th September I834, Capt. Carpenter wrote to the Government that the chief wife of the Raja prematurely delivered of a son on the 25th August. In another letter he wrote that a wife of his died on the 1st September after a pre-mature delivery. Dr.

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- very. Dr. Higgins, the senior Medical Officer, attended on the deceased. Later, another report came of the death of another woman in the party and the delivery of a female child by another wife of the Raja. On the 9th January I835, it was reported that one of the children of the Raja died. Thus the reports of births and deaths were promptly sent from time to time. The names of the people who had followed the Raja as far as Vellore, were as given under:

i)	Munshi Iyappa,	9)	Havaldar Syed Budan,	I7)	Sepoy Thimmayya,
ii)	Karyakar Devappa,	I0)	Sepoy Daloo,	I8)	" Subbayya,
iii)	" Somayya (B)	II)	" Karumbayya,	I9)	" Mohiddeen,
iv)	" Aiappa,	I2)	" Basava,	20)	" Shantu
v)	" Monnayya	I3)	" Bhirayya,	2I)	" Raamoo,
vi)	" Kalinga,	I4)	" Belly,	22)	" Muhammad Ghosh,
vii)	" Bolloo,	I5)	" Appanna,	23)	" Abdul Rahman,
8)	Jamedar Poonacha,	I6)	" Ramoo,	24)	Peon Nanny,
				25)	Bearer Ranga.

It was from Vellore the reports came that the Raja was making extravagant demands. A sum of Rs. 3350 was recommended to Raja's family expenses. clothes, etc. Taking note of the increase in the Raja's allowance, his vicious brother-in-law Chennabasappa too complained in Coorg that his monthly allowance of Rs. I50 was inadequate. Brig. Fraser, now Resident in Mysore, recommended that his allowance could be increased to Rs. 220 a month considering his situation.

Two Companies of the Native Infantry from the Garrison of Vellore was ordered to march with the ex-Raja. Dr. Will of Mercara was taken as surgeon to the marching party, and Rs. 5000 was requested for clothes and other expenses of the people in the entire gang of marchers. While in Vellore the ex-Raja requested to obtain the sanction of the Government to transfer a piece of ground as burial place for the family of his, and, accordingly Charles Roberts, Collector of North Arcot, complied with the request, on the I5th January I835. As to the amount of allowance paid to some of the Raja's men, two Syr-karyakars in the camp were paid at Rs. 62/- a month, five Karyakars at Rs. I25/- a month, nine Jamedars Rs. 2I9 a month and I9 Sepoys Rs. I45 a month. The allowance of the Superintendant was Rs. 200 a month. Rs 88/- worth of glass bangles were purchased for the women in the party, and, of course, there were other expenses on the elephants, horses, eunachs, Munshis, guards, Dhooli bearers etc etc.

About Financial Transactions:

Brig. J.S. Fraser was now the Resident of Mysore, and as Commissioner of Coorg, he was also in the best position to look to the affairs of Coorg as well. When the accounts of the ex-Raja's financial transactions with the Company Government was reviewed in the end of the year I834, Brig. Fraser wrote from the Mysore Residency, on the 3Ist December I834, to the Fort St.George Government, that:

"I have the honour to enclose for the sanction of the Governor-General two account particulars of expenses incurred for remitting Treasures to the Commissioner for the Affairs of Coorg and to the Principal Collector of Bellary under instruction received respectively from the Government of India and the Accountant-General.

Note:- Account particulars of expenses incurred on account of a remittance of Rs. 35,000 despatched from the Resident's Treasury at Mysore to the Commissioner for the Affairs of Coorg on the I2th September I834 as per the instructions received from the Governor-General of India under the date the 29th August I834.

"The details of the account is annexed. Sd) J.S.Fraser, Resident of Mysore."

The interest paid on the money deposited by Viraraja the Elder for the last time was from I832 to May I833, after which date, the money was frozen in the British treasury. F.Chalmers, the Superintendant of Ashtagram Division, Mysore, said in his letter of the Ist January I835, that:

"Received from the Resident of Mysore a promissory note No. I733 of I832/33 for Sicca Rs. 2,03.900 to Virarajendra Wodeyar, Raja of Coorg, and on which interest from the Ist May I832 to Ist May I833 being Sicca Rs. 8,I56 has been paid as per the endorsement of the ex-Raja."

"In another letter, dated the 5th January I835, Col. Fraser, Resident of Mysore, wrote to the Fort St.George Government, that:

"I have the honour to acquaint you that I delivered over the Residency Treasury of Mysore to Capt. Chalmers of the Ashtagram division, on the Ist inst. and to enclose copies of the receipt of the same.

"I beg permission to bring to the notice of the hon'ble Governor-General and Governor-in-Council that a promissory note to the Raja of Coorg for Sicca Rs. 2,03,900 has been delivered over with the treasure and that no interest has been drawn upon this Note since the Ist May I833. Sd) J.S.Fraser, Resident, Mysore Residency."

Well, if this was the trend of the correspondence concerning the Raja's deposits from which the payment of interest was stopped due to the reason that the Raja was held as a prisoner for his atrocities, another development took place at the other end of the Company Government who decided that the ex-Raja should be removed from his Vellore prison to the distant Benares for security reasons. Of course, about this the details would be given at a greater length.

Some Payments of old Accounts:

After the Raja was deposed and exiled, the successor Government had to bear all his bills and debts and those dues included to Damodar Das of Mysore towards the jewels purchased, Rs.34,542, the Kavery temple funds paid by pilgrims Rs. 2,393 and payments made towards religious establishments up to the 6th April I834. The balance left was Rs. 3,332. Some more payments were made, and Rs. 4940 to the arrack contractor to the Raja, Rs. 3923 to Sorabji Parsi of Mangalore towards sandalwood sold to him, Rs. 300 from Mir Saheb of Virarajpet, Rs. 982 on cardamom sold to a man and Rs. 500 to an arrack contractor of Virarajpet etc. The money belonging to the Kaveri temple was always kept in the Government treasury even since the days of the Raja.

The emergence of Coorg as a new Province under the Mysore Residency afforded some more responsibility to the constitutional advisers of the Government. Col.Fraser, as Resident of Mysore & Commissioner of Coorg, was in the over-all charge of Coorg with Capt.LeHardy as the Superintendant of Coorg with his office in Mercara. LeHardy wrote from his camp at Shanivarasante on the Ist March I835, to the Commissioner, that:

"-----I have the honour to request you to favour me with the instructions as to the Bahadury pagoda (the old currency) should be issued to the troops at the bazaar rate of

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of exchange or at the rate fixed in the Hukumnamah of the Raja-----.

"With regard to the large portion of gold pagodas which Lieut. Rundall of the Sappers & Miners, complains of having received, I beg to observe that had the circumstances been instantly brought to notice, I should have ordered rupees to be given instead of them. But I was at the time engaged in with the Jamabandhi of this taluq------."

On the new financial situations and expenditures, the Accountant-General J.Turnbull wrote from Bangalore, to the Chief Secretary, Fort St.George, on the 5th March I835, explaining the position, as below:

"I have the honour to report that the sum of Rs. 35,000 forwarded by the Resident in Mysore to the Commissioner to the Affairs of Coorg in September last, on account of the current expenses of the province under the authority of the Governor-General of India communicated in the Chief Secretary McNaughton's letter to the Resident of Mysore, dated the 29th August I834, as well as the sum of Rs. 42,440 advanced by the Commissioner for the Government of the territories of the Raja of Mysore to the Superintendant of Coorg in December last for the liquidation of the debts due by the ex-Raja under the same authority dated the 24th October I834, as well as the other sums disbursed by the Commissioner of Mysore and the Paymaster at Vellore- for the maintenance of the ex-Raja and family, have been exhibited in the regular estimate for the current offioial year under the head of 'Bengal Presidency' under the impression that they are applicable thereto, in consequence of the Coorg country being under the immediate superintendance of the Supreme Government and the accounts of its receipts and disbursements rendered to that authority, and of they are chargeable to the Supreme Government, I beg to recommend that the authority of the Government may be given for the above mentioned sums, and such other advances and expenses as may be hereafter incurred on account of the ex-Raja of Coorg, being debited accordingly to the Supreme Government on the books of the Government."
Sd) J.Turnbull, Accountant-General's Office, 5th March I835."

It, however, took a long time to get the financial structure arranged to the new situation especially because the Supreme Government had decided to have Coorg under their direct control as a small backward area although very important militarily and strategically. The Resident of Mysore, continued as the Commissioner of Coorg, and he was directly responsible to the Government of India in respect of Coorg affairs.

On Issuing the New Coins:

Another big change the British had to make was about the currency. The money that was in vogue in the country till then were of many kinds like Portuguese money, Bahaduri pagoda, Surat Rupees and so on. The East India Company had to stabilize this currency. The barter system that was in practice continued for a longer time, and till the people were familiarised with the new coins and currencies. The Commissioner of Mysore wrote to Capt. LeHardy on the 23rd March I835, that:

"I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 1st inst.-----I am not aware of the other measures which we can adopt in regard to the payment of the troops in Coorg than to issue coin from our treasury at the rate at which we receive and conclude, it is in general current throughout the district, I doubt, whether it is usual or it could be required from the Government to reimburse the troops from the loss that may occur by the bazaar exchange which being the profit demanded by the Shraffs for giving small coins in lieu of the larger ones-----".

The later order from the Government was sought in regard to the coins that should be put into circulation "With a view to make arrangements for the supply of sufficient quantity of rupees and small coins for the payment of the troops in Coorg and for preventing as far as practicable, the re-issue of the Bahadury pagodas received in Coorg in payment

payment of the revenue". With this, Coorg was also seeing a thorough sweep of the old order and set-up and that of the emergence of a new pattern of administration. The military that was stationed in Coorg was equipped with the monsoon dress and boots by the end of April I835. Lieut. (later Sir) Mark Cubbon signified his intention "of proceeding with the troops into Coorg" and remaining there until required. In that way, both Mercara and Ootacmund became hill stations for the troops. The Prize Committee concerning the Coorg Prize Money had not yet finished their job and they were busy both at Mercara and at Bangalore. Brig.Lindsay was after the preparation of the Coorg Prize Rolls.

Another outstanding scheme that was in operation in Coorg soon after the British take over, was the vaccination project with one Telly as the first vaccinator in Coorg, who resigned in November I835. Many hundreds of people were vaccinated for malaria and that really spared many lives from early deaths.

The Kushalnagar Bridge:

The department of Public Works was given top priority in the new administrative set-up, and Col. Fraser, Commissioner of Coorg Affairs, wrote from his office in Mysore, to the Government of India on the I8th March I835, that:

"-----The construction of a road is now in progress from Mercara in an easterly direction towards Kushalnagar, a stone fort commenced by Tipu Sultan but kept in an unfinished state, and a bridge over the Kaveri at this place alone is wanting to keep the communication open at all seasons of the year between Mysore and every part of Coorg as well as facilitate communication between Mysore and Kanara.

"I consider it to be of great importance that a bridge should be built here as a measure that will tend in every respect to the improvement of Coorg, and render the country at all time, accessible to our troops, a condition which we should, of course, secure in every part of our dominions, however quiet they may be, and however little liable in appearence to demand the presence of troops in a hostile point of view.

"Under these circumstances, I beg to solicit the sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council, to the requisite disbursement and to my employment of a part of the Sappers & Miners on this work while the remainder remaining men are engaged in the construction of roads throughout other parts of the district."

The roads, bridges and culverts were all necessary to connect and communicate and convey from place to place both men and material, and in a few years after the British took over the administration the whole country had the net-work of mettled roads all over, and all important towns and cities were connected with good roads. The British also bought with them the modern equipments and appliances for their construction work which the Indians never knew, and the British Indian Army men were given first-class uniforms, boots, slippers, caps etc, and thus they introduced modernity in dress and in many other things as well. Lieut. Ditmus, officer in charge of Sappers & Miners in Coorg, wrote to his commander on the 2Ist March I835, on the need of boots to his men, that:

"The European and the Indo-Briton artificers attached to the corps of Sappers & Miners being very much in want of strong half-boots and shoes, and it being impossible to procure them in this part of the country, may I request you will have the kindness to obtain the sanction of the Government for permission for me to indent on the department Commissariat Officer at Hunsur for the supply of the above articles------If sandals for Sepoys could be obtained in the same manner it would be of help to the corps-----."

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"The bridge near Kushalnagar was the first high-level project that was taken up", and the Commander of Sappers & Miners in Bangalore, wrote to the Commissioner of Coorg, on the 27th March I835, as below:

"In reply-----the services of the brick-layer Maistry and two stone-cutters may be required for the execution of the proposed bridge over the Kaveri at Kushalnagar, I have the honour to state that the work is one of such magnitude and importance that it cannot probably be completed, I should think, in two years. During the heavy rains of Coorg and owing to the consequent floods, the work must necessarily be suspended and delayed for several days each year-----."

As the work was in progress during the year, he also wrote for more elephants from Hunsur to convey chunam for the construction work. The Commissioner of Coorg, Brig. Fraser, wrote on the 30th March I835, as below:

"-----It is not at present in my power to state whether a bridge will ultimately be built at all- over the Kaveri at the place proposed, but should the sanction of the Government of India to this effect is granted, the bridge work ought to be commenced immediately after the termination of the ensuing monsoon, or another season will be entirely lost. It is with this view, and in order that the necessary materials may be in readiness that the services of only one brick layer Maistry and two stone-cutters in aid of the Sappers & Miners have been applied for-----."

A Journey Further to Benares:

The Raja stayed in Benares for about six months, and, in the meantime, the British Government were thinking about his further destination and Lord William Bentinck decided on Benares as the proper place for the ex-Raja to stay in exile. Therefore, arrangements were made for shifting the entire party of the ex-Raja to the North and that involved considerable strain,both physically and economically. However, after the notifications were sent to that effect, Lieut. G.M.Stuart, commanding Vellore, wrote to the Quarter-Master-General of the Army, Madras, on the 5th February I834, that:

"-----I received a communique from the officer commanding the Division to hold two complete Companies of Infantry in readiness to proceed with the ex-Raja and intimating that on a conference with Capt. Carpenter, should the above detachment not be deemed of sufficient strength, I was to furnish such additional detail as we might think necessary.

"The result of our consultations was that less than three Companies would be insufficient and also that it would highly be desirable that a Havaldar's party of Cavalry should accompany the escort.

"If only two companies are sent, the duty will be extremely severe as there will be about eighty Dhoolies requiring protection, especially as the ladies have all valuable ornaments in their possession, exclusive of this, there will be nearly fifty baggage carts and one or two hundred coolies to be guarded.

"I accordingly directed the complete Companies from the 25th Regiment Native Infantry to be held in readiness to move when ordered, but consequent to the receipt of Capt. Butterworth's letter intimating that a Company of the I4th Regiment Native Infantry would be sent here to form part of the escort. I have now limited the detachment to two Complete Companies which will be commanded by Capt. Greghegan and accompanied by Lieut. Blackhouse and Ensign Varden. Sd) G.M.Stuart."

The ex-Raja's Superintendant, Capt. Carpenter, submitted an account for the month of January I835, towards the expenditure, ~~of~~ the Resident of Mysore & Commissioner of Coorg, Col. Fraser, and the total amount spent was Rs. 11,033. As to the exact time of proceeding from Vellore, Capt. Carpenter wrote on the 27th February I835, that: he should start

start on the 5th or the 6th March, but as the elephants cannot be expected to arrive in Vellore before the I2th March, the journey to Benares could take place only after that date. He also wrote that appropriation of land at Vellore as a burial place for the deceased members of the ex-Raja's family, was unnecessary due to the change of schedule and the consequent journey further to Benares. Furthermore, in another communique, dated the 6th February I835, it was stated that:

"-----The assistant Surgeon Dr. Mill of the I0th Regiment N.I., be appointed to the medical charge of the ex-Raja of Coorg and his family during the journey from Vellore to Benares, and he be directed to join the party as soon as practicable.
"H.Chamier, Chief Secretary, Fort St.George, 6th February I835."

Preparation for a Great March:

From Vellore to Benares was a long one-thousand-mile march, and the Company Government arranged all necessary things to meet the needs. In fact, it was like a small township of some hundreds of people moving towards the North. The Coorg Prize Money was lavishly used by the Government to meet all security needs. With reference to the Coorg Prize Fund, the Chief Secretary to Fort St.George Government, wrote on the 6th February I835, that:

"SUB: From the Secretary to the Government of the Raja of Mysore, forwarding an indent for the delivery from the stores at Bangalore for six weather charts with pedlocks complete for temporary use in the Commission treasury in consequence of the unexpected transfer of a very large sum of money from the Coorg Prize Fund."

"The note also added: "The Commissioner desires me to add that he does not anticipate the necessity of retaining the use of these chests longer than six months."

Capt. Carpenter, in charge of the ex-Raja, sent a revised list of tents, carriage etc that were required for the removal of the ex-Raja of Coorg from Vellore to Benares. He wrote on the 6th February I835, that:

"-----I will carefully avoid all unnecessary expenditure previous to, and during the march to Bangalore.
"The fatigue and inconveniences of a long march have been fully explained to the ex-Raja's family and followers but they unanimously declare their determination to accompany (the Raja) under all circumstances and in every situation; the latter have been reduced to about thirty persons which is twenty less than were originally allowed by the Governor-General, although at one period of my charge they exceeded 200.

"I will take care that no attendants accompany the party whose services are not absolutely necessary to the comfort of the family on the march.

"A review list of tents, carriages etc required from the public stores is herewith transmitted-----The ladies will invariably be exposed to the sun for two or three hours after our arrival-----and nothing will persuade them to get out of their palanquins until all is arranged." Sd) Capt.Carpenter, Vellore."

The revised list of equipments:-

Six large sized field officers' tents with carpets etc,
Six large single-poled tents,
Six bachobas with carpets,
Eight European soldiers' regulation tents,
Ten Sepoy tents for baggages etc,
Eight tents and 75 beddings,
Two sets of 'kunnants' of 8 feet high to enclose an area of I00 feet.
20 or 25 elephants and other carriages of conveyance of above articles,

30 Dhoolies (in addition to those private ones of the ex-Raja),
500 Palanquin and Dhooley bearers, and, 50 tent lascars.
Two sick carts and 30 platform carts and tarpaulins for baggage etc,
I5 carts for the conveyance of provisions and supplies, cooking utensils etc.

NOTE:- A variety of trifling articles are omitted as they are readily procurable in Vellore at hours' notice. There will be about 80 palanquins and Dhoolies, most of them heavily laden. Fifty lascars were found barely sufficient on the march from Bangalore to Vellore." Sd) Capt. Carpenter, Vellore, dated the 6th February I835."

Men and Equipments Arranged:

A long and thoughtful plan was made for the conveyance of the ex-Raja and his party, and the Superintendant-in-charge of the Raja wrote on the I2th February I835, as below:

"From the Superintendant of the ex-Raja of Coorg stating that if he can by any means reduce the number of bearers after the first day's march, he will not fail to do so, and that all those for whom bearers are now required would have been conveyed in the same manner when in attendance on the ex-Raja of Coorg."

Paragraph 4, Order thereon:

"Ordered that the foregoing letter and the enclosure be communicated to H.E. the Commander-in-Chief (Quarter-Master- eneral's department) with reference to the Minutes of consultation under the date, the 3rd inst.

"The Governor-General considers the number of palanquin and Dhooley bearers to be very big and desires that the Superintendant of the ex-Raja will make particular enquiry as to the number of persons proceeding with the ex-Raja to Benares who may properly considered entitled to conveyance. No one should be admitted to this indulgence who was not entitled to it when in attendance on the Raja in the Coorg country."

As to the quantity of the equipment that could be furnished from the public stores for the use of the ex-Raja of Coorg proceeding from Vellore to Benares, Major Straham wrote from Fort St.George on the I3th February, as below:

"It is said that the under-mentioned equipments can be furnished from the Public Stores: Four largest seized field officers' tents,
Four sun-altern " " " "
Six European Regulation " "
Eight Sepoys " " "
Six Necessary " " "
Two sets of 'kunnants' of 8 feet high and each 400 ft. long.
Twelve elephants with camels on carriage,
Two sick carts and thirty Dhoolies, and bullocks.
Fifty tent lascars and thirty platform carts; I50 draught bullocks etc.

"The cattle have been ordered from the grazing form at Srirangapatna and they may be expected to reach Vellore by the end of this month.

"With reference to the party which is to form an escort, I have the honour by desire of H.E. the Commander-in-Chief's instructions to forward the accompanying copy of a letter from the officer commanding Vellore, by which it would appear, after maturely considering the subject in communication with Capt, Carpenter that he considers an additional company of the 4th Regiment Northern Infantry which has lately arrived at the Presidency with treasure, with the two Companies already ordered. His Excellency further begs me to say with reference to Col. Smith's letter stating it would be desirable to send a portion of the Cavalry as an addition to the escort of the ex-Raja."

The Raja on the Move:

The last Raja of Coorg was now on his onward march from Vellore. Capt. D.Carpenter, in-charge of the Raja, wrote to the Commissioner of Coorg Affairs, Mysore, on the I2th March I835, that:

"The tombs which have been erected over the graves of the deceased members of the ex-Raja's family were nearly finished before I was aware of the intended removal to Benares-----They are neat and solid structures, and the plans were suggested by the ex-Raja himself though on an expensive scale-----".

The Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, Madras, wrote to the Secretary, Government of India, political department, at Fort William, on the I3th March I835, that:

"-----Please issue instructions to debit to the Supreme Government in the books of this Residency the several advances and disbursements made by the Mysore Commission and Paymaster of stipends at Vellore on account of the Government and the ex-Raja of Coorg and such other advances and expenses as may be incurred on account of the ex-Raja."

When the correspondence of the above type had been taking place, the Raja's journey from Vellore had already commenced in the middle of March I835, and Capt. Carpenter reported to the Governor-General that the Raja and his retinue had reached the bank of the river Palaar, on the I7th March I835. An account towards the expenses of the trip for the month of February I835, was given by Capt. Carpenter from his camp Punipauk, as below:

"Rs I,593 was paid in cash for provisions of the ex-Raja, and the family of 73 females, four children, two nurses and three eunachs with the expense of feeding three elephants and seven horses, including alms to Brahmins. The total grant was Rs.22,070."

All possible precautions were taken against the Raja's escape, and Col. G.M.Stuart, Commissioner of Vellore, wrote to the Governor of Madras, on the I5th July I835, that:

"Adding a small party of cavalry to the escort proceeding with the Raja of Coorg, were in order to guard against the possibility of his escape and to afford Capt. Carpenter the means of prompt pursuit in the event of any such attempt having made.

"Neither Capt. Carpenter or myself are under the most distant apprehension that anything of the kind is likely to occur but as that officer will no doubt be considered responsible for the safe custody of the Raja, it is desirable that he should be prepared for every emergency, however, remote, particularly as the ex-Raja is in possession of several horses and will be accompanied by some of his best and brave followers."

The Raja's camping and halting stations from Vellore to Ganjam were stated to have been the following places:

Vellore; Chittur; Nellore; Ongole; Guntur; Ellore; Rajamundry; Kesinkotah, Vizianagaram, Chicacole and Ganjam.

From station to station, for every day and from every place, the distance is marked in miles. The total distance inside the former state of Madras was 749.2 miles.

The Raja's retinue included twelve elephants, 52 camels, I50 bullocks, I4 forage bullocks, 34 platform carts, 50 lascars, etc.

As the march continued from station to station, instructions were despatched from the Government, to Capt. Carpenter on the entire conduct of the journey, necessities, replacements of men, material, etc etc. From Ganjam the march continued along Orissa state, and on the 11th January I836, the Calcutta Courier reported, that:

"The 7th and the 9th Regiments passed through Bankoora early this month, towards the direction of Barrackpur-----The Coorg Raja, escorted by three Companies of the 33rd Regiment, is expected there about the I4th or the I5th January (I836)."

So the march thus continued, and it took a year or so for the entire party to reach Benares, the final place of settlement of the ex-Raja of Coorg. However, his march and and the escort attached to it, was a news of all-India importance those days.

The Court of Directors in England:

After the arrival in Benares, the ex-Raja and his party were housed in previously arranged apartments, and Capt. Carpenter wrote from Benares on the 21st March 1836, ~~that~~ to the Government of Madras, that:

"-----In order to enable the local authorities at Benares to acquire the necessary knowledge of the ex-Raja and his dependants, I am instructed by the Supreme Government to retain charge of him until six months has elapsed, and later a special report is to be made on the subject preparatory to his being placed under the surveillance of civil power when the duty of which I am employed in Bengal will consequently cease-----".

In the meantime, the Government of India received the communique from the Court of Directors in England, dated the 23rd June 1835, relating to the invasion and occupation of the petty state of Coorg. They wrote a lengthy note to the Governor-General, with reference to about twenty letters sent to them on the subject from India, and said, that:

"-----It had long been notorious that the Government of the Raja of Coorg was most tyrannical but the abject terror which he had produced in the minds of the people and the extraordinary precautions which he had adopted to restrict them from communicating with foreigners, had prevented the evidence of his cruelties coming before the British Government in any shape which could justify interference even in the way of general remonstrance and the Raja had consequently exercised for many years an unlimited power of oppression which by exalting beyond all bounds his notion of independence and supremacy had led to his ruin.

"The outrageous demeanour on his part which rendered it necessary for you to coerce him by force of arms, appear to have originated in the refusal of the Madras Government to surrender his sister Devammaji and her husband, Chennabasava, who have had fled from Coorg to escape from a lawless outrage which the Raja meditated against the former, and some of whose relatives and dependants he subsequently put to death with circumstances of great atrocities.

"The refusal of the British Government to give up these fugitives to the Raja's vengeance appears to have incensed him beyond all measure. When Mr. Cole was Resident in Mysore, a person named Chennavirappa, with his wife, a member of the Raja's family, having fled from Coorg into that country were delivered up to the Raja's predecessor and by him put to death. This unfortunate circumstances appear to have led the Raja to suppose that all fugitives he might demand would be given up to him.

"In consequence of the strong feelings of aversion which the Raja manifested against Mr. Casamajor, that gentleman suggested that some other person should be deputed to Coorg to discuss with the Raja about his complaints. This duty was accordingly committed to Mr. Henry Graeme, but the Raja, on the plea of indisposition declined to receive Mr. Graeme who consequently dispatched a confidential native agent to the Raja's capital, but the Raja instead of listening to the agent's representations, placed him under restraint and neither the demands of Mr. Graeme and of the Madras Government nor those of the Governor-General on his arrival in Mysore, could induce the Raja to ~~realise~~ release the person."

Thus the Hostilities Commenced:

The report of the Court of Directors of the East India Company in England was elaborate and exhaustive. They recalled the entire events lucidly and said ~~that~~ in continuation, as under:

"This violation of the established usages of nations was accompanied by active military preparations, and the Raja's letters both to your Government and to its representative, were of the most insulting kind. You at length announced to the Raja that if your agent were not released within six days, your troops would enter his territory and no prospect having appeared within that time of any change in the Raja's determination, hostilities were declared and commenced.

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"It was evidently impossible for you to overlook the detention by the Raja of the person deputed to him by Mr. Graeme. The decisive measure which you adopted became therefore absolutely necessary and it was not adopted until all milder means of bringing the Raja to reason had been tried unsuccessfully.

"In consequence of the natural strength of Coorg country, you judged it necessary to collect a force of not less than 6,000 men. That this force was not unnecessarily large may be inferred from the fact that of the five columns by which Coorg was invaded from as many different quarters, two were repulssed and we regret to observe with loss, while two of the remaining three columns encountered serious difficulties both from the nature of the country and from the resistance of the Raja's forces.

"Hostilities were however terminated by the unconditional submission of the Raja whose person with the whole of his territories, remained at your disposal."

(What subsequently took place is stated by Lt.-Col. Fraser who accompanied the expedition as Political-Agent, and his report of the 20th April 1834, was as below:)

"The majority of the chief men in Coorg being now at Maddakaree (Mercara), I assembled them yesterdays afternoon (19th April) in a large building adapted for the purpose, an unfinished palace of the Raja, and after acquainting them in a few words with the deposition of their prince from the throne, and the circumstances which had led to the event, I desired that they would express their wishes without apprehension or reserve, in regard to the form of administration which they desired to be established for the future Government in the country.

"While this procedure was going on, I received the Raja's reply on the surviving members of his family. I handed it to the Dewans and others to read that which they did calmly.

"The Dewans, Karnik and Chief Accountant then went round the assembled multitude, who sat in prefectly quiet and decent order, as is usual in native Durbars, and after taking notes of all present, returned to the place where I sat, and acquainted me that an unanimous wish had been expressed to be transferred to the British Government and to be ruled in future by the same laws and regulations (Khanoons and Kaayedas) which prevailed in the Company's dominions.

"A request was, however, added to retain the Raja in Coorg-----in consideration of long friendship of his ancestors and of Coorg-----I said that I will send all what they said to the Governor-General-----Some people wanted to annexe Coorg to South Kanara as they had undergone numerous hardships and oppressions from the Raja, and many of them have expressed a wish to be united to Kanara."

Col. Fraser on Coorg:

Among the many Britishers who paid high tribute to Coorg and Kodavas, Colonel Fraser was one. The Court of Directors in England did give weight to all that he wrote about Coorg in his several reports. The Directors said what Lord Bentinck had once suggested that it would have been good if the Raja had a heir or a son to whom they could have given the power. On the advantages of Coorg as British possession, Col. Fraser, wrote in his reports which was quoted by the Directors, was as below:

"On the advantages in having Coorg as a small territory------it being rendered by nature if defended by courage, almost inaccessible to an invading army, the disposition of the people quiet,and obedient as friends and subjects, but having the power of being most dangerous enemies, the central position of the district among the disturbed provinces around the turbulent and disaffected people of which it has long offered a refuge and exemption from punishment, its conversion at once from being a source of extreme evil and danger to be one of our strongest points of support; all these points combined will render, I should imagine, our possession of Coorg though of trifling or but little value as a revenue acquisition, yet of the very highest consequence as a political one.

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"We cannot attach to these considerations the imporatnce which is ascribed to them by Col.Fraser", said the Directors of the East India Company.

"-----The taluqs of Puttur and Amara-Sulya are annexed to Kanara because of their geographical position and the character, their people naturally connect them-----We sanction the provisions of Rs. 512 per month to Chennabasappa-----Parsee Dara Shah's knowledge of the country and personal acquaintance with the Raja have been of essential use in the course of the transactions, and, you propose confering on him for his own life and that of his son a grant of land yielding a clear oncome of Rs.300 a month. We also hope that Karunakara Menon's long service, and also as envoy undertaking a dangerous assignment, deserved rewards which may be considered-----."

Sd) W.S.Clarke, J.R.Carnac; H.Linday, John Morris; J.Lushington; John Shepheard; George Lyall a,d six others. dated the 23rd June 1835."

From this it is clear that the Board of Directors of the East India Company in England concurred with what the Governor-General and the other officials in India said about the future of Coorg and of the ex-Raja. By the end of the year 1835, everything concerning Coorg was settled, and, thereafter the routine administration was the only that was taken up, rather smoothly, too! Capt. G.Underwood of the corps of the Sappers & Miners assumed the charge of the Coorg Command in January 1836, and at the same time, Brig. J.S.Fraser resigned from the Mysore Residency and Capt. J.D.Stokes became the Resident of Mysore with Lieut.-Col.Mark Cubbon taking the civil charge of the Coorg district. Of course, Capt. LeHardy continued in his place as the Superientendant of Coorg.

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CHAPTER III.

A Storm Blows Over Coorg Skies.

Just a Recollection:

The boundaries of the former Mysore State which was under the native chiefs, was previously carved by the British, and the whole State was put under three administrative Divisions. Bangalore, Tumkur and Kolar were under the Nandydurg Division, Kadur, Shimoga and Chitradurg were under Nagar Division, and Mysore, Hassan and Coorg were under Ashtagram Division, and excepting the small district of Coorg which was under the direct rule of the British Government, the rest was under the Rajas of Mysore.

It would be nice to recount the entire course of events as far as Coorg was concerned. It was on the 4th April 1834, the Raja of Coorg sent a flag of truce with Karnik Laxminarayana and Muhammad Tariq and four others, and it was on this occasion the British envoy Karunakara Menon was delivered by the Raja to the British camp at the eastern borders of Coorg.

On the 5th April 1834, Dewan Apparanda Bopu with a party of 400 Kodavas, went to meet Lieut.-Col.Fraser and surrendered to him and then they conducted the Company's troops safely into Mercara or Madikeri.

On the 6th April 1834, at 4 p.m., the British flag was hoisted in Mercara and the Raja's flag was removed from the Fort bastions. A Company of the 39th Regiment was encamped around the Fort.

On the 11th April 1834, the Raja himself surrendered in person soon after his arrival in Mercara from Nalknad and from that moment he was a prisoner of the British.

On the 19th April 1834, the meeting that Col. Fraser called to decide about the future of Coorg was held and at that assembly of about 500 people from all over Coorg, it was unanimously decided to have Coorg under the Company Government.

On the 23rd April 1834, the Raja left Coorg as an exile and to an unknown destination. After a few days' stay in Bangalore and a few months in Vellore, the Raja and his associates and family members reached Benares in March 1836. Dr. Bell (or Dr.Mill ?) was the Surgeon for the Raja's party, and Capt. Carpenter was the chief escort commander. After passing the States of Tamil Nadu, Andhra and Orissa, the party trekked for over a year amidst the summer days of Northern India. They camped at a place, Soroh on the 28th December 1835, and at Salbunny after passing Midnapur, on the 11th January 1836. The records show that in the month of November 1835, the total expense on the entire establishment was Rs. 5440/-.

As the Raja was safely perched in his solitary confinement, but around his family members, down in Coorg new problems faced the new rulers. The subject of slavery was one such problem that drew serious attention of the Company Government. Those landless and low caste people were used as slaves and that was the thing that the British tried to remove gradually. The post of two or three Dewans continued till the retirement of

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of those incumbents, and it was said that under the new regime they "acquitted themselves creditably", and their monthly allowances were increased to Rs. I50 from what they were drawing at Rs, I00/- a month.

Col. Fraser, the Resident of Mysore and Commissioner of Coorg, relinquished his post in December I835 to take up his new job as Resident of Travancore, and, of course, he earned a very high approbation as the first British officer and representative of the Governor-General during those months of transition. He did the job splendidly well and he was the first official and dignitary to have been honoured by the Kodavas or people of Coorg with the presentation of address and Coorg arms, especially the PEECHAY KATHI. Col. Fraser was succeeded by Capt. LeHardy to the newly created post of Superintendant of Coorg, who was directly responsible to the Commissioner of Coorg with his office in Mysore, and to this post Lieut. Mark Cubbon was chosen; he was also a benevolent officer.

The Rise of Imposters:

In the middle of the year I836, a new trouble was brewing inside and outside the Coorg frontiers. Some non-Coorgs, or some non-Kodavas, who included a few Lingayats, Brahmins, Gowdas and the Tuluvas, most of whom were ignorant, illiterate and un-informed, followed a couple of their leaders who posed as though they were the rightful heirs to the Coorg throne and that they had belonged to the Raja's family. They propagated that:

i) The exiled Viraraja the Younger would come back, and, therefore, the people should rise up to his support.

ii) The ex-Raja's uncle Appaji's son has been declared as a ruler of the Haleri kingdom, and people should rise up to his support.

iii) The British have unjustly occupied Coorg with the support of the local Kodavas, and it is time that the occupiers are ousted.

iv) Not only the ex-Raja would return from his exile, but two or three members of his own family, and sons of his uncles and counsins are rallying support of the people with assumed names, and, therefore, the people should rise up and revolt against this foreign occupation of the Haleri Samsthana.

Such a cry was raised in as many different words as one could put them, and the outcome of all this was the illiterate commoners of North Coorg, and of the taluqs of Puttur, Amara-Sulya, Bellare, Arkalgode, Manjrabad, Peryapatna, Bettadpur, and other areas, were roused to action. They implicitly believed all that a couple of imposters campaigned and the whole story of a fesh revolt against the British spread like wild fire all around the border districts of Coorg and Mysore. Superintendant of Coorg, LeHardy, and Commissioner of Coorg, Mark Cubbon, both knew this hoax very well but they were watching the developments with great alarm and caution. Who exactly were these imposters would be told presently but it is worthwhile reproducing a conversation between the Magistrate of the distant Trichinopoly and an imposter with the assumed name, Aparampara, on the 7th December I835. It went on like this:

The First Encounter:

This Imposter Aparampara was first caught and imprisoned in Trichinopoly where he was in the hideout and in incognito. By December I835, his influence had spread as

as far as that place, and he must have been corroborating with the ex-Raja himself when the latter was in Vellore, and, of course, that was true, also! The question and answer proceedings that went on in Trichinopoly, was as under:

Q: Should the Government order your release, are you able to tender good and sufficient security for your future good conduct?

A: I am not in the habit of continuing in one place but reside four or five months in certain places begging alms for livelihood. There is no one to give security to me.

Q: What's your age?
A: I don't know how old I am, probably 40 or 45 years. My name is Aparampara Swamy. I was born in in Hindustan in Muthcadoo village of Hyderabad taluq.

Q: Who is your father? What's your profession?
A: It is about 30 years since I left Hindustan. I don't know whether my relations are now living or not. My father died when I was three months old. I used to be a professional singer and also a physician.

Q: Which are the places you visited?
A: I have visited Poona, Satara, Kolhapur, Dharwar, Nagar, Kodial (Mangalore), Subramania, Coorg, Mysore, Bangalore, Gooty, Bellary and Hyderabad.

Q: What's your father's name, and----?
A: I don't know my father's name, I don't remember what I stated in Mysore before the magistrates. I don't remember what passed in my mind yesterday.

Q: In case you are released from custody, what will you do?
A: In case I am released I will follow the profession of singing and healing the sick. I have nothing else to state.

This Aparampara was again examined by the officials in Trichinopoly on the 3rd May 1836, when he did not disclose much about his activities or background. On the 17th May, the chief Secretary of Madras, wrote that Aparampara's petition for his release from his confinement under the suspicious circumstances, has been sent to the higher quarters. On the 9th June 1836, Mark Cubbon, Commissioner of Coorg in Mysore, wrote to the Madras Government that Aparampara should be kept under custody under strong vigilance because "he was decidedly of opinion that grounds now exist for keeping him in confinement. In his letter to Collector Blair of Trichinopoly, Mark Cubbon, said:

"Aparampara may have acquired influence among the people of Coorg as he has recently circulated a proclamation there which clearly evinces that he would, if set at liberty, use all the means in his power to disseminate his imposture."

A Projected Plot:

The Madras Secret Proceedings of the month of January 1837, reveals a letter from Mark Cubbon, Commissioner of Coorg, dated the 19th December 1836, that:

"-----Depositions taken in prosecution of the enquiry relative to the rumour that a plot had been projected to subvert the British Government in Coorg and expressing his conviction that the report is utterly false and unfounded."

But the rumour that the report as "utterly false and unfounded" did not seem to be so, because the fresh reports came to the contrary, and in the end of the year 1836, several men were involved in the plot, and those men belonged to Kanara, Mysore and a few non-Coorgs of Coorg. Mark Cubbon's letter of the 4th January 1837 was clear on that point, when he discussed at length the entire back-ground of the projected plot. He said, that:

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"-----There could be no doubt that a plot had been projected to subvert the Government of this country by the assistance of armed men of Mysore-----.

"I have now much pleasure in expressing my conviction that the story brought by Dewan Laxminaranayya of Coorg-----is utterly false and unfounded-----I have every reason to believe nothing more than part of a diabolical conspiracy originating with some persons here or at Mysore, to ruin Dewan Ponnappa and other respectable Coorg officers, or perhaps, to shake the confidence of the Government in the fidelity of the Coorgs, and thus to alienate their attachment to our rule.-----.

"----Although I have hitherto failed in obtaining proof-----the authorship of this intrigue, I think it my duty to bring to the notice of the Commissioner, the suspicion entertained by myself as well as the Dewan Ponnappa, of Karnik Laxminarayya being concerned in concocting the story which he brought to me. The following circumstances have given rise to the suspicion.

"At the time Dewan Laxminaranayya communicated to me the statement made by one Issorah (Ishwarayya), he was the only person here who had seen depositions, sent to me by the Resident of Mysore, about Dewan Ponnappa having sent persons to raise men in Mysore. I showed him these depositions immediately after he came-----He read that and left and then brought me report assuring me that the person from whom Karnik Laxminaranayya's son-in-law Iswarayya had obtained the information was a man whom he had long known and who could be depended upon.-----.

"On asking for the person who brought the report, Laxminaranayya brought the report that he had sent men to ascertain whether Mysoreans had actually assembled at Kootumah's (?) house as agreed upon and that he would be able to afford me better information on his return-----No intelligence was received except from a confidential Sepoy sent out by Col. Isacke whose statement appeared to corroborate the information received this morning-----.

"Later, when Dewan Laximnaranayya informed me that the persons sent out had returned, that the report was perfectly correct that there could be no doubt of a plot having been formed to take the Fort by surprise, and that if attacked that might, it would most assuredly be so at some future period, as soon as the Coorgs found that preparations had been discontinued. In short, he used every argument to make me believe that the whole of that part of Coorg was prepared to rise en-mass, and had actually been joined by a large body of men from Mysore."

Laxminaranayya- the Villain:

This man Laxminaranayya, was a Karnik or the chief Accountant of the Raja, and was also a called Dewan by some people. At the command of the Raja he had offered surrender notice to the British in April 1834, and as the Raja's trusted henchman he followed his erst-while chief as far as Bangalore. Dewan Ponnappa was also there, but there is no report to say if the Karnik Laxinarayana had followed the Raja up to Vellore. Anyway, what was this man doing in Bangalore except hatching a conspiracy in support of his fallen chief and then trying to implicate Kodavas, especially Dewan Ponnappa, in such a plot? However, Mark Cubbon continued to say in his statement, that:

"It now appears from the cross question put to Iswarayya (son-in-law of Laxminaranayya) and another person, that there were not the slightest grounds for crediting the report brought by Mullah, but on the contrary that he was told by one Yenkappa that it was altogether false-----Mulla was a woodcutter of Laxminaranayya, and this Karnik and his son-in-law, invented the story between themselves-----.

"Is it probable that the servant of a Dewan or Karnik disliked by the Coorgs or the Kodavas, and known to be hostile to the Coorg Dewans and officers, generally should be selected and entrusted with the secret of an enterprise------Laximinaranayya is decidedly unpopular amongst the Kodavas (Coorgs)-----Iswarayya is said to have told the story

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story brought by Mullah. If the story was correct he would have thought it necessary to send only one man and that a Brahmin of Mercara pagoda, to ascertain the feelings of amongst the Coorgs (the Kodavas)

"Allowing this story to be altogether not without foundation------the entertainment of men at Mysore by the Jangama Kalyanaswamy is nothing but a part of the same intrigue. And yet these circumstances appear to be so suspicious that I have deemed it my duty, in justice to the Coorg Dewans and officers whose conduct has been exposed to suspicion in consequences of these reports, to suspend Karnik Laxminarayana and Ishwarayya------from their services in Coorg------.

From this it appeared that the Company Government were bent on tracking down the plotters. From then on they watched all the suspicious characters, and the Madras Government issued letters to the State police on the 4th January 1837, as below:

"You will inform the Commissioner of Mysore of the time and place at which Mirza Muhammad will enter Mysore territory, and you will also make the necessary communications to the other authorities through whose district he will pass."

Apart from Laxminaranayya and Ishwarayya who were suspended from their services and kept under watch, steps were also taken to round up some more men of the type, and the police of the states of Madras, Mysore and Coorg were alerted to keep a watch on all the suspects. The Madras police wrote that:

"Mirza Muhammad, a Persian, referred to in my letters of the 20th and 28th December 1836, was escorted to Baitumangalam by two peons and handed over to the person appointed to receive him by the Resident of Mysore------".

In another letter of the 1st February 1837, the chief Magistrate and Superintendant of Police, Madras, said that:

"------Mirza Muhammad reached Bangalore on the evening of the 19th inst. and propose to resume his journey towards Mangalore on the 22nd inst. Information has been forwarded to the Collector of South Kanara that he may be prepared to receive charge of him on entering his district."

The Raja of Mysore - Neutral:

The letters of inquiry of suspected characters were sent to Bombay and all over South India because the plotters had worked out their plan to an alarming proportion. In the meantime, the Raja of Mysore, who had also lost power due to his own inefficiency and mismanagement, did not have the guts to join the plotters but kept away from them, and tried to be in the good books of the British Government. Resident Stokes of Mysore wrote to the Governor of Madras on the 28th January 1837, that:

"------His Highness the Raja was much gratified that his conduct in regard to the part he acted in the conspiracy supposed to have been formed to subvert the British authority in Coorg had been thought worthy of the notice of his Lordship------".

He addressed a similar letter to the Governor-General, Fort William, Calcutta, on the same date, while in his earlier letter of the 7th January, he said that:

"His Lordship-in-Council is already aware that the subject of intrigue connected with Coorg was first brought to the notice of the officers of the Mysore Commission through me that I did not consider myself justified in investigating the case myself while I at the same time unreservedly offered the aid of my services in shifting the business should it be considered that they would be of use.

"The enclosed letter of the Superintedant of the Ashtagram Division, is the first information that I have received of individuals in the services of His Highness the Raja of Mysore being considered accessories in the intrigue in question and it has not

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not been communicated to me until those individuals had been sent under orders from the Commissioner to Bangalore, a circumstance which must necessarily have become known all over Mysore.

"The reason assigned for not notifying me the arrest of His Highness's servants is lest any public mention of it might have defeated the object of their detention. The feeling, I confess, I cannot enter into, for, it was only necessary to have said in explaining the causes of their destruction, but it was indeed necessary that the same should have been kept secret by me.

"———I had told the Superintendant of Ashtragram Division that in my opinion there was nothing 'to warrant any suspicion being felt- much less expressed of the fidelity of Dewan Ponnappa, and that I thought the scheme one- not unlikely to have been got up in Coorg or elsewhere by some enemies of the Dewan. I am not aware of any grounds for changing the opinion which I then expressed but I am unable to give Government any information as to what turn the investigation has taken though it has been carrying on for upwards of a month———."

The Arrest of all Suspects:

J. Chalmers, Superintendant of the Ashtagram Division, wrote to the Resident of Mysore, on the 6th January 1837, that:

"———You have been directed by the Commissioner to forward all persons implicated in the intrigue therein mentioned to Bangalore. It has been found necessary from the course of the investigation which has ensued to forward thither this day the under-mentioned men in the service of His Highness the Raja (of Mysore) who are required- either as accessories or witnesses.

"Dasayya, the Gurikar, Muggy Devayya, also a Gurikar, Manchayya, the peon, and Goldsmith Rangayya (were the men who were rounded up).

"I regret that it was not in my power to make any previous notification of the arrest of these men———There are a few other persons in custody, and if necessary, they will be sent to Bangalore."

In another letter of the 7th January 1834, Mr. Stokes wrote, that:

"———If it were deemed necessary for the purpose of securing the arrest of the servants of His Highness the Raja who are suspected of being implicated in this intrigue that no previous communication should be made to the Resident———The instruction detaining them after they were secure———would have been intimated as a matter of courtesy———".

Lieut. Mark Cubbon wrote to the Collector of Trichinopoly on the 27th February 1837, that:

"Having received information which leads to a suspicion that correspondence of a treasonable nature has passed between Aparampara Swamy, the Jungama, now in confinement at Trichinopoly and some persons in Coorg and elsewhere, I have the honour to request you will have the goodness to cause seizure of all papers which may be found belonging to Aparampara whether in his own possession or entrusted to any confidential person who may be attached to him and forward them to me under your seal.

"I shall be further obliged by your giving me all the information with respect to any persons who may have been allowed to hold communication with Aparampara within the last six months———".

In another letter of the 11th March 1837, Mark Cubbon wrote that:

"———It is known in the course of investigation———that the Jangama Aparampara Swamy had held some communication of a seditious nature with another Jangama, a former follower of his———who is about to take trial for having attempted to create disturbance in Coorg by the propagation of a false representation that they were both descendants of the ancient rulers of the country."

Dewan Ponnappa's Role:

Dewan Cheppudira Ponnappa, one of the two last Kodava Dewans of the time of the last Raja, was essentially an unsteady character and out and out an opportunist. It

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It was already said how he stayed behind when the British army entered Coorg, how he stood loyal to the Raja in his own interest, his following of the Raja as far as Bangalore, his digging of the pits on the way to bury the Raja's treasure, his intention to follow the Raja like Biddanda Somayya and other even beyond Bangalore, and his sudden recall by the British officials in Coorg on security grounds and go on. Thus, he returned to Coorg wishing the Raja good-bye and probably obtaining substantial reward from his fallen chief. Later on, Dewan Ponnappa had to switch his loyalty to the new masters, and was even able to earn great tributes from them. Now when the imposters tried to implicate Ponnappa as one of the rebels against the British, they, no doubt, knew that Dewan Ponnappa was an opportunist. Karnick Laxminaranayya, being a Brahmin, joined the rebels and even instigated the revolution, but Dewan Ponnappa's role was always seen with suspicion. Therefore, in the last months of the year 1836, when the rebels were trying to muster force, Mr. Stokes wrote to Capt. LeHardy, on the 2nd December 1836, that:

"You will not fail to observe that all which has been stated against Dewan Ponnappa as yet stands on no better authority than that of a statement attributed to one named Singah who had fought against the British in 1834."

Capt. LeHardy tried hard to find out if there was any truth in the charges of the Dewan having joined the rebels, and then wrote on the 5th December 1836, that:

"Dewan Ponnappa is at present absent from Mercara, having left this place two or three days back to attend the yearly Coorg festival (Huthri) in his own Nad. I have been unable to question him on the subject but the story appears to me in every point of view so very improbable------and unfounded."

Continuing he said in another letter of the same date, that:

"Dewan Ponnappa is an old man, possessed of a good deal of common sense, prudence and discretion, and I have every reason to believe that he is strongly attached to our Government, and, he is, in short, in every point of view, a most unlikely person to enter upon an enterprise such as he is accused of meditating."

Of course, by this time it was clear that Dewan Ponnappa had become a staunch ally and loyal servant of the British. LeHardy wrote that:

"It appears to me, however not likely, that there may be some intrigue on foot similar to that which was headed last year by Jangama Aparampara and that the Dewan's name may have been made use of with the view of facilitating the entertainment of Mysoreans by leading them to suppose that the enterprise, if any, be really contemplated, would be certain of being supported by the Coorgs------"

Among the leading conspirators against the British power, apart from Aparampara, Kalyana Swami ALIAS Putta Basava, Izake Singha and some others. Of course, brahmins like Laxminaranayya and Ishwarayya were also there as instigators.

How it all Started?:

In the Secret Proceedings, Vol. 132 of Madras Government, there is a letter of the Resident of Mysore, J.D.Stokes, written to the Government of India, dated the 3rd December 1836, and that gives an account of the plot organised by a set of the supporters of the ex-Raja in the early months of the year 1836. He wrote, that:

"------One Singha who is said to have served against the Company during the expedition into Coorg (in 1834), a low caste person, was an agent of Dewan Ponnappa in those

those days. He was sent by someone to Mysore and four other places to enlist armed men for the avowed purpose of subverting the authority of the British Government in the territories of Coorg——The line of duty which I thought myself called upon to confine to on this occasion will appear on a perusal of my letter to the Superintendant of the Ashtagram Division. It is only necessary that I should add that as soon as I got up to my office at Mysore after my interview with His Highness (the Raja of Mysore) I requested the Superintendant to come over there, and I un-reservedly told him that nothing which had come as yet to my knowledge in the case seemed to me to warrant any suspicion being felt, much less expressed on the fidelity of Dewan Ponnappa, I added that I thought the scheme, one not unlikely to have been got up in Coorg or elsewhere, by some enemies of the Dewan, but that of course the circumstance should be thoroughly sifted more especially as the Raja of Mysore was evidently of opinion that it should not be allowed to pass without being fully enquired into.

The person who is stated to have come to Mysore as the agent of Dewan Ponnappa is styled as Viraraja Wodeyar, a Jangama by caste. Two or three persons of this caste are, I am told, now in jail for having conspired together with others to plunder villages in different taluqs of Mysore. The Jangama who is stated to have been at the town of Mysore, ostensibly as the Agent of Coorg Dewan, may possibly have had similar objects in view——.

"I asked His Highness about him and he said the parties accused were not in his service. In the meantime, several contradicting reports also came——The fact of His Highness having summoned me from such a distance shows the importance he attached to the report which had been made to him, for he is one of the most considerate men but at the same time a very timid man.

"I asked His Highness if he believed the report of an Agent having been employed as was stated (that the Dewan Ponnappa had sent an agent to subvert the British Government), he said that it was a strange story that he had not attempted to enquire particularly into it but that he would recommend its being thoroughly sifted for that the Coorgs were a strong people——". Sd) J.D.Stokes, Resident, Mysoer."

Some More Evidences on the Plot:

In another letter, dated the 2nd December 1836, the Resident J.D.Stokes wrote to the Superintendant, Ashtagram Division, on the subject and said, that:

"——On waiting upon His Highness (at Mysore)——called the Havaldar Balu Naidu before him to repeat what he had stated to Bakshee——The Raja (of Mysore) requested that I would make further enquiries. Balu Naidu then gave me a statement. On this I sent a Subedar with him to bring to me Singha and Papan- the two persons named in the statement——.

"Singha was brought to me immediately with Ranga Naidu, a Sepoy.——Singha's statements were however a tissue of the most gross and palpabale falsehoods, and contradictions——Papan is an old man. He gave a plain and apparently unvarnished statement which also fixes on Singha the guilt of having been requiring for armed men, in the name of an Agent of the Dewan of Coorg for treasonable purposes——.

"You are already aware that I consider the statement attributed to Singa as a most improbable one. Dewan Ponnappa who is the person accused of conspiring——I am told, one in whom Capt. Lehardy places a very great confidence. He was held also in very high estimation, I believe——to be a sensible man, and, not therefore likely to enter upon so quixotic and criminal an enterprise as that attributed to him."

Havaldar Balu Naidu stated as below when enquired about his part.-

"Singha lives near me. He told Paupa to get 50 or 60 intelligent armed men from Mysore to which place they went a month back having been sent by Dewan Ponnappa, who was resolved to make war on the Company because the Company people had asked him to purchase twenty women for them which he had refused.——Then I went to Arapur Basappaji——Agents are sent to Chennarayapatna, Belur, Nagamangala etc to hire men. The name of the Agent who came to Mysore is Viraraja Wodeyar.

Viraraja told Ranga Naidu to be prepared to start war. Singha said that the people

people were all to assemble near Yelwall. Paupa in his statement had told him a month back that Shringeri Swami was coming here and he required one hundred coolies to go with him to Rameshwar. After three or four days when his Swami did not turn up, he told me that he wanted fifty to one-hundred men, all armed, who will get Rs. 8/- each per month to take Coorg——."

Capt. LeHardy sent for Dewan Ponnappa soon after he was informed by the Resident that his enemies circulated news about him. Mark Cubbon wrote on the I2th December I836, that:

"I have been privately informed that the old Dewan (Ponnappa) on receiving intimation that he had been accused of treason, instantly mounted his horse and rode into Mercara, a distance of forty miles without stopping (from his Nad house), and he expressed his indignation at the accusation and urged that it should be immediately and scrupulously investigated. This investigation is in progress now——but he has been assured for the vindication of his innocence which was never suspected——."

Laxminarayana- an Instigator:

In continuation of the above letter, Mark Cubbon also said that:

"——Allowing the story to be not altogether without foundation, I may here observe that I consider it utterly so, and that the entertainment of men at Mysore by Kalianaswamy is nothing but a part of the same intrigue. Still these circumstances appear to me so suspicious that I have deemed it my duty, in justice to the Coorg Dewans and other Coorg officers, whose conduct has been exposed to suspicion in consequence of these reports to suspend Dewan Laxminaranayya and Ishwarayya without further delay from the duties of their respective offices——.

On the 8th January I837, the Resident Stokes of Mysore submitted to the Governor-General stating that the Raja of Mysore "was much gratified that his conduct in regard to the part he acted in the conspiracy supposed to have been formed for subverting the British authority in Coorg had been thought unworthy of the notice of His Lordship-in-Council." To the Superintendant of Coorg, he wrote on the I5th December I836, that:

"——A plot had been projected to subvert the Government of Coorg by the assistance of the armed men expected from Mysore——The story brought by Dewan Laxminaranayya is utterly false——I have reason to believe nothing more than part of a diabolical conspiracy originating with some persons here or at Mysore, to ruin Dewan Ponnappa and other respectable Coorg officers——.

Dewan Laxminaranayya communicated to me the statement made by Iswarayya, and he was the only person here to have had seen the depositions sent me by the Resident at Mysore relating to Dewan Ponnappa having sent persons to raise men in Mysore——. Dewan Laxminaranayya then informed that the persons sent out had returned, that the report was perfectly correct that there could be no doubt of a plot having been formed to take the Fort by surprise and that if not attacked that night it would most assuredly be to some future period——One Mullah brought the news. Laxminaranayya was suspected of being in the plot——hostile to Coorgs (the Kodavas) and Coorg Dewans and Coorg officers——.

"Laxminaranayya was decidedly unpopular amongst the Kodavas——had he supposed that there was the slightest foundation for the story, is it to be believed that he would have thought it necessary to send only one man, and that man a Brahmin belonging to Mercara temple to ascertain the state of feelings among the Coorgs."

Preparations to Meet the Rebels:

By the month of April I837, the rebels seemed to have organised a kind of guerilla warfare in the jungles of the Kanara district to the west and north of Coorg. The insurgents were mysteriously moving about in small groups, and they had succeeded in creating a great commotion all over the Western India, from Bombay in the North to

to Calicut in the South and in the entire state of Mysore of those days. The British, however, did not under-estimate the strength of these jungle rebels who were, it was said, trying to bring back the deposed Raja of Coorg or to make one of his family to sit on the throne of Coorg. On the 4th April 1837, the Magistrate of Mangalore, one M. Lewin wrote to the Collector of Dharwar, that:

"------You will send to Mangalore a body of 500 men with arms and ammunition. Your compliance with this request may save Mangalore, the neighbouring country being in possession of a large body of insurgents who have seized upon Kasargode and Bhatkal, and are now in full and entire possession of these places. Our tappal route is stopped in every direction except the North------."

On the 16th April 1834, the Collector of Dharwar wrote to the Government of Bombay, as follows:

"------The insurgents must have entirely gutted the vicinity of Mangalore as there was no certain intelligence of them. The probability is that they have taken to the forests to the Eastward of Bantwal and would direct their whole efforts against the troops advancing from the eastward in anticipation of which, I imagine,------the remains of the 52nd under Col. Dalgam's have been ordered to the neighbourhood of Bisle Pass------."

What has to be seen here is that when the British undertook any mission or programme, that would be done thoroughly. Although the so called rebellion was of some minor importance, the preparation the Company Government made to meet the possible crisis was elaborate and complete. A message relayed from Bombay and published in Mangalore on the 12th April 1837, said as below:

"------It was stated of the arrival at Mangalore of ships- the Winchester and Hugh Lindsay with 250 Europeans from Bombay. They have now 1500 men and two guns at present in Mangalare besides the force in Bangalore and the Belgaum detachment of 350 men at Kundapur. The rebels have stockaded the jungles------It is rumoured that they have reoccupied Bekal------The real Aparampara is in jail in Trichinopoly, and the present man who has assumed his name is supposed to be a relation of his------."

In the meantime, Capt. LeHardy, the Superintendant of Coorg, was keenly watching the situation. Writing to Col. Williamson, commanding Mercara, he said on the 15th April 1834, that:

"------After reaching the frontier of Coorg you had better advance cautiously although rapidly as you may possibly be attacked. The cavalry would be quite useless in Coorg and as there would be great difficulty in procuring forage for the horse, I think they had better be sent from Bettadpur Via Ramnathpur, Arkalgode and Kodlipet, to join Capt. Hunter's party at Uchengi."

In a separate note to the Government, Capt. LeHardy wrote that:

"Col. Williamson's army camped at Kittur on the 16th April 1837. Major Watkins was also in that camp. From Mysore Division message came that an officer in command of the field force is proceeding from Bangalore to Coorg.

"------He will probably reach Bettadpur today, and it is better he ~~had~~ try to push into Mercara tomorrow morning. If the Coorgs (Kodavas) of this part of the country remain faithful there will be no danger in attempting this but I think they are not wavering------.

"The pretender has been joined by me of my most influential officers and the whole of the Coorgs of Nalknad. He was expected to ascend the Ghats at Talekaveri yesterday and he will probably move on to Mercara if the rest of Coorg is in his favour he will most likely make for Nalknad palace.

The Raja of Kumbla, an ally of the Company Government, Ramavarma Arasu, wrote to the Collector of Dharwar on the 17th May, 1837, that:

"The battalion from Bangalore have seized Bhoojamah Devan (?) Alias Kalyanaswamy and the people of Kodagu in the jungles bordering on the Ghats. A letter has just arrived to this effect——A proclamation has been issued to tell all the taluqs——. Kalyanaswamy is to be brought in a few days to Mangalore to undergo his trial——He and other rebels will be tried by court martial——".

"A Serious Insurrection- Likely"

This supposed rebellion or insurrection was so widespread that the British military officers all over South India were alerted, and ~~there was~~ a feverish activity was going on both on the side of the rebels and the British. Brig. J. Allan, commanding Malabar and Kanara, wrote from Cannanore on the 19th April 1837, that:

"I enclose a statement of Capt. LeHardy that he considers this insurrection likely to prove a most serious one that as yet he believes that Coorg ~~[illegible]~~ towards Manantody are well-disposed, but that he cannot vouch for them——and he advises the officer commanding Manantody to keep on the alert."

Troops from distant army stations were brought round to the area of insurrection, and brisk preparations were made to meet the crisis. Col. Green wrote from Bantwal on the 18th April 1837, that:

"I have the honour to request the detachment of troops which have arrived by the "Atlanta" may be directed to proceed to Kasaragode, to keep open the communication and to act according to circumstance in over-awing such bodies as insurgent rebels——".

Another letter from Lieut. C.Stafford to the Bombay army headquarters, dated the 19th April 1837, said, that:

"I am directed to inform you that an express has just been received from Coorg stating that one of the principal officers of that country had joined the pretender and his whole province is in open insurrection——."

The Collector of Dharwar wrote to the Bombay Government on the 17th April 1837, on the same subject concerning the movement of the troops, and said that:

"——The destination of the regiment from the French Rocks (six miles East of Srirangapatna) had been altered and instead of proceeding, as originally intended by the Bisle Pass to Mangalore had been ordered by express from the Superintendant of Coorg to proceed forthwith to Mercara, but for what reason not known- though it was suspected a disturbance had broken out in upper as well as lower Coorg.

"Mr. Maltby mentions that a portion of the Belgaum force under Major Caruthers to halt at Coondapur while the force at Harihar had been ordered to remain in Honnawar.

"——It was also rumoured that the ex-Raja of Coorg had made his escape while enroute to Benares, or someone in his party had assumed his name and authority and had collected a large body of Coorgs and thus joined by ryots and others to foment rebellion around the districts bordering Coorg——." Sd) Baber S.N. Collector."

The influence of the insurgents was so widespread that the name of Coorg had spread even all over North India. The Political Commissioner of Baroda wrote to the Government of Bombay on the 20th April 1837, that:

"——There are no chiefs of any power in the province, and certainly none who could at all comprehend any combined plan of revolt in connection with countries are far distant as those of Kanara and Coorg——."

The Army movements were so thoroughly made in the whole of the Deccan that every military post was alerted to act and move. The Collector of Mangalore wrote to Major Everest, on the 21st April 1837, that:

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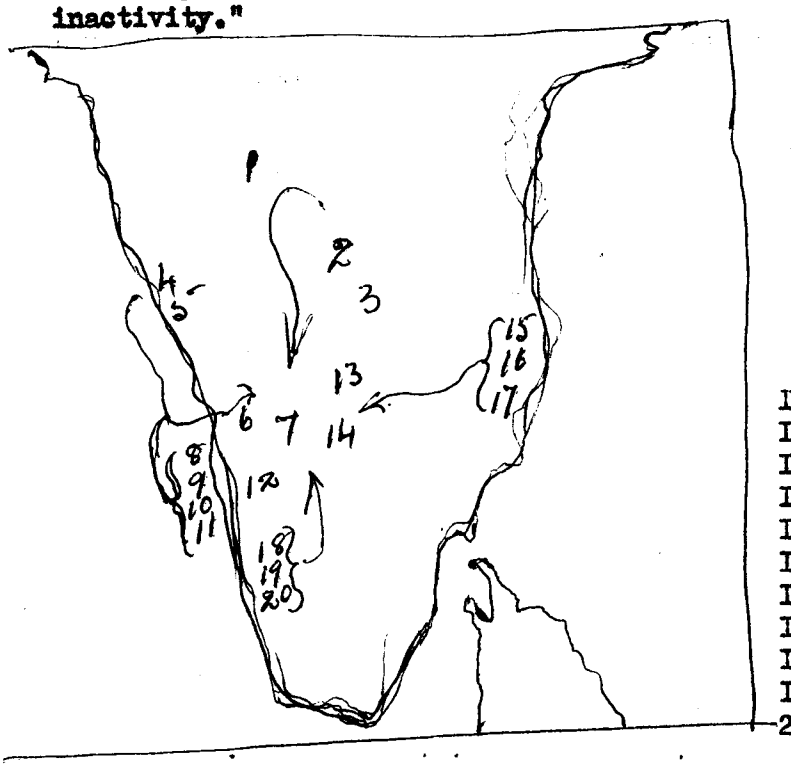
"As it appears to me that present force at Coondapur is larger than is required there, and that a portion of it might be advantageously placed at Karkal or in the neighbourhood——."

The Enemy Was Locked IN:

By the beginning of the month of May 1837, the British army movements were so strategically made that the men belonging to the camp of the imposters could not escape by any route. How the rebels were moving and what arrangements were made to counter their strength and so on could be gauged from the following letters. On the 20th April 1837, Capt. LeHardy wrote that the Coorgs had been apprehended and they told him that they were acting under the orders of Brahmin named DoddaTotada Subbayya and that Aparampara had established his authority at Bellare and he had ordered the Ghats to be closed and all travellers detained. All tappal routes were closed and the British communiques were passed mostly by the sea from Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The Collector of Mangalore wrote on the 3rd May 1837, that:

"——We were obliged to abandon the position at Puttur as the only means of averting the certain destruction of the whole party, and reached Mangalore after sustaining severe loss——From the present aspect of affairs it does not appear to me any decisive blow is likely to be struck, or surely 900 men would not be kept at this place in a state of inactivity."



1) Belgaum Grenadier Regiment.
2) Col.Green, 57th Regiment, Dharwar (100)
3) The 2nd Madras Regiment (350)
4) Kundapur, Major Carnthers.
5) 200 Queen's 10th Regt., (150)
6) Maj.Everest, Bombay detachment,(M'Lore)
7) Col.Williamson,Bantwal, 4th Madras N.I.
8) Artillery- 6th R.W.
9) 22nd Native Infantry, (240)
10) 23rd " " (180)
11) 2nd Madras N. " (150)
12) 23rd " " (Kasaragode),
13) Enemy Locked, Bisle Ghat, Troop HQ.,
14) Capt.LeHardy, 1st Regt, Coorg, N.I.
15) Squadron Cavalry 1st.
16) Co., H.M.'s 39th Regiment- 3rd
17) Madras Regiment,Native Infantry.
18) Brig. Allan, Cannanore, HM's 57th.
19) 51st Madras Regiment N.I.
20) 4th Madras N.I. and Artillery.

This was the position of the British Army, and the rebels in the jungle had no way to escape. This precaution was taken after the Rear Admiral Charles Malcolm wrote to the Governor of Bombay on the 24th April 1834, that:

"——In consequence of the intelligence received from the Commissioner of Coorg that the whole of the Coorg district were in an open rebellion, Brig. Allen of Mangalore had directed the disembarkation of the whole of the troops sent from Bombay."

And the Chief Secretary of the Bombay Government wrote to Fort St. George, Madras, on the 28th April 1837, that:

"——Government would promptly comply with any requisition which might be made by

by the authorities in Kanara for supplies of material, workmen or any other assistance to the purpose of repairing any of the public offices at Mangalore which might have been lately destroyed by the insurgents."

The Kodavas Face the Rebels:

As the insurgents intensified their forces, the Kodavas rallied to the aid of the Company troops, and they came out ~~skirmi~~ successfully in many skirmishes they had with the guerillas who were operating in the Kanara jungles. Major Everest wrote to Col. Green of the Madras army on the 28th April 1837, that:

"——I moved to Bantwal with 600 men, and there the insurgents are in force——A large force is on its march from Bangalore, and the services of the Bombay troops may not be much longer required, particularly as the difficulty of procuring rice rations for European troops is very great, there being scarcely any cattle in the country."

Capt. LeHardy of Coorg, wrote in the meantime to the Superintendant of Nagar Division of Mysore State on the 28th April, about the Kodava forces that marched ahead:

"From Dewan Bopu (Apparanda) who is in the neighbourhood of Sulia, I heard that the pretender dismissed most of his followers with the view of making his way by Bellarepet through Karkala taluq into Manjrabad or Nagar districts with four or five of the principal insurgents. I enclose a description of the pretender, furnished by Dr. Palmer who arrived at Mercara last night.

"Height 5' and 4". Age- 25 or 30, Complexion- dark, bamboo marked with small-pox, pleasing expression of countenance when smiling, and slight Jewish expression.

"Hair bushy and long curls hanging over his shoulders, and limbs very slight, and the shoulders- rather high. Whiskers of a peculiar appearence, and beard exceedingly bushy, and about four inches long. He styles himself as the Raja of Coorg."

LeHardy also added that the number of troops stationed in Kanara was as stated below, as per his letter of the 4th May 1837:

"Mangalore 450, Kasaragode 250, Puttur 300 and Bantwal 200.

"The letter of Col. Williamson on which you rely informs you that Aparampara who headed the insurrection and set it on foot is still in Kanara on the borders of Nagar where I am informed he is attempting to raise recruits."

M. Lewis was the Collector of Dharwar, and in 1836-37, he was the Collector in Mangalore. On the 2nd May 1837, he wrote that:

"Previously to their arrival, Sulia had been taken possession of by Bopu (Apparanda) one of the Dewans, whose troops effected the release of Devappa, the head-Shirestedar, and Mr. Palmer's family.

"——The amount of military force brought together in Kanara was not called for by the circumstances of the district itself. The evil as it first showed itself was light and there have been about ~~a few~~ 100 Sepoys available, and if it was so the enemies would have been silenced without difficulty. But Kanara was neither than nor now supposed to have represented its own interests alone in the insurrection——.

"If we accept ~~except that~~ the territory lately ceded to Kanara from Coorg and a portion of the line of road from Bantwal to Bisley, I think it will be found that Kanara with few exceptions was ready in the first instance to support the Company's Government while it is certain that the territory ceded to us from Coorg has been almost in an open rebellion against us——Many joined Aparampara under intimidation——".

The Insurrection- Subdued:

Though the insurgents created some sensation and commotion, the number of people in the group was very few, but yet they were able to scatter themselves into small bands and kept the Company's men at bay, and the Kodavas were best suited to meet them because they knew most of the jungle tracks of the districts beyond the Ghats. An English offi-

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officer at Mercara, wrote in his diary dated the 30th April 1837, that:

"In the morning we heard from Mr. Hunter that Lieut. Bevan proceeding with two Companies to reconnoitre the Ghat, met with a stockade by the fire from which some of his men were wounded, and Companies had been lent by Col. Williamson to support him. In the evening a grand despatch from Dewan Bopu reporting that advancing from Sulia in the direction of Uddur, he had encountered a party of the insurgents stationed on a hill who upon his advancing, fired, and their fire being returned with interest, their Jamedar was killed and the remainder threw down their arms and fled, pursuing the fugitives on reaching the crest of the hill, the Coorgs were met with by a man on a white horse———.

"He stated that he was a messenger from Aparampara who requested them to declare explicitly whether the Coorgs would or would not receive Aparampara as their Raja of Coorg——— Dewan Bopu readily replied by a volley from his advanced guard upon their refusing to surrender themselves upon which they fled, leaving in the hands of Coorg some deer horns and other regalia, pursuing the fugitives into the jungle, the Coorgs found two palanquins——— Dr. Palmer, Bopu stated, had told him that the pretender had only fifty men."

In a letter of the 19th April 1837, Brig. Allen of Cannanore, had stated that the whole district was in an open rebellion. The Collector of Kanara reported that:

"I am of opinion that ample reason exists for apprehending that the insurrection once limited to Kanara, now extends far beyond it, and, if so, that nothing but these troops assembled around here is capable of quelling it———".

The Secretary, Bombay Government wrote to the Government of Agra, Central India, on the 11th May 1837, stating that:

"I am directed by the Governor to state for the information of the Government of Agra, that from the recent account received from the west coast and from Coorg, there is every reason to believe that the insurrection has been in a great measure subdued."

The copy of this letter was sent to the Resident of Hyderabad, Resident of Indore, the Residents of Nagpur, Gwalior and Cutch. This showed the enormity of the precautions the British had taken to meet the crisis. In the below stated letter of the 4th May 1837, the Collector of Dharwar gave a detailed account of the entire course of events to the political Secretary of the Government of Bombay. He said that:

"———The accompanying copy of a letter from Mercara———reports that Bopu, the Coorg Dewan, had come up with and attacked a party of insurgents near Sulia whose Jamedar was killed and the remainder threw down the arms and fled, and, while in pursuit the fugitives were met by a man on a white horse and with about twenty followers, and said that they had come from Aparampara to require of them to declare whether the Coorgs would or would not receive Aparampara as their Raja, and this question was answered by a volley of shots. When they fled, Bopu's party pursued them and then came up with two palanquins guarded by a party of insurgents, in which were Dr. Palmer, his wife and child. At this time, it is said, the pretender had only fifty men with him and they intended making his escape to Malabar.

"In the Kannada account, on the contrary, it is stated that the pretender intended escaping to Nileshwar———From my knowledge, I should say that they will not receive the pretender unless to deliver him up to us for Rs.10,000 reward offered for his capture.

"In a letter of Capt. LeHardy, Superintendant of Coorg, it would appear that the pretender intended retreating to Manjrabad or to the Nagar districts with four or five of the insurgents———and Kengal Nayak, one of the chief leaders of Aparampara, led the rebels.

"Mr. Stokes (Resident of Mysore) is of the opinion that the origin of this insurrection is more deeply seated than is supposed———While I was presiding at the sessions at Mangalore in 1827, there was an indication of the discontent which broke out while I was in England in 1831-32———in every taluq, people refusing to pay more revenue until the grievances were redressed———and until large revenue remissions were granted to them.

"The measure that followed in the appointment of a Commission who was notoriously

friendly to those of the public servants who were accused in those petitions of having most oppressed the people and their subsequent restorations to power was little calculated to increase the confidence of the people in us, and to this circumstance, will, I am convinced, be traced in a great measure the apathy of the people during the late disturbances, so opposite to that attachment, loyalty and devotion I had ever met with from them, as often as their cooperation was called for------.

"Sd) L.W.Baber, Principal Collector, Dharwar, 4th May 1837."

Aparampara Was Finally Caught:

For some time, this small incident created by a handful of rebels gave such a hard time to the Company Government that there were feverish activities all over to quell the men who afforded so much commotion for practically nothing at all. John Green, Collector of Kanara, wrote to the officer commanding Malabar, on the 29th April 1837, that:

"------I reached Magadi and Bantwal------at half-past nine a.m., and found it in possession of the Coorgs (Kodavas) sent by Capt. LeHardy. Sulia is occupied by 200 men of the same party. The insurgents appear to have disappeared------A party of 200 men with the pretender were endeavouring to effect their escape towards Nagar. Dr. Palmer has been liberated and sent to Mercara------The insurrection is for the present suppressed------."

Here the Kodavas have had put up a good show of their prowess under the leadership of the Dewan Apparanda Bopu. John Green wrote in another letter of the 30th April 1837, as below:

"I have the honour to report the arrival of the Force here yesterday where we found about 200 Coorgs under Dewan Bopu who fell in with a small party of the rebels------and who after firing a few shots, fled leaving Dr. and Mrs. Palmer and family who were prisoners. The Dewan informed me that he sent them to Mercara with a guard of 100 men, the Kodavas. The Dewan and his party have left------".

In the meantime, Dewan Bopu himself sent a report of his Kanara expedition to Capt. LeHardy, dated the 29th April 1834, as directed and transmitted by LeHardy later, and that was as under:

"I have the honour to transmit a copy of a report I received from Dewan Bopu, reporting his gaving seized the pretender's treasure amounting to about Rs.13,800 and a number of copper and other articles which appear to have been buried in the jungles near Sulia by the insurgents on their being attacked by the Coorgs on Monday last. He also mentioned having apprehended some people of Coorg who had joined the enemys and among them the Shanbogue of Bhagamandala, a relative to Karnik Laxminaranayya whose defection together with that of the parpathigar and other people of Sampaje and Peraje was reported from Subedar (Codanda) Madayya------I have directed Bopu to retain charge of the treasure and I beg instructions in regard to its disposal.

"Bopu detached a body of 200 Kodavas to proceed on the direction of Bellare to endeavour to seize the pretender who is supposed to be hiding in the jungles. The Coorg officers sent in charge of the party held their posts in Puttur during the Raja's time, are said to be very popular with the people there------.

"I have ordered another party of about 100 Kodavas to proceed along Bellare Ghat on the basis of some clues. The people there are reported to be returning to their homes, according to the letter received by Dewan Ponnappa this morning from a Gowda------ It will be of the greatest importance that Dewan Bopu should hold possession of Sulia------

Sd) Capt.LeHardy, the 28th April 1837. Mercara."

These and some other statements affirmed that the insurrection had almost been quelled by the end of April 1837. John Allan, Commanding Malabar & Kanara, reported on the 4th May 1837, as follows:

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"——The accounts from Dewan Bopu to the Superintendant of Coorg, are that he holds possession of Sulia and other adjacent taluqs at the foot of the Coorg hills. All these, therefore, concur in showing that the insurrection in Kanara may be considered as quelled."

On the same day, Brig. Allan wrote to the Collector of Kanara, that:

"——From the reports of Col. Green, Capt. LeHardy and Dewan Bopu, it would appear that insurrection in lower Kanara——is completely suppressed——leaving Bellarepet in charge of Dewan Bopu——."

In fine, J.Dalgaiums wrote from Bailur, ~~wrote~~ to S.N.Baber, Collector of Dharwar, on the 17th May 1837, that:

"You will be glad to know that Aparampara has at last been caught. He was seized by a party of Coorgs (the Kodavas) on the 13th inst. between Manjrabad and Coorg, and carried by them to Lieut. Le Hardy at Mercara. So all is now over and I expect to receive orders to return immediately to Harihar——."

How it all Happened?:

Between the dates, the 28th April 1837, when Dewan Bopu was able to quell the insurrection and to the 15th May when the main leader of the rebels was caught, what happened was a series of minor skirmishes and a persuasive man-hunt. In a place near Puttur, one of the prisoners was interviewed by Lieut. Garnin, on the 28th April, and he said that:

"My name is Kuta Cooria- a ryot in North Coorg, About fifteen days ago Rama Garayya of Sulia came to my village and forced me to enter into the service of Aparampara Swamy. He pressed about ten people there and took us before the 'Raja' at Sulia. The 'Raja' said that: "You must accompany me wherever I go". We consented with fear and entered his service. Arms were provided to us by the "Raja", and so also matchlocks and Coorg knives.

"About six days ago we received the news that a body of Coorgs were coming to attack Sulia. We left the place and in three marches we reached here (Islampady). From that place the 'Raja' detached us in groups to reconnoitre the Company s troops and set fire to villages where there were supplies. He tried to gather more people about twenty joined him. About a dozen were carried by force, and those included Brahmin Krishnappa, Ramayya Gowda and others. The 'Raja' posted scouts at the hills. Later they determined to fly to Nagar in jungle dresses——Having given Rs. 3/- to all his followers and dismissed the Coorg ryot to go back home. He started off in great confusion in the direction of Nagar with about 300 followers."

Some of the other reports from the people who took part in the operations, were also helpful to know as to how the events went along. A report of the 30th April 1837, was as under:

"The party under Capt. Rockfort followed the pretender's party with the help of Brahmin Krishnappa showing the way and the direction."

Another report, dated the same day, said that:

"It was supposed that Aparampara was hiding in the jungles below the Ghats. Col. Williamson said that he had written to Dewan Bopu to send a party of his men to be employed in search after him in Manjrabad and Nagar areas."

So it was from this day, a intense search was made to capture Aparampara physically. Col. Williamson, commading the Field Force, wrote to John Green of Mangalore, that:

"The Coorg Force have not left you a single enemy in the direction of Amara-Sulya——Take care that no mistakes are made as you may take our friendly and brave Coorgs under that splendid fellow, Dewan Bopu, for the end you are in search of——".

The above note of Col. Williamson was dated as 29th April 1837. But till they caught the leader of the insurgents, the operations in the jungles went on, and, in Coorg, Col. Isacke assumed the command of the Brigade in Mercara and directed the campaign below the

the Ghats. Dewan Bopu was assisted in the campaign by the veteran, Mathanda Appacha, Mandepanda Monnayya and many other gallant Kodavas. Anyway, with the capture of the insurgents' leaders like Kalyanaswamy, Aparampara and other pretenders, the whole trouble came to an end, and that added another chapter to the history of the martial prowess of the Kodavas, and with that they also won the esteem and regard of the British Government.

"Cause Shrouded in Mystery":

How did this insurrection begin and what exactly the cause for that, was the question so often asked, apart from the story of a couple of pretenders and imposters who posed themselves as "Rajas" of Coorg. Col. J.S.Fraser, after he left Mysore for Travancore, wrote about this insurrection that broke out in Kanara. It was said, that:

"----The insurgents chiefly congregated in that part of Kanara that bordered on the hilly country of Coorg, and included two small districts that originally belonged to the little Raj, but had been detached at the time of the conquest, contrary to the advice of Col. Fraser because it was considered then that part was naturally formed part of Kanara and could more easily be administered by the Collector of that District. The insurgents had calculated on the cooperation of the recently annexed people of Coorg but they were very much out in their calculations. The brave Coorgs were so well satisfied with the rule of Capt. LeHardy, whom Col. Fraser had placed over them, that they rallied round him in response to his call, armed with bows and arrows and battle arms-----."

But what exactly Col. Fraser said on this, was found in his letter that he wrote to the ex-Governor of Madras on the 17th June 1837, and this letter of James Stuart Fraser was taken from his 'Memoirs' ~~of Col. Fraser,~~ compiled by his son. It said that:

"-----The most combustible of all countries that exhibited an explosion on the West coast, which, though not in the slightest degree foreseen at the time you left Madras, rapidly rose to an extent which threatened to throw the whole of this part of India into a flame. The particulars of the insurrection and the pouring of troops from all quarters especially from Bombay by sea, will be seen in papers. But as I wish you to know exactly what the conduct of my old friends in Coorg has been. I do myself the pleasure to transmit for your information the accompanying letters and despatches on the subject which I have received at different times from LeHardy.

"The Coorgs, in fact, put down the rebellion, and if they had not proved staunch to the British interest, and firm in their personal attachment to LeHardy, I have not the slightest doubt that we should have got into a disagreeable kind of war of quite indefinite duration. I hope you will be pleased with the conduct of these brave fellows. I confess it as a source of satisfaction with me to have been one of the first among us to become acquainted with them-----.

"The real and the original cause of insurrection yet remains, I believe, shrouded in mystery. I think it not improbable that the discontent of the inhabitants of Amara and Sulya and Puttur, the districts we separated from Coorg, may be found to have been one of the principal and most influential motives, with the insurgents. I could not refrain from expressing my apprehension to the inhabitants of those districts at the time when a party among them petitioned Lord Bentinck to allow of their being annexed to Kanara, that they would regret the day when their request was complied with. And by this time I fancy, they are pretty well aware of the difference between our Collector and courts of justice and the simple old fashioned system of revenue and the trial by Panchayat which we established in Coorg-----". (Col. James Stuart Fraser's Memoirs.)

I. M. Muthanna

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CHAPTER IV.

A Turning Point in the History of Kodavas.

It Was in April 1837:

The actual insurrection of Kanara, organized by a couple of imposters and non-Coorg Karniks, actually started in the first week of April 1837, and for a full one month there was a tense atmosphere all over. The letters began to be tossed about from about the 1st April, and on the 4th April, the Commissioner of Mysore reported that:

"——The principal officer of the district of Manjrabad reported the assembly of a body of insurgents in the Collectorate of Kanara and the obstruction of communication with Mangalore——".

"The Superintedant of Coorg reported that an imposter had established himself with a body of armed men at Bellarepet and issued proclamation assuming the ~~sovereignty~~ sovereignty of Coorg."

But the news of this insurgence first came to Mercara when the two Kodava Dewans, Bopanna and Ponnappa, Munshi Mandepanda Thimmayya and others had been to Huthri in December 1836, stating that Aparampara had collected 2000 men and resolved to take Mercara Fort. Subedar Biddayya then owed that he would collect men from seven Nads and join them. The Kodavas then had no idea as to what was exactly happening, and Karnik Laxminaranayya and Sidlingayya, the plotters, were happy about that, and they sought the help of the Coorgs to seize the fort of Mercara and raise their flag. But in the later three months, the Kodavas realized what was really happening, and they stood behind Capt. LeHardy who had taken charge of his post from the 26th September 1834. The Kodavas thought that it was a battle for their survival, and from the 7th April, hectic movements of men and the troops were made all over South India. A report said:

"The Commissioner of Mysore deemed it advisable that the troops from Mysore Division should comply with a requisition received by express from the Collector of Kanara for a reinforcement of our regiment of Native Infantry and 300 Europeans."

Much of the reports received in Mercara were just vague rumours and no one was sure about the actual strength of the rebels. But the British were sure that "Coorgs were in no way implicated with those of the lower country" who had joined the rebels. The Superintendant of Coorg, LeHardy, wrote on the 8th April that:

"That the Coorgs (Kodavas) have not joined the rebels, fully justified the confidence we had placed in the fidelity of the Kodavas to the British Government——I have sent 700 Coorgs to attack the insurgents——to Amara-Sulya and 500 more are to follow them."

At the other end, the British made elaborate preparations for an all-out war against the rebels, if it had come to that, and copies of letters came addressed to the Bombay and Ceylon Government and to the Naval Commander, "soliciting their cooperation for the speedy suppression of the insurrection of Kanara and Coorg."

Martial Law was Proclaimed:

When troops were alerted in Bombay, Belgaum, Mysore, Mangalore and Cannanore, Capt. LeHardy was heartened to recive "the most gratifying assurance of the zeal and attachment of Coorgs to the British Government." and from the 12th April 1837, he was himself leading the Kodavas, about 800 of them, down the Ghats, in order to cut off the large body of in-

insurgents who had ascended the Bisley Ghat with the view of entering Coorg, and whose number was estimated at 1500 to 2000 men, and most of them with fire-arms,

Capt. LeHardy found the enemy position strong on a hill. The 36th Native Infantry was ordered into Mercara. It was probably by mistake that it was reported that Subedar Codanda Madayya of Puttur, had joined the rebels and that he was on his way to Coorg. But Madayya must have been told by the non-Kodava rebels that they were all unitedly fighting for the restoration of the Raja who was exiled. Anyway, this error of Madayya's joining the rebels was later straightened out by Dewan Bopu. In the meantime, a regiment from Vellore was diverted towards Mysore, and on the 18th April 1837, the martial law was proclaimed in all the disturbed taluqs of Kanara. Commissioners were appointed for the trial of the prisoners.

The confusion that arose due to the mistaken loyalty of Subedar Madayya (Codanda) to the rebels which drew a good number of the people to his side, was considered in right earnest by both LeHardy and Bopu, and later with the cooperation of Madayya's men, some ring leaders of the conspiracy were seized, and so also about 230 to 250 Kodavas who were supporting the rebels by mistake. But as early as the 8th April 1837, Capt. LeHardy wrote on the spirited cooperation of the Kodavas that:

"The conduct of Coorgs has been beyond all praise; they are now about 800 in arms posted at different Ghats and they are just as obedient to orders as Sepoys, and certainly much more useful than regular troops in a country of this kind."

What endeared the Kodavas to them was that these junglee warriors surrpunded and succeeded in capturing a good many of the rebels from their jungle hide-out. Many of the armed rebels had assembled near Sampaje but then they disappeared in the thick jungles. LeHardy further wrote from his Sampaje camp, on the 7th April that:

"The nature of the country rendering regular movement impracticable, I considered it would be neither safe, nor indeed expedient in any point of view to send any Sepoys with them-----The Coorgs, indeed, appear to be desirous of enjoying to themselves the whole glory of quelling this insurrection, and it would have but dumped their zeal had the detachment been ordered to accompany them-----."

"I beg to report that I have sent Subedar Biddayya and Madayya with about 700 Coorgs, the Jama ryots, to attack the armed parties-----The Coorgs sent from this camp proceeded with the greatest alacrity and marched in less than an hour-----I entertain very sanguine hopes of their seizing a number of ring leaders in this rebellion.

"The first KISTs fall due at the beginning of this month, and I would strongly recommend this instalment of the land revenue be remitted to all such ryots as have or may join me in arms. It is true that Jama ryots hold their lands under the obligation of performing military service when called upon, but the reading which had been shown, on the present occasion to join our troops well-merits a generous return on the part of the Government. I have accordingly sent orders to suspend the collection of the KIST from the ryots who had joined us-----I beg to forward copy of my instructions to Subedar Madayya and also copy of a letter to the other Subedars requesting them to send me as many Coorgs as can be spared for this duty-----."

Sd) Capt. LeHardy, Camp- Sampaje, dated the 7th April 1837.

In the same letter, LeHardy clarified the statement made on about 250 Kodavas joining rebels, and said, "I beg to state that not a single Coorg (Kodava) has joined the enemy. The people of Amara-Sulya may probably have been taken for Coorgs (Kodavas)."

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The Kodavas Pledged to Support:

By the 10th of April 1837, the Kodavas realized that the insurrection launched by the non-Kodava elements in the name of the ex-Raja, were fighting against the influence of them (the Kodavas). Therefore, they stood unitedly and pledged to support the British to the very end and thus see that they preserved their lands and homes. Mark Cubbon, Commissioner of Mysore, wrote on the 11th April 1837, that:

"I am happy to state that I continue to receive the most gratifying assurance of the zeal and attachment of the Coorgs to their present Government. I have received an address from the Dewans, the chief officers and many ryots, all Kodavas, professing their readiness in the most earnest manner to lend all their assistance in putting down the insurrection in Amara-Sulia-----.

"Should the unforseen obstacles intervene, it is expected that the force assembling at Bisley will be able to descend the pass about the 24th inst. while at the same time, a party of 1000 to 1500 men, the Coorgs, will be ready to descend from the side of Mercara, supported by the 30th Regiment N.I."

The insurgents had offered a stiff fight in the beginning and at some strategic places. LeHardy wrote from his Somwarpet camp on the 10th April 1837, that:

"The 36th Native Infantry marched from Mercara today and will halt at Harangy, and will probably march to Kundanhully on the Coorg frontier above the Bisle Ghat-----The two corps strengthened by a brigade of guns from Mangalore may with the assistance of the Coorgs acting along the foot of the Ghats clear Amara and Sulya and even Puttur of the rebels in the course of a few days and return to the cantonment before the rains----".

LeHardy's assistant Lieut. Montgomery reported to Mark Cubbon, on the 12th April that the rebels had thrown up a strong stone stockade in front of the village of Bisley. They directed the detachment of Foot Artillery to follow the troops and then pursue the insurgents. Mark Cubbon quoted LeHardy writing to him, and said on the 14th April, that:

"----Although the Dewans of Coorg entertained no doubt that the 36th Regiment and their own men would be able to dislodge the rebels from their position on the Bisley Pass, yet as the most complete success at that point, in the present state of our preparation would lead to no important result, it was considered on the whole advisable that the capture of it should be deferred until the troops and guns coming from Bangalore had arrived, and were prepared to follow up-----." Sd) Mark Cubbon."

However, when the Kodavas threw in their lot towards supporting the British in the interest of their communal solidarity, there was the problem of the Subedar Codanda Madayya who was stated to have "had certainly joined the pretenders", according to Mark Cubbon. But, Madayya returned from Puttur to Mercara, and then he too threw himself up in support of the Kodavas, and that was on the 15th April 1837. As to the enthusiastic support of the Kodavas, Capt. LeHardy wrote on the 13th April 1837, that:

"-----300 Coorgs were left at Kundhally to protect the frontier-----I received an application this morning from Subedar of Yedenalknad which leads me to apprehend the possibility of defection on the part of the very influential Coorg officer- the Subedar Madayya of Padinalknad. It is probable that the statement of the peon who was employed to circulate the proclamation to which it alludes is altogether false, but until more confident of his not having been guilty of the breach of fidelity which he is suspected, I have deemed it prudent to counter-march the 19th Regiment with a view of its halting at Bettadpur from where it would join the force at Bisle-----.

"With reference to the petition from the Subedars, Dewans and the people-----I am now paying batta to the ryots who have assembled in arms-----.

"There are twelve or fourteen Coorgs of the most respectable families——who formerly held situations under the Raja, and who have now joined me and have for the four or five days been marching daily between 20 and 30 miles."

"The Heartfelt Address" of the People:

An important thing that happened was that when the Kodavas determined to support the British and fight against all the non-Kodava intruders and pretenders, that was done with a very far-sighted resolution of keeping the interests of the Kodavas and of Coorg intact. As the insurrection gained in tempo, the Kodavas, and the people in general, in many hundreds, joined together and presented an address to Capt. LeHardy, the Superintendant of Coorg, on the 10th April 1837, when they said that:

"The heartfelt address of Dewans Ponnappa and Bopu, of the Commissioner's Office at Mercara, and of the Subedars, Jama ryots and others——.

"It is publicly known that the Gowda ryots and headmen together with their friends and relations of Karnik Laxminaranayya residing in Puttur and Amara-Sulya have joined in an insurrection, and, therefore, the following considerations are submitted for putting down the rebellion——.

"We Coorgs do not require pay because it is our duty which we owe to our country to secure its tranquility——and consequently no payment is required. But as long as our men are engaged in active operations, they will require to be supplied with food or batta from the Government. Powder and ball also should be supplied. To such as may not possess either matchlocks or swords or arms should be furnished from the Sarkar. We Coorgs will use our best endeavours to put down the insurrection of the people of Kanara and for the object we are ready to proceed as far as Bellare in the district of Puttur——

"The Company's troops should afford us their assistance——and the Government would be pleased to exempt us from rent——All Jama ryots as shall start themselves in coming forward with their arms to engage in hostile operations, and besides any rewards which the Government may be pleased to confer upon them, will be joyfully received.

"We are now ready to take part in all the operations——but as our field work commences on the 10th of May, it will be necessary to give us liberty to attend to our cultivation——otherwise, will be greatly distressed; because the Coorgs have no other cultivation except that of wetland——It is falsely reported that some Coorgs have gone into Kanara and created revolt, but if enquired, it would appear that the whole of our people are now within the limits of our own boundary, and the Patels and ryots of Amara-Sulya and the friends and relatives of Karnik, also called Dewan, Laxminaranayya and Parpathigar Krishnayya of Peraje have stirred up the people of those provinces and have thus brought a bad name on our countrymen.

"For the last three centuries, Amara Sulya was in Coorg, and only now the Company Government has transferred them to Kanara. About forty years ago the Raja, considering the population of Coorg small, ordered that one half of the inhabitants of each house in Amara-Sulya should be removed into Coorg and then if father had his house there, his son had his residence here, and thus the people got mixed up. The people of Amara-Sulya wear the same dress as Coorgs. They are also armed with matchlocks and swords like our own people——.

"The following statement of 1050 Coorgs or Kodavas who are ready with arms for the suppression of the insurrection of Amara-Sulya. Padinalknad Subedar Madayya's Division of 100 men, the late Parpathigar Boverianda Iyappa and Kedambady Chennayya's 30 men at Peraje frontier, are under the orders of the late Subedar Karineravanda Muddayya. The late Parpathigar Chottemada Appayya had 20 men at Chembu under the orders of Subedar Balyada Mandayya. The late Parpathigar Kalmadanda Subbayya had his men at Sampaje and so also Darogah Thimmappa with his men at Kadamakall under Subedar Karyappa.

Parpathigar Madeyanda Devayya had 750 men under him and others who followed the entire band of Coorg 'soldiers' were Dewan Apparanda Bopu, Subedar Kovavanda Biddayya, Subedar

Mandepanda Monnayya, Mathanda Appacha, Porkera Iyappa, Chettolira Appayya and Kollira Achayya- all Subedars. Two annas bata was paid for each man, four annas bata per day for each chief man and parpathigar, and eight annas batta a day for Subedars and of the higher ranks. If this rate of batta is allowed to us it will be considered as a great boon.

"The last representation that we have to make is this: We all consider ourselves to be the children of that illustrious Government, the Company Sarkar, and are willing to a man, both small and great, to use our utmost endeavours to discharge our duty faithfully and obediently according to your orders and the kindness with which you may treat us with redound to your own renown.

Sd) by the Subedars, two Dewans, Gowdas, Parpathigars, headmen, and others."

The Kodavas Rushed to the Front:

This was the address the Kodavas in particular and the Coorgs in general, presented to the Superintendant of Coorg, and they were sincere in their utterance. It showed that those Kodavas had craved for a change in the Government as they were tired of centuries of oppression and suppression at the hands of the Lingayats, Brahmins and Muslims, and to some extent from those of the Malabar side. As the Kodavas mustered their full force, Subedar Madayya's problem remained as it was, although he had joined the Coorg force. In response to the earlier letters, the Fort St. George Government wrote on the 18th April 1837, about Madayya as below:

"——Government have been apprized that all is quiet at Manjrabad and no defection in Coorg but that of Subedar Madayya——Dewan Bopu and his 1000 men are still firmly behind us. There was no sign of pretenders anywhere. Provisions for ten days are thrown in Mercara by the head-Dewan Ponnappa, and guns mounted on the ramparts, but the curious part of the whole thing is that the Brahmins are all employed in engendering defection."

On the 14th April 1837, Capt. LeHardy reported once again, that:

"——I have received a letter from Dewan Ponnappa which leaves no further room for doubts to the defection of Subedar Madayya and of the greater part, if not the whole taluq of Padinalknad. The Subedar himself is represented as having proceeded to join the pretender and the whole of his people of his taluq are said to be only waiting for his arrival at the summit of the Ghats to join him.

"Dewan Bopu proceeded last night with the Coorgs at Mercara to attack the insurgents on their arrival at the top of the Ghat——and they expressed warmest professions of devotion to our Government and promised not to return until they had repelled the rebels, but I must confess that I now entertain no hopes of their attempting to do so, indeed—— I have been unable to ascertain the cause of this extraordinary and unexpected change in the disposition of Coorg except by supposing that the pretender's emissaries have succeeded in convincing them of his being what he represents himself——."

As the operation against the rebels were in force, Mark Cubbon, reported to Fort St. George Government on the 17th April 1834, that:

"——Capt. LeHardy has been directed to hold the Mercara fort against the enemy—— Dewan Bopu reported that he was using his utmost endeavours to recall to their allegiance such of the people who had followed Subedar Madayya in his infatuated desertion to the pretender——.

"There was some troubles and quarrels among the mixed population of Yelusavirasime, but the Coorgs there had no concern——All the endeavour of the rebels established near Bisley to seduce the people of Manjrabad from its allegiance to our Government, have failed. (Just received a letter from Capt. LeHardy that Bopu informed that the number of the deluded Coorgs had joined his party and there was no hope of the pretender entering Coorg. Bopu also reported of the steps he had taken to recall the people of Nalknad to their duty.) Sd.) Mark Cubbon, Commissioner of Coorg, Mysore."

The Kodavas March Ahead:

The Kodavas put up a good fight against the insurgents, and in fact, they in groups, hunted the rebels in the jungles below the Ghats. Dewan Bopu, who was the leader of the Kodavas wrote to the Government on the I5th April I837, that:

"-----It has already been brought to the notice of the Huzur that the people of Kanara and Guddemane Appayya came forcibly and carried away Madayya, the Subedar of Padinalknad. Subedar Mandayya, Nadikerianda Madayya, Appaneravanda Belliappa and Merianda Chetticha who accompanied the said Subedar returned from Kanara VIA Thodykana and sent me intelligence at Thavunad of their return-----.

"He informed that Aparampara was at Sulya and that he had been there and was set at liberty by Aparampara. Therefore, I am sending Mandayya and three others to you so that they will report to you everything-----."

Later, Sudedar Kollira Achayya, Parpathigar Kalappa and Koluvanda Devayya wrote to the Superintendant of Coorg, on the I6th April I837, that:

"We received your orders of the I5th April, which stated that:

"You will take all the men under your charge and capture I00 men of Kanara beyond Sampaje, and such as those cannot be seized should be shot or cut down with swords and killed-----You will march in two divisions and surround and kill them by ~~xxxxx~~ shooting or cutting-----This must be done this night, otherwise, you will incur disgrace-----You attack-----you will gain credit to yourselves and glory to the country. You will destroy them this day by strategem;after having destroyed them as above you will return and remain at your own post."

"In compliance with this instruction,we marched last night with all the men and having heard that rebels had taken shelter in a house near PANYA of Bachegaddey in Kanara beyond Sampaje, we surrounded the house with all the Nad people, which they knew, but before they could all stand up, we fell upon them and seized seventeen men, and out of the femaining 22, one was wounded by a shot and the other four escaped.

"They said that they belonged to Bellare, and not to Amara-Sulya. They had in their possession, five Coorg knives, one Todanga and one long knife-----.

"The ryots of Sampaje say that, "We shall not be spared here, and we and our houses will be destroyed because of our having brought Coorgs to commit this violence. Therefore we are in a great alarm. We have depended upon Coorgs, and the time for our ruin has come," said those villagers.

"Since the rebels may harrass these people, we suggest that these men are posted here to watch-----". Sd) Kollira Achayya, Koluvanda Devayya and M.Kalappa."

Col. Isacke, commanding Coorg, was informed on the I7th April I837, that about I,000 rebels were on the Somwarpet road, about four miles from Mercara. He was also told to watch the men and see that those were driven out. LeHardy told him that "It is better they are attacked soon. About 300 Coorgs are posted with a view to cut off their retreat".

Dewan Bopu- Earnestly Active:

Dewan Apparanda Bopanna was the man on whom the most of the responsibility was placed and he seemed to have been doing it very well. On the I8th April I834, he wrote Capt. LeHardy, stating that:

"-----The people of Padinalknad who had conspired with the rebels were at Todikana Pass, and I have sent men to bring them all back. The men whom I sent went to them, and on ~~giving~~ giving every encouragement to Mandira Uthayya, Mukkati Karumbayya, Annira Machayya, Kadekara Chennappu, Gowda Dasayya and others, about 250 men of Kuyyangeri-Nad, Bengu-Nad, Thavu-Nad, Nalk-Nad, and Kadietnad were conciliated and 220 of them have this day returned and joined my party.

"While these people were coming to me, Subedar Biddayya with some other men moved

moved forward on the road with a view of apprehending their chiefs, and accordingly the said Mandira Uthayya, Mukkati Karumbayya, Annira Machayya and others were seized, and these men, however, did not make any resistance. Out of the remaining thirty ryots only four have come back——The late Parpathigar Chinnayya, Karyakar Puttayya of Kedambady and Parpathigar Ramoo of Thavunad, have not yet been captured——I have kept five men in custody——Some of them are guilty of exciting disturbances——I wrote to Dewan Ponnappa to despatch about 200 men more but now the people of Padinalknad have joined me, and therefore, there is no need for more men."

It was known that the number of rebels exceeded 1000 men while the number of Coorgs who were active was only about 300 at that time. Of course, the 36th Regiment stationed in Mercara was behind the Coorgs, and Capt. LeHardy told Col. Williamson to march his troops to Ramnathpur, Arkalgode, Kodlipet and elsewhere. Capt. LeHardy's report to the Government on the whole campaign was very exhaustive, and on the 18th April, he wrote, that:

"I have just heard from Dewan Bopu reporting his having seized all the ring leaders of the conspiracy, and brought over 230 of 250 Coorgs who had been induced by them to side with the pretender——I cannot consider these tidings as important as the fact of these conspirators having been seized by the party which I sent out removes at once the doubts which were entertained not only by myself but even by Dewan Ponnappa and others Coorgs who have volunteered their services to suppress this insurrection, and I am now led to entertain most sanguine hopes that by their means I shall still be enabled to restore the country to tranquility in the course of a few days."

The Kodava Officers Did Well:

Proceeding, Capt. LeHardy narrated the conduct of the operations and then paid warm tributes to both the Dewans and other Kodavas who had taken active role in quelling the rebellion. In the above letter, he continued to state that:

"I received a report yesterday of a party of about 600 ryots of North Coorg with 200 of the rebels assembled at Bisle Ghat, being on their march to Mercara with the view of joining the insurgents of Padinalknad. They are now about eight miles from Mercara, and apparently waiting to know the result of Bopu's attack on the insurgents at Nalknad.

"I have sent out another party of Coorgs to endeavour to recall these ryots to a sense of their duty and give up the 200 men who have joined them from Bisle——.

"Dewan Ponnappa and other respectable Kodava in Mercara have earnestly urged the expediency of making an immediate encounter the ring leaders who have been seized by Bopu and Biddayya, and I consider it absolutely necessary that the punishment of these individuals should not be delayed——. Sd) LeHardy, 16th April 1837, Mercara."

To the Commissioner of Coorg Affairs in Bangalore, Capt. LeHardy wrote on the same subject, again on the 18th April 1837, as under:

"——If the retreat of rebels being cut off by the party of Coorgs, they sent a message to inform whether in the event of their laying down their arms, any hopes of mercy would be held out to them.

"——I informed through a proclamation that such of them as laid down their arms immediately would be permitted to return to their families, and directing that all the patels and men of Kanara who had joined them from Bisle, should be sent to Mercara.

"——I have much pleasure in reporting——that the ring leaders and another 119 men in all, of Kanara——have been seized and now in confinement.

"Out of 1,000 rebels, about 600 men were armed——Two Brahmins headed the party——245 matchlocks and 326 Coorg knives were found in their possession——The whole of the Coorgs who volunteered their services have been true to their promise in acting against the rebels, and they have done more in our cause and against their own countrymen.

"The conduct of that invaluable old man Dewan Ponnappa, during the very trying period, has been such to entitle him to my warmest gratitude. Indeed, it is impossible to say

say enough in his favour, for to his energy and activity alone, are we entirely indebted for the rapid and successful termination of these two insurrections, either of which might otherwise have been the cause of bloodshed as well as considerable expense to our Government——.

"The conduct of the Coorg officers too merits my warmest acknowledgments——and I beg to bring their names to the special notice of the Commissioner for rewards. They include, apart from Dewan Bopu, Subedar Mandepanda Monnayya, Mathanda Appacha, Kollira Achayya, Mandetira Subbayya, Jagirdar Mamoo, Munshi Manjappa and many others."

NIRUPA to the Gowdas:

The Superintendant of Coorg, LeHardy, gathered the Gowdas of Coorg who fought on the side of the rebels, and against the Kodavas. They were summoned to Mercara along with the ryots of Yedavanad and was told, on the 18th April 1837, as under:

"——You have taken part with the rebellious people of Kanara and assembled together with them, have come with swords and muskets——To put down this insurrection, I have given instruction to Subedars M. Monnayya and Kollira Achayya placing under their orders nearly 800 trustworthy Kodavas, and sent them day-before-yesterday to apprehend all without excepting even a child and to put a guard over you, and in the event of your not obeying them, to kill you. Besides this, to assist our Coorgs——a large force of the Company's troops with guns arrived at Mercara yesterday and orders have been issued to the troops to march by 9'0 clock today.

"But you have sent word yesterday as follows:
"We have foolishly complied with the request of the people of Kanara, but if we pardoned we shall live."

"I had very great pleasure in hearing this because for the last three years I have been in the habit of protecting you like my own children with great kindness, without aggrieving even a single ryot but always treating you with confidence, and up to this time your conduct has been without any blame——.

"Anyway since you have recovered your senses, we are glad that we can save your lives, and kindness will be shown to you on the following terms:——

"I have directed Subedars Monnayya and Achayya to allow all such persons as may lay down their arms on the spot where they stand and deliver them over to the said Subedars and to proceed to their respective houses. Such people who do not give up their arms, muskets and swords, and continue in a body before the Subedars to show their rebellious spirit, will not be getting any rewards or protection. The Gowdas who persuaded the poor ryots to join the rebellion ought to present themselves before the HUZUR in Mercara——It is known that there are 150 men of Kanara are with you and they possess arms. All of them should be brought to Mercara, and an enquiry will be made——If you act as directed, you will save your lives——."

Dewan Bopu's Reports:

Dewan Apparanda Bopu was the central figure in the whole campaign and between the English officials and the natives. On the 17th April 1837, he wrote to LeHardy, that:

"A man Thimmayya Shetty of Sulia was coming towards the Ghats. Madayya Subedar and others caught him and brought to me. When questioned, he said that he was a parpathigar of Sulia under Aparampara, and he was collecting rice. He further said that one Brahmin Naranappa, now a Subedar under Aparampara in Puttur, sent him to Subedar Madayya of Padinalknad who had lately seen Aparampara and had promised to gather people, and, therefore, he is going to him, he said. I am sending him to Huzur under escort, and after examining him.

"I have also captured a man of Noorambada Village in Padinalknad on account of his having proceeded to Gadi-nad and Yedavanad——with the letters received from Aparampara. One Subbu Gowda of Bengunad and one Sulletody Kunjappa also had seen Aparampara. In all, I have sent to you seven persons."

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In another letter of the same date, Bopu wrote to the Superintendant of Coorg, that:

"Now I am in Bhagamandala temple. There are nearly 700 men at Oometty, in Kanara. Subedar Monnayya went with one-hundred men but could not apprehend than. The Subedar of Mercara should be sent with his men soon. I have kept 400 men of Kiggatnad and Padinalknad and made complete arrangements that there can be no complaints, and I have admonished the men of Padinalknad. I am satisfied that these people would cause no more trouble. Only four of Tavunad joined me and the rest fled into jungles. Parpathigar Ramoo of this Nad, who went to Kanara, has not yet returned."

On the 18th April, reports came that Karyakar Mallayya, Bidhully Subbayya and sixteen other men excited the people of Yedavanad and Gadinad. Arms seized are 167 matchlocks, 259 Coorg knives, 74 powder horns, 65 Coorg knives, 78 matchlocks of Kanara people 68 Todangas, 3 daggers, 96 powder horns, 245 matchlocks, 68 Todangas, gun-powder, etc.

Munshi Manjappa wrote to LeHardy that he with others told the ring leaders that it was not proper that they should go there to take up arms against the hon'ble Sarkar, and he said that he had warned those ryots that they would be attacked and their houses would be burnt and so on. He asked them to lay down arms, and otherwise, they would be killed

"Maharaja" Aparampara's Letter:

As the reports on the campaign were pouring in, the office of the Superintendant of Coorg, was busy despatching the news to the Commissioner of Coorg in Bangalore and to the higher quarters. On the 21st April 1837, Capt. LeHardy wrote that:

"——I have much pleasure in stating that I continue to receive the most satisfactory account from different Coorg officials and commanding parties stationed along the frontiers. Subedar Monnayya sent eight prisoners in last two days. He intended to attack today a body of 200 rebels——Subedar Kollira Achayya proceeded with 200 Coorgs in the hopes of surprising the pretender who was reported to be near Sampaje while Dewan Bopu and Subedar Biddayya with 700 Coorgs are at Torakandy Ghat, surrounded a pagoda, supposing the pretender might have come to attend a JATHRA. But they failed to find him."

An interesting incident in this connection is that in Thavunad temple, four devil dancers, also called THIRALA in the Kodava dialect, danced and what they said was certainly revealing. They gave the NIROOPA to say that the ex-Raja who was exiled, himself organised this insurrection, and Dewan Bopu communicated this news with great interest to the people as well as the Government. In the meantime, some more regiments were brought into Coorg to meet the crisis when there was looting and urson at Puttur, Bantwal and other places. Soldiers were brought from Mangalore, Dharwar and Belgaum. M.Lewin, Collector, Mangalore, wrote that:

"Considerable execution was done on a division of the insurgents since there has been a second attack in which the enemy was repulsed——Whole of Bombay troops has arrived in Kanara in the ship AMHERST."

On the 20th April 1837, Collector Lewin wrote to Bombay Government that:

"——The large body of troops now coming into the Province will, I trust, not only put down the rebellion in Kanara but prevent the insurgents being joined by the disaffected elements in Mysore, Coorg and other border areas——."

On the 21st April 1837, Dewan Bopu wrote to the Government, that:

"——Yesterday I reported about my receiving intelligence that Aparampara's brother was at Sulia and that it was my intention to make an effort to surprise and capture him. I accordingly proceeded as far as Peraje temple where I allowed my people to halt for the purpose of refreshment. When they were taking food, two spies whom I had sent came and

and said that they were not able to ascertain where the pretender resided, but there were about 2,000 armed men in Sulia and 3,000 at Bellarepet——".

Another important aspect of the news was about a long letter to Dewan Bopu from the "Maharaja Aparampara Wodeyar", and this NIROOPA was addressed to both Bopu and Subedar Koravanda Biddayya, and no date has been found in the letter. "Aparampara Wodeyar" said, that:

"——The 18 castes of ryots in Coorg are the loyal guardians of the throne of Haleri kingdom. As soon as these persons hear the intelligence of this kingdom (meaning- the re-establishment of Coorg sovereignty) they will come into our presence and will obey such orders as may be issued to them. In full confidence in them, we, ~~who~~ till now had been in an unknown place. As I was going with a small force towards Mangalore against Company's people, our enemies, I was informed, that you and all the Coorg ryots, under the instructions of Dewan Ponnappa, had assembled in arms against us, in the vicinity of the Ghat and that you are still there.

"Therefore, I sent Singooru Subbu with other four men to instruct you whether you will be loyal to Haleri Samsthana or you mean to serve against us, sword in hand. When this message was conveyed to you, you greeted with much deference and the reply has been brought to my notice. On considering the expressions of fear and submission which you have avowed, showing the confidence you place in the protection of the Samsthana alone, there appears to be some suspicion because whilst agreeably to the NIROOPA of Kaveri Amma, directing that I should, by all means in my power annihilate our enemy, the Company, and becoming ruler of all nations, I am employed in war-like operations, ~~you~~ you, instead of coming to Sulia to pay your respects ~~me~~ to me, told Singooru Subbu that as that MAGANE is subject to Kanara, you could not go without the permission of the Company.

"We think that it was not proper on your part to say so, and, therefore, we hereby inform you that formerly your forefathers, during the days of BADAGU (North) were under the allegiance to my ancestors in four Nads (whole of Coorg), acknowledging their dependance on it alone for maintenance, and if you in the same manner will come and pay your respects to me your wishes ~~wishes~~ shall hereafter be fully accomplished."

Sd) "Maharaja Aparampara Wodeyar"- (Written from his hideout.)

Aparampara's Another Letter:

This mysterious "Aparampara Wodeyar" had found his abode somewhere in the Sulia jungles and his men taken Bopu's spies Subbu and twenty others as prisoners, and the Peraje temple also had fallen to him, said Dewan Bopu on the 23rd April. The captured spies had told Aparampara that over 1000 men from Coorg were marching ahead against the rebels. Out of them, 100 men of Kuyyangeri and Bengunad are in the charge of Kalmadanda Subbayya, 100 men of Mercara under Parpathigar Madeyanda Devayya, 100 men of Kiggatnad under Parpathigar Kalayya and another 300 posted at Thavunad in charge of Subedar Karneravanda Muddayya and yet some under Subedars Achayya and Biddayya. When this was the situation, Aparampara wrote another NIROOPA to Dewans Ponnappa and Bopu, Munshi Thimmayya, Subedar Achayya and others, and that letter seemed to have been of the 22nd April 1837. He said that:

"The SAMSTHAANA of Haleri that has been there since the time of Kaveri Amma took her birth in Coorg, was taken possession of by the English three years ago and they have made it difficult for the people to procure the means of subsistence and they have become impoverished by different ways.

"Agreeably to the orders of Shiva Mahadeva to punish those people and to protect our people, I collected the ryots of the Western parts and proceeded through Amara-Sulia as far as Pane-Mangalore. All people there joined me and troops were sent to attack the English troops stationed there."

Further he said that the people of Coorg were against him while those ~~the people~~ of the Western parts were faithful to their salt, the Haleri SAMSTHAANA. He also added, that:

"——Moreover, if you imagine that the English will suffice for this country and that the owners or heirs of the Haleri rulers are not required, you must write a reply plainly to that effect——In such case I will postpone going thither and I shall act according to the advice given by Kaveri Amma and Virabhadreshwara.

"You and all people of your departments have all along eaten the salt of Haleri, and behaved with loyalty. If you have still the same loyalty, all such persons should come and visit me. Means will be made for your protection. If you do not agree to this—— it is not reasonable for you to show enmity to the ryots who are dependant on me and to trouble them.

"You must write a reply for this. If you fail Kaveri Amma and Virabhadra will chastise you. You must consider this and all of you must consider this and all of you must behave with your former loyalty to the Swami or Lord.

"The public officers and people of Coorg are firm and brave. They can drive back as many troops as may be sent against them by these Englishmen——If you wish to enjoy your former SAMSTHAANA, write to me and drive out the enemy and place us in our Fort, and support the SAMSTHAANA, and its fame will attach to yourselves. I shall become your master and will protect you in every way.

"You must at all events write an answer as soon as possible." Sd) Aparampara."

The Kodavas Went Ahead:

Aparampara Swamy's letters did not have any effect on the Coorgs in general and the Kodavas in particular. They went ahead with their business of quelling the pretenders, imposters and fake Swamis. On the 26th April, Dewan Bopu reported that he advanced with his and the Company's troops and occupied Sulia. Mark Cubbon's letter of the 28th April 1837, was significant. He wrote that:

"——There would be a probability of a speedy termination of the rebellion by means of armed irregulars——Of all irregulars, the Coorgs must be the best adopted for this service not only from their distinguished valour but from their perfect acquaintance with every part of the rebellious districts, their ability to discriminate between the good and unfaithful subjects——.

"The 1200 armed Coorgs are now employed in Amara-Sulia in two parties, and have been directed to use their best endeavour to seize the pretender and his chief advisers—— They will remain there until the 15th of May when they are desirous of retiring to attend to their agricultural work——."

That was the way how the Coorgs reacted to the letter of "Maharaja Aparampara Wodeyar", another incarnation, probably of his ancestor who similarly manouvred to become the ruler of Coorg by cunningly posing as a Swami, and thus established his dynasty. The Coorgs very well knew that old story and they did not want the history to repeat. They desperately yearned for a change, and fought against the rebels unitedly. Aparampara's brother Nanjarajappa went to Bellare, and from there he tried to take back Amara, Sulia, Bellare, Panje, Dharmasthala and as far as Panemangalore. It was said that he was prepared to march into Coorg, and he had elephants and horses.

But the people of Kanara were really afraid of the Coorgs who, they thought, would kill all their family and children. One Puttayya of Yedenad joined the rebels. According to him, Nanjarajappa said, as under:

"Subedar Madayya took an oath on his sword that he would cause the Coorgs to render

render their assistance in capturing the Fort of Mercara. Now the Coorg troops have come to capture us. They have already descended the Ghats, and the Company forces also have come——".

This Manjarajappa had a few men with him, two elephants and some horses. When Bopu's men were at Uddoor, reports came that a good many men of Aparampara had deserted him and that he was planning to escape to Malabar. In the meantime, Kalyanaswamy, who called himself as a brother of Aparampara, intended to hide at Mahe. The British, in the meantime, had offered a reward of Rs. 10,000 for apprehending Aparampara and Rs.5000 for the ring leaders. The rebels who had advanced towards Mercara had to lay down their arms at Bisle Ghat and many among them escaped. It was found that the insurgents were losing everywhere, and Dewan Bopu's men took the collectorate of Sulia. Dr.Palmer was freed, and this doctor who watched the Kodavas at work and in action, wrote to the Government of India in regard to the employment of armed irregulars like that of the Kodavas instead of the disciplined troops.

Coorgs Seized Treasure:

By the 26th April 1837, it was clear that the pretenders and their followers had fled, probably to Malabar, and many of their men ran away to their own dwellings. It was reported that the Coorgs "fought gallantly". Two men of Yedavanad who were on the enemy side were captured. Dewan Bopu succeeded in seizing a treasure of Rs. 13,800 and a number of other articles of value which were buried in the jungles of Sulia. A relation of Karnik Laxminaranayya, a shanbogue of Bhagamandala, the parpathigars of Sampaje and Peraje were supposed to have been still hiding in Bellarepet, and therefore, Bopu and LeHardy saw that about 200 men were sent to capture them. LeHardy wrote to Mark Cubbon on the 28th April 1837, that:

"——Last night I received a report from Dewan Bopu conveying information afforded him by a person who had recently left the pretender——in consequence of an attack made upon him by the Coorgs at Sulia, he had dismissed his followers with the view of making his way with a few of the principal insurgents into Manjrabad and Nagar.

"——I have directed Bopu to proceed as far as he is able to do so, in pursuit—— I have informed about this to the Collector of Kanara and the Superintendants of Ashtagram and Nagar Divisions."

Mark Cubbon wrote on the 1st May 1837, to the Government of India, that:

"His Lordship-in-Council will observe that in consequence of the advance of the Coorgs under Dewan Bopu, the pretender has found it necessary to fly from the rebellious districts. By the latest accounts he was endeavouring to make his way into Nagar with twenty or thirty men——."

Thus it seemed that the whole story of the insurrection ended as the month of May 1837 emerged. Not only the enemies fled, a good many of them were later captured and tried and severely dealt with. Apart from the articles and arms collected by Coorgs in the form of booty, they also gathered some brass utensils etc through one Ramoo. The money, Rs. 13,800 was put in nine bags and was hidden. Later Bopu's men collected some small amount of money as well as some articles. On the 4th May 1837, Col. Green, Col. Williamson, Capt. LeHardy and Dewan Bopu reported separately to the Government that in lower Kanara district the insurrection was completely suppressed and the people were re-

returning to their villages. After the trouble was over troops were deployed as below:

In Mangalore- 450 ranks & file, in Karkala 250, in Kasaragode 250, in Puttur- 300, and in Bantwal- 200. Total number of men- 1450.

It took some time, thereafter, to know how these rebels managed to afford such a commotion and sensation, and from where exactly they derived their strength and so on. Capt. McLeod and hon'ble Mr. Dowren, were the two men responsible for preventing the insurrection from spreading to a wider area. Sulia and Bellarepet were under the peaceful possession of the Coorgs after the 1st of May 1837, and by the 10th of May, the reports reached the supreme Government that the rebellion was completely quelled. On the 18th May 1837, Government received reports from the people of Sulia and Puttur, requesting them to re-annex those taluqs which were now under the possession of the Coorgs. The examination and interviewed records concerning the pretender Putta Basava and his aide Kuknur Chinnayya who acted as his Dewan, were sent to the Supreme Government and their decisions were awaited in regard to the trial of all those captured rebels including Kalyanaswamy and Aparampara.

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CHAPTER V.

The Kodavas Were Amply Rewarded.

To Secure the Safety of People:

Thus an insurrection ended but with quiet calmness and with no bloodshed to an extent that was expected. If the Kodavas had not joined the British in quelling this rebellion of the non-Kodavas, not only that the rebellion would have continued for a longer time, the Kodavas themselves would have been lost an opportunity of showing their mettle and thus rising up as a prominent and significant race. It was after the termination of this insurrection, the Kodavas added an additional chapter to their glory, otherwise, all their past laurels were stolen away by the Rajas of the time. Those insipid and inefficient Rajas were called great just because of the gallantry of the Kodavas who had fought for them, but this time, this 'mutiny' of 1837 was a thing that was quelled by Kodavas and Kodavas alone, and with that victory they gained their stature, their prestige and their past glory. A few episodes require to be recounted here to see to the things in a clearer perceptive. If in Coorg Capt. LeHardy was guiding the operations, in Mangalore was M.Lewin, the Collector, and in Mysore, Resident Stokes and Commissioner for Coorg Affairs, Mark Cubbon. When the insurrection first showed itself as of some significance, M.Lewin's proclamation, dated the 16th April 1837, was as under:

"Whereas it has been brought to my notice that some of the ryots of Kanara, who have joined the party of Aparampara in rebellion against the State, have done so through the intimidation of the said Aparampara and his chiefs. It is hereby notified that sufficient troops have arrived at Mangalore to put a stop to the proceedings of the said Aparampara and to secure the safety of the inhabitants. Those individuals who have joined Aparampara through fear, is hereby notified, and the contents of this proclamation are hereby made known. No punishment will be inflicted upon those who withdraw from the party of Aparampara nor need they fear any punishment. Even after this proclamation if they do not retire but continue in the party of Aparampara it will be by no means be considered that they were induced by fear to join the rebellion and the severest punishment ~~with~~ then be inflicted upon them."

The rebels did not seem to have reacted favourably for these gestures, and, as a result the hide and seek game of the insurrectionists continued for over a month. Capt. Hunter and Lieut. Montgomery had firmly taken positions at Bisle and prevented the rebels from advancing into Mysore. Dewan Bopu was active in Sulia, and Putta Basava who posed as a brother of Aparampara was an object of an intense search all over. As to the Government measures, M.Lewin wrote to Fort St. George on the 2nd May 1837, that:

"------The assistance which afterwards came in advance from Bombay and Cannanore, soon placed us in a position for offensive operation. On the 16th April, Col. Green marched from Mangalore at the head of a force of 1200 Europeans and Sepoys and took up a position at Bantwal where he was followed by Major Everest, commanding Bombay troops---- Previous to the arrival of Col. Green's party at Bellare, Sulia had been taken possession of by Dewan Bopu whose troops released Devappa, the head Shirestedar,and the family of Mr. Palmer------." Sd) M.Lewin, Collector, Mangalore."

Services of the Coorgs:

Mr. Lushington, Asst. Collector at Puttur, wrote to the Superintendant of Coorg, on the 11th May 1837, that:

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"——You will take measures for securing the services of the Coorgs in the present positions until you have been able to contact with Mr. Lewin on the subject——It seems to me not improbable that the sudden withdrawal of the Coorgs without any measures having been taken for the maintenance of the tranquility after their departure might again throw the people of disaffected provinces into rebellion, and this opinion has become stronger since I saw the petition of Dewan Bopu and the rest of the people——".

Dewan Bopu's men collected an additional sum of booty, amounting to Rs. 4482/- from the jungles, and the total amount in money secured was over Rs. 20,000. They also captured the leading rebels like Doddatotada Subraya, Mandakole Subraya, Krishnayya- an official at Chembu and a Subedar named Naranappa of Peraje. It was Krishnayya who circulated Aparampara's proclamation in Coorg and it was to apprehend these men a reward of Rs. 5000 was announced earlier.

In Coorg there were Jama Coorgs, and they were holding land by a military tenure in return for the immunities which they enjoyed. "All able bodied men of this active and warlike peasantry constituted the Raja's military force which, though irregular in its organization, was kept in constant practice of its duties. These personal services of the Choudikaras or Coorg soldiers as guards for a period of I5 days at a time, enjoined by the Rajas and admitted by the ryots, were rendered with cheerful obedience. But the Rajas were not good, and they did not turn out things well. For instance, Rev. Moegling wrote on Lingaraja in these terms:

"He was the incarnation of the worst elements of the Coorg spirit. Greediness after gold- no matter how it was obtained, a bottomless depth of cunning, the most brazen hypocrisy, cowardice as abject as cruel and a strong dose of sensuality were united in his character."

It was in this tradition the Kodavas of the earlier days lived, and they were tired of seeing such rascals as their rulers. It was therefore they unitedly stood against the non-Kodava cliques organised by the ex-Raja himself before his exile, and which was fostered by his trusted lieutenants like Karnik Laxminaranayya and others. Anyway, the whole thing was now over. One of the first to be executed was the Bangara Raja, an instigator of the rebels. He was executed near Mangalore on the 28th April I837, and a few days later Putta Basava and others too were hanged. Ramappa, a brother of Laxminaranayya, was put to death by the order of the chief pretender. Puttur Krishnayya, Subraya and a few others of Peraje and Sulia were also related to the traitor, Karnik Laxminarayana, who was the master-villain among the hordes.

Dewan Bopu Rewarded:

"I write to thank you for the services that you have rendered the Company Government by releasing its public servants from the hands of the insurgents of Puttur and Amara Sulya, and have pleasure to enclose an order on the Bantwal Tahashildar for Rs. 500/- in testimony of the sense I entertain of your good service."

"Sd) J.M.Lewin, principal Collector, Mangalore, dated the 29th April I837."

This was a personal reward offered to Bopu by an esteemed British officer in appreciation of the services of Bopu in quelling the insurrection. But the Kodavas of those days were really of a warrior stock imbued with a spirit of service. They would have ousted the cruel Rajas of the earlier days if they had no trouble from the outsiders with whom they had to fight for a long time. However, now the time came when they happened

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happened to have gained their real freedom. However, Bopu wrote in return to the Collector Lewin on the 5th May 1837, stating that:

"It is a matter of great regret with me to accept the present because we did not offer our services with the desire of obtaining money, but simply from a desire to elevate the name of our country, Coorg, your reputation as well as our own——If the money is accepted, the exertions which we have made, the good name of the country and the reputation which we may acquire for our conduct would be altogether sunk. Under these circumstances, I beg to be excused from accepting the money and herewith I write this letter to the Collector Saheb that his excusing me from accepting (the reward) would be highly gratifying to my feelings——."

In another letter to the Collector Lewin, Bopu said that:

"——Neither I nor my countrymen offered our services for the love of money but from a desire to elevate the name of our country, to exalt the name of our ruler, Capt.LeHardy, to afford gratification to yourself and to capture the pretenders——and all rebels who have excited insurrection in Kanara——and by so doing the name of Coorg will be brought into distinction under the British Government——I beg that you will be pleased to excuse me from accepting the present of Rs. 500/-."

That was the attitude that the Kodavas had taken, but the presentation of a reward like this raised a mild controversy in the official circles. On the 23rd May 1837, the Governor of Madras, raised a point of order on that and asked how the reward was given and on what authority. He also told Collector Lewin, that:

"You should abstain from making tenders of public money without the authority of the Government except in cases in which the delay of a reference would defeat the object to be attained."

But the Collector J.M.Lewin made it clear that Rs, 500 awarded to Dewan Bopu was his private present to him. On the 20th May 1837, he wrote to the Government, that:

"——I am at a loss to conceive why with the fact before the Government of my having recommended money captured by Bopu to be made over to him amounting more than Rs.30,000, it should be supposed I had limited the amount of merit of the individuals as far as the Government interests were concerned to Rs. 500/——The private present having been declined (by Bopu) it has through Capt. LeHardy been applied to the purchase of a medal——"

The Conduct of the Kodavas:

During the earlier expeditions of Hyder, Tipu, the Rajas of Mysore or of the chiefs of Malabar, the Kodavas had shown similar characteristics of gallantry but the there are few records concerning those exploits, but luckily the enlightened British Government preserved the records of their time to the posterity and thus a detailed account is left to the modern readers of the past events. Most of the men who had been combing the area to capture the rebels were those who had also fought against the British three years prior to that in defence of their ex-Raja. Subedar Mathanda Appacha was one of them. He and Subedar Madayya of Yelusavirasime succeeded in capturing Putta Basava who was trying to pass himself off as Raja of Coorg. Subedar Monnayya reported seizure of Kuknur Chennayya, a chief rebel. Kedambadi Ramayya, another chief rebel, was still missing and men were after him. However, on the conduct of Coorgs, the Secretary to the Governor, Madras, wrote on the 20th May 1837, to the Commissioner of Coorg in Mysore, that:

"——To the conduct of the Coorgs under the orders of Capt. LeHardy and under the more immediate command of Dewan Bopu, the Governor attributes the early suppression of the insurrection. The knowledge which the Dewan possessed of the country, his means

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means of obtaining information and the nature of the equipment of his men, enabled him to act with firm decisions that baffled the rebels and procured the release of a British officer and his family. Many public servants who had fallen into their hands will learn with sincere satisfaction that the gallantry of the Dewan and his followers has been rewarded as recommended by you by the total amount of treasure which they recovered being made over to them as Prize Money and by their receiving such other marks of approbation as the Governor-General may deem proper."

As tributes were thus bestowed on the Kodavas, the combing operations seemed to have been successfully coming to an end. It was reported that"all is quiet at Manjarabad". Bopu had 950 men under him and had camped at Bellare. Col. Green and Mr. Lushington, the assistant Collector at Puttur, were also there with their troops. Bopu paraded his plain-clothed army to the amusement of all. C.H.Palmer who was caught in the jungles of Sulya along with his family and followers, had lost Rs. 250, and the property valued at Rs.3000 was also robbed. Palmer narrated his 'horrid experience' on the 29th April, that:

"——Those terrorists were shooting and killing men——I thought that the rebel Raja was defeated and those men were running for their life, and that they would soon put us also to death. Judge my surprise! I found myself suddenly set free; the ropes which bound my arms cut and we were surrounded by friends offering assistance and treating us with respect. I now found that we owed our deliverence from the hands of ruffians into which we had fallen, to your brave Coorgs. It is impossible to describe the kindness with which they treated us——In coming out of the jungle, we met your old Dewan Bopu whose delight at seeing us appeared to know no bounds——."

Thus, the Coorgs won approbation from all quarters. Now when the British officials discussed about the booty they secured, M. Lewin wrote in a slightly chiding way to the Secretary, Fort St.George Government, Madras, on the 6th May 1837, that:

"——But for the Coorgs that money would have lain undisturbed in the place where the rebels deposited it. The claims of Coorgs now laid before the Government, and I must think, be considered in connection with the general benefit they have confirred on the State. These may be summed up in their having restored districts to the Government which without their aid would not only now be in the hands of the insurgents but would long have remained with them——It is however a question why our troops could not do what the Coorgs have done." Sd) J.M.Lewin, 6th May 1837, Mangalore."

Some Revelations:

After the so called insurrection organised by the disgruntled followers of the Raja at the instance of the Raja and his minister Brahmin Lakminarayana, some more facts were brought to light involving some people in the gamble. On the 11th August 1837, the Raja of Mysore wrote to the Resident of Mysore relating to the plot attributed to the Dewan Ponnappa although this accusation was later proved as just a hoax. The Commissioner of Mysore Affairs wrote to the Government of India on the order about the 'prize' to Coorgs who had employed in active operation against the insurgents. He said that "all the money they recovered from the rebels" should be distributed among them as prize money, but, he added on the 7th December 1837 that the Coorgs declined receiving any pecuniary remuneration or other awards as authorized by the Government. One Lingay Gowda's deposition before the Collector Lewin of Mangalore, on the 16th October 1837, was as below:

"Aparampara and I started to go to Puthur but stayed in Subramanya in Koojagode village. About six months before 1834-expedition of Coorg, Aparampara came to Mangalore on a white horse. I was also with him. In Koojagode village we stayed with Appayya Gowda. Many people were going to see Aparampara with presents. He was not living with solid food but

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but took only fruits. He told people that after seven months the whole of the country will fall under his dominion, that he would remit to them two years' assessment and that they all must assist him------Three months after that he was seized by the English Government and then brought to Mangalore."

One Ramaya Gowda, a chief ryot of Sulya taluq, said that:

"The plot was laid long before its execution, and, its agents had worked so much in Coorg that there is sufficient reason to believe from that circumstance alone that it was generally known there. Putta Basava (another imposter) was in the Poomale jungle for three weeks.

"At the time of the outbreak of the mutiny, Karnik Laxminarayana was in confinement at Mercara and it is difficult to discern through what means he was able to serve the cause of Putta Basava. He is the only Brahmin who then occupied the station of Dewan and the circumstances which led to his removal from office had stirred up so much enmity towards him, Beeranna Banta, Ramaya Gowda and others."

From all these revelations it could be seen that the entire mutiny was organized by Karnik Laxminarayana with the blessing of the exiled Raja. People like Putta Basava, Aparampara and others were only the accomplices although they played a major part as leaders of the mutiny. The Kodavas kept aloof from this although they tried to implicate Dewan Ponnappa due to the reason that they found that Ponnappa was the best opportunist and a faithful aide of the Raja.

Land Grants to the Kodavas:

The Commissioner of Mysore & Coorg Affairs, Sir Mark Cubbon, wrote from his Bangalore Office on the 7th December 1837 to the Secretary, Fort St. George Government, Madras, that:

"------The Governor-in-Council would learn with sincere satisfaction that the gallantry of Dewan (Apparanda) Bopu and his followers had been rewarded by such marks of approbation of the Governor-General of India as he might deem proper------The Government of India awarded as PRIZE to the Coorgs who were employed in active operations against the insurgents of Kanara all the money which they had recovered from the rebels, but as the Coorgs in an address to the British, requested permission to decline receiving any pecuniary remuneration for their exertions. His Lordship has been pleased to direct that broad cloth and medals equivalent to the value to the amount recovered, together with various other presents including horses------shall be conferred upon them.

"In addition, I have the pleasure to state that I have received authority (by my Government) to bestow on Dewan Ponnappa and Dewan Bopu and on the subordinate officers and on the Jama ryots who took up arms or otherwise prominent in supporting the interests of the British Government, grants of land varying according to their respective rank and merits on rent free tenure in perpetuity, together with pensions to their most distinguished leaders for three lives with munificent and honourable testimonials of the approbation of Government, have been received by the people of Coorg generally with feelings of unbounded gratitude."

Capt. LeHardy's report on the conduct of the Coorgs during the mutiny, to the Commissioner of Mysore, Bangalore, dated the 14th July 1837, was as under:

"With reference to your letter, I have the honour to transmit the letters of Dewans Ponnappa and Bopu, in reply to a letter which I addressed to them communicating the Governor-General's appreciation of the zeal, courage and fidelity displayed by the Coorgs during the late insurrection and requesting them to arrange with principal chiefs in regard to the division of the treasure given up by the Government to be distributed amongst the Coorgs engaged against the insurgents.

"The Dewans express their gratification at the favourable light in which Government has been pleased to notice the conduct of the Coorgs and the very high estimation in which they and their countrymen hold the mark of approbation testified by Government in giving

giving up to them the captured treasure. They represent however that the treasure in question was not the property of the insurgents but money belonging to Government which the Coorgs have merely been instrumental in recovering that they were actuated in proceeding to Amara-Sulya by feelings of loyalty and devotion towards the British Government and not from any wish or expectation of deriving any pecuniary advantage by participating in the treasure which had been plundered, that they would gladly have availed themselves of the sanction of Government to do so had the money belonged to the insurgents. But as it did not belong to them they fear that if it be now appropriated in the manner proposed------on behalf of the whole of the Coorgs who were employed in suppressing the rebellion to decline its acceptance."

The Gesture of Dewans:

On the 11th July 1837, the Dewans- Cheppudira Ponnappa and Apparanda Bopu, wrote to the Superintendant of Coorg, Capt. LeHardy, as follows:

"-----We, the Dewans, the Subedars, the parpathigars, the Mukteshwars and the Patels, with the ryots invited together for the destruction of the leader of the insurgents, who had created disturbances in Kanara, and because we suppressed it and thereby prevented evil designs contemplated on this country, and also on account of our loyal and faithful services our devotion and bravery and those of the Coorg people generally to the Sarkar, the Governor-General, the Governor of Madras and Commissioner Cubbon have expressed their high feelings and satisfaction that they will not fail moreover to regard with a favourable eye and to reward the faithful and loyal services rendered by us and Coorg people, on behalf of the Sarkar, and that with their retention an order will hereafter be issued, that in the meantime, his Lordship has been pleased to issue an order for the purpose of distributing among the people who had been on field service, the amount----- we recovered------and we directed to cause the Subedars and Mukteshwars to consult on the subject and to make a report-----.

"We beg to state that we consider the favour of the Company's Sarkar a sufficient reward and that we and Coorg people will always be grateful and proud to be regarded by the Government as loyal, brave and devoted servants of the Company.

"The said hon'ble authorities and yourself are our protectors and rulers. It is impossible for us to express either in word or writing the great kindness and commendation which you have bestowed on us. It is our constant ~~ex~~ prayer to God Shiva Mahadeva that the Company Government may ever, in the exercise of kindness, protect us as at present------The high commendation kindly bestowed on us by our rulers are such as can never be forgotten. It is the earnest desire of us all that the Government of our protectors and rulers may be directly extended and more firmly established-----.

"If we take this (prize) money the good name now acquired by our country will be exchanged for disgrace. It will then be told by the people surrounding our country that we Coorgs attacked them from a desire to obtain money. If, therefore, the Company favour us by not distributing this money this disgrace will be avoided-----We herewith enclose a statement from the Subedars and parpathigars and Mukteshwars and Patels on the subject of not agreeing to accept the money-----".

"Sd.) Dewan Cheppudira Ponnappa and Apparanda Bopu for the people of Coorg."

A statement of the Subedars, Munshis, Parpathigars and Patels and ryots of Coorg said in a letter of the 30th June 1837, that:

"We are informed by the Dewans that they have received an order------on the mode of distribution of money to the ryots who had rendered active and zealous services during the insurrection, which they got from the insurgents and delivered to the Government. On this, we ten persons have come to this conclusion:

"We might with propriety accept the money had we taken it in war from a foreign country, or had it been the property of the leader of the rebels, but this is not so. Kanara and Coorg are both Company's territories. Certain wicked men created all this trouble and rebelled against (the glorious) Company and carried away the Company's money. On that account we quelled the rebellion-----and to gain good name to our country-----having done that, recovered the said money and delivered it to Sarkar. We have not suppressed

suppressed the rebellion from a desire to obtain money. We only discharged the orders of Sarkar———and to raise its honour———. Therefore, we respectfully beg that the distribution of the said money may be dispensed with, and that we may still be allowed the full enjoyment of the Company's favour.

Sd) the 32 citizens and officials and ryots of Coorg."

The Mutiny in Retrospect:

The cause for the Coorg expedition in 1834 and for the Raja's exile had begun even from 1823 or 1825, when the Raja and his aide Kunta Basava planned to kill those who had stated to have been a sort of rivals to the throne. It is due to this fear they killed Palanganda Chennavira, Devammaji and a good number of political opponents and even the children of the royal family. When the Resident J. Casamajor interviewed the Raja in 1833, in the month of January, the Raja looked uneasy. He ~~m~~ entertained a bed-maker of the Raja of Mysore, who had come on a secret mission of treason against the Company. He had tried to engage the service of a merchant of Mysore, Nand Lal Bharati, for the murder of Chenabasava and for opening of communication with Ranjit Singh of the Punjab. He succeeded in finding out a Sikh, of Lahore, called Lahore Singh, persuaded him to go on an embassy to Ranjit Singh. He secretly encouraged a rebellious Paleygar of Nagar to act against Chenabasava and the Company Government.

John Casamajor told the Raja to relax and reduce his cruelty. He said that Coorg was formerly under Tipu Sultan and that now under the Company with a tribute of an elephant instead of Rs. 24,000. When the Resident requested the Raja to treat Devammaji and others kindly he answered that he required no such admonitions, and Devammaji and all others ~~#~~ were dead long back. That was a lie because she and her sister Mahadevammaji were murdered just a few days before and her three children just before the British troops went to Nalknad. It was welknown that Kunta Basava and the eunach Mandayya roped Devammaji and her sister. These evidences were sufficient for the British to act against the Raja.

After the expedition of the British troops into Coorg, the Raja was convinced of the hopelessness of ever regaining his state. He then demanded the payment of the capital of Rs. 6,80,000- the inheritance of his cousin Devammaji whom he had killed. Of course, the British knew how to deal with that issue as well.

All the way from Mercara to Bangalore, the Raja brooded on the future course of his action as a result of his downfall and exile. It was then he hatched a plot with the Karnik Laxminarayana and some of his non-Coorg confidants on the subject of organising a revolt against the British. The entire secret of this plot that originated from the Raja himself, was of course revealed later on, and successfully quelled, ~~to~~ and out of which the Kodavas came out victorious and as strong allies of the British. But the Kodavas were still a frightened lot due to the centuries of oppression and terrorous reign, and Col. Fraser had aptly written on the 12th April 1834, that:

"Their (the Kodavas) minds are so abject and enslaved, that they (the Coorgs) dare not speak against their late Raja or they have not a motive for doing so."

On the 14th April 1834, Col. Fraser wrote, that:

"If we could succeed in dispelling the moral gloom that has weighed upon the spirits and faculties of the people, as a consequence of the wretched system of Government

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under which they were placed, an affect that, I am happy to say, is becoming daily more perceptible, I think the small district of Coorg will be found in its ameliorated condition a year or two hence, to possess many advantages denied to other parts of India."

A few days before that, on the 7th April 1834, Col. Fraser stated, just a day after his landing in Mercara with the expedition forces, that:

"The whole and entire power of the country and almost the very faculty of thinking seem to be concentrated in the Raja himself, and we shall continue to know little or nothing of the disposition and wishes of the people of Coorg until the utter and permanent abolition of the power of the Raja shall emancipate them from their present slavish fear."

The Kodavas Fought Well:

Apart from Karnik Laxminarayana, Putta Basava and Aparampara, M. Lewin, the Magistrate of Mangalore, wrote on the 16th May 1837 that Ramaya Gowda and his son were the most important persons in the insurrection. Kedampady Ramayya Gowda was faced by the men of Subedar Mandepanda Monnayya. On the 20th May 1837, Capt. LeHardy wrote, that:

"——The Kodavas who volunteered their services to assist in suppressing the insurrection having accomplished the object for which they took up arms, it becomes my duty to bring to the special notice of the Commissioner the names of officers and other individuals whose exertions have been most conspicuous——.

"The Commissioner is so sensible ~~that~~ of the eminent services rendered by the Dewans Ponnappa and Bopu, that it is unnecessary for me to bring them here under review——It is impossible to appreciate too highly the exertions of these two excellent old men, for to them in a great measure be ascribed the tranquility which has so speedily been restored below as well as above the Ghats.

"The conduct of the officers commanding the parties are: i) Subedar Koravanda Biddayya ii) Subedar Mandepanda Monnayya iii) Subedar Mathanda Appachu iv) Subedar Kollira Achayya v) Subedar Porikera Appayya vi) Subedar Karneravanda Muddayya vii) Subedar Chettolira Appayya viii) Jaghirdar Sabu Mamoo ix) Parpathyagar Madeyanda Devayya, and x) Parpathyagar Koluvanda Devayya.

"All these joined me on the first outbreak of the mutiny——Their zeal as well as readiness, alacrity and real goodwill which they evinced on all occasions in proceeding to the performance of the different duties on which I ordered them——. The following parpathigars and lower officers made themselves also on many occasions conspicuous by the zeal and gallantry which they displayed——I deem it my duty to bring their names also to notice for marks ~~of~~ distinction or rewards:

i) Parpathigar Thathapanda Subbayya ii) Parpathigar Mandetira Subbayya iii) Parpathigar Kochanda Doddayya iv) Parpathigar Guddanda Chittiappa v) Parpathigar Natolanda Nanjappa vi) Parpathigar Karera Subbayya vii) Parpathigar Mukkatira Nanjappa viii) Parpathigar Ajikuttira Kalayya ix) Parpathigar Charimanda Uthayya x) Parpathigar Kalmadanda Subbayya xi) Parpathigar Mukkatira Achayya.

"I beg also to bring to your special notice two of my Coorg Munshis: Hajur Munshi Mandepanda Thimmayya and Hajur Munshi Bittianda Nanjappa whose services I consider inferior to importance to only those rendered by the Dewans——All these exerted their influence among their friends and Nad people on the defection of the Coorgs of Nalknad. The Dewans have brought to the notice the conduct of their two Munshis: Ponnayya and Iychettira Aianna. Iychettira Aianna accompanied Bopu and distinguished himself in the attack near Sulia and later at Bellare. I beg to recommend Iychettira Iyanna for the same honourable marks of distinction for his gallantry.

"There are also a number of ryots and others who behaved with a great deal of gallantry in different skirmishes which took place between the 20th and 25th April 1837 near Sulia and Uddoor and at the foot of the Ghats. Some names are:

i) Bollampanda Muthanna ii) Ittira Mandappa iii) Pattamada Somayya iv) Maleyanda Manacha v) Phakroo Ali vi) Totera Maadu vii) Kanjithanda Appayya viii) Chuvachali Bhimu,

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ix) Ballachanda Ponnappa x) Annadi Thimmayya. The man who saved the life of Dr.Palmer is one Muthanna (36).------The ryots who were ignorant were misrepresented by the artifices of Brahmins of Talekaveri labouring under a superstitious dread of opposing the claims of a supposed descenadant of their Raja wavered for a couple of days------The respectable body who joined me in arms at the first outbreak of the rebellion and who signed the pledge------continued to a man faithful to their engagements------."

The Last Attack by Coorgs:

The last few days of the insurrection was described by many officers who took part in the operations. R.H.Chetfield wrote from Puttur on the 3rd May 1837 to Capt. LeHardy, that:

"------My proposal was that 400 Upper Coorg should be, if possible, embodied as an armed constabulary force for the preservation of peace near Sulia and Bisle Ghat.------Mr. Lewin proposes adding a detachment of Sepoys who might, if the Coorgs were required for jungle warfare, remain as a reserve guard in Sulia or any other stronghold where a residence for disciplined troops could be obtained."

On the 4th May 1837, Subedar Mathanda Appacha commanding a party of Coorgs in North Coorg, reported that a person styling himself as the Raja of Coorg had passed Uchengi on his way to Yelusavirasime. At that time, the Subedar of the defected Nalknad was Nerapanda Mandayya. Ramaya Gowda's role in organizing the rebellion was revealed by the Magistrate Lewin of Kanara on the 9th August 1837. It was said that:

"------In December last (1836), the Commissioner of Mysore and Coorg, brought to the notice of the British authority in Coorg in which a priest styled as Aparampara, Dewan Ponnappa and Subedar Koravanda Biddayya were stated to be concerned. The Superintendant of Coorg at first thought differently but on enquiry concurred with the Commissioner of Mysore in believing there was no foundation for the report and that it had been propagated by the Karnik Laxminaranayya and others------Capt. LeHardy sent men in small detachments of Coorgs to different stations in the frontiers------.

"Dewan Apparanda Bopu, with a party of 1000 Coorgs advanced into the Collectorate of Kanara, took possession of Sulya and Bellare areas, released Dr. Palmer and his family from the hands of the rebels. He recovered treasure to the amount of about Rs. 34,000 and a party of Coorgs under the command of Subedars Mathanda Appacha and Karneravanda Muddayya eventually succeeded in apprehending the pretenders who had been variously designated Aparampara, Kalyanappa and others whose real name was Putta Basava------Ramayya Gowda acquainted with him in Mysore three years before that, pushed the plan of insurrection to action------The first information of the events reached Madras through a despatch from the Commissioner of Mysore & Coorg, dated the 4th April 1837.

Subedar Mandapanda Monnayya and Jaghirdar Subbu wrote to LeHardy from Kanara stating that a few rebels had escaped. Subedar Madayya of Yelusavirasime and Subedar Appacha said that they have placed under guard Shivachar Putta Basava of Bilhada Hobli. On enquiry, the said Putta Basava said that:

"I was living in Kalavany village of Gadinad where Holykadu Nanjayya and Thimmappa, the son-in-law of Kedumpady Ramayya Gowda of Sulya, came to me and said that Aparampara Sanyasi was below the Ghat and he had told us to bring you there and that I should go there.------After the Coorgs and Company's troops ascended the Ghats all people in that part of the country made their escape while I and fifteen men came up the Ghat through the jungles."

The Normalcy was Restored:

After the short-lived revolt that shook the whole of Western India for some time with the British Indian armies alerted all over, the situation came to normalcy and there was peace. The people of Puttur again yearned to join to Coorg under the British administration. One F.C.Brown, a resident in Malabar and Kanara, wrote to the Fort St.George Government, that:

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Government that:

"------A Kumbla merchant who had been sent to Bellarpet to join the insurgents and who gave me the first intimation of the seat of disturbance being lower Coorg and that a number of men in arms he saw assembled was not more than 200-----I set out of Tellicherry to my property in the frontier of upper Coorg, and 25 miles this side------The most direct road is a short cut I made through the neighbouring jungle-----I would get news from traders or mail-runners coming from Virarajpet-----On the 8th April 1837, to my surprise, I found my doors beset before 7 a.m. by a crowd to have money given to them in exchange for it------Pepper and not money, is the medium of exchange best known to the people-----."

F.C.Brown, who had his property near Tellicherry, also wrote about the capture of Devappa the head-Shirestedar of Puttur by the rebels. C.R.Cotton, Commissioner of Kanara wrote to Fort St.George Government on the 6th February 1838, that:

"------I think there is a strong groud for supposing that the religious mendicants----- were employed by the conspirators who brought about the insurrection in Kanara and Coorg in conveying intelligence and communication to various parts of the country------The attention of the officers should be prudently directed to the conduct of the Jangamas and Byragis who traverse the country as well as of the occupants of the Lingayat Mutts of Coorg and Kanara and the western Province of Mysore because I think they have been and will continue to be engaged in aiding treasonable schemes against the Government-----."

W.Thornton, in his "British History of India", Volume V, says in a short footnote, that:

"The fugitive Paleygar who was an insurgent never had been in Coorg. The extension of protection to the Paleygar from Mysore was not regarded as proved.

"Piles of firewood were found in various parts of the palace, apparently collected with the intention of destroying the building-----but not attempted to-----.

"The occupation of Coorg opened to conquerors a vast body of evidence relating to the crimes of its former ruler, evidence of numerous murders- some secret, some public, some the off-spring of revenge, some the results of a barbarian policy. Women not less than those of the sterner sex, children as well as adults, were numbered among the victims of his cruelty. Of the royal house, not a single male, except the guilty Raja survived-----".

Thornton recollected the events as below:

"------In removing the monster, the former Raja, from the throne which he disgraced, the British Government conferred a valuable boon upon the unhappy people who had suffered under his misrule-----The annexation of the conquered territory to the British dominions is not, on the first view, so clearly justifiable but a few words of explanation will show that in this instance also, the right course was taken-----By the bounty of the British Government the Raja enjoyed not merely life but all the means of rendering life agreeable, save one-----atrocious crimes, tyranny and repression-----".

"Casamajor was deputed to visit Coorg. The Resident found the State as bad as imagination could have pictured it, and he made some representations on the subject-----The Raja denied the existence of discontent and repelled all suggestions for improvement-----In September 1833, Casamajor recorded a minute, declaratory of his conviction that measure should be immediately taken to terminate the correspondence with the prince-----The resident wanted to be relieved from the duty of carrying on communications with the Raja and so suggested that Mr. Henry S.Graeme, Resident of Nagpur, but temporarily sojourning for the benefit of his health at Bangalore, should undertake the task which he was anxious to relinquish------.

"Some doubt was thrown upon the accuracy of the information forwarded to the Government------The extension of protection to the refractory paleygar from Mysore was not regarded as proved and the Government of Madras deemed it advisable to abstain from any direct requisition for his delivery------."

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Again About Puttur & Amara-Sulya:

The future of the taluqs of Puttur and Amara-Sulya flared up again, and again there was discussion on those if those should be annexed to Coorg or to Kanara district. The Secretary to Governor-General wrote from Fort William, Calcutta, on the 25th September 1837, that:

"I am desired by the Governor-General to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th inst.——on re-annexing the districts of Puttur and Sulya into Coorg.

"In reply I am directed to acquanit you that under the existing circumstances, his Lordship fully concurs with the opinion expressed by the Governor-General that the re-annexation at the present period of those districts to Coorg would be inexpedient.

"——The principal Collector, Kanara, at the same time states "at the transfer of lower Coorg to Kanara a revision of the land assessment was in operation throughout the district and plans which had produced a feeling of discontent in Kanara were intended to have a most extensive operation "in lower Coorg".

"But I am desired to mark that at the period of the transfer it was distinctly provided that the assessment should undergo no enhancement——His lordship——may be informed what actual deterioration took place in the condition of the inhabitants of Puttur and Amara-Sulya after their annexation to Kanara whether arising from an enactment of the land assessment from their being subjected to the operation of the tobacco monopoly or from any other measure——."

Sd) W.H.McNaughton, Secretary to the Governor-General, 25th Sept. 1837.

A sum of Rs. 30,000 was sanctioned from the office of the Commissioner of Mysore towards the cost of the insurrection in Kanara, and towards the military operations. On the 19th August 1837, the Sedretary, Fort St. George Government, wrote that:

"——It would be highly inexpedient to connect the districts of Puttur and Amara-Sulya to Coorg. These districts are not separate taluks but form part of the taluq of Bantwal and Bekal with which they were incorporated in 1834. The population of those districts amounts to 2,29,474 and the revenue they yield to Rs. 4,22,687. The effect of the transfer would be to relieve this section of the population of the two taluqs from the tobacco monopoly and to place them altogether under a more lenient revenue administration than prevailed in Kanara.

"When Coorg and Kanara were under separate governments the people could understand why different fiscal systems prevailed in the two provinces, but now that both are under the same rule, it would not be easy to make the people of Bantwal and Bekal comprehend why their neighbours of Puttur and Amara-Sulya were allowed to purchase tobacco for its real value, whilst they they themselves were kept under a system of strict prohibition and rigid monopoly, and if it should come to their knowledge, that this great boon had been conceded in consequence of a demand made by persons who had been recently in open rebellion to the Government, the concession could hardly operate otherwise than as a baneful example.

"The Governor-General will observe that no complaint of grievances was made by the people of Puttur and Amara-Sulya previous to the insurrection in Kanara, nor had any report reached the local authority that a separation from Kanara was sought for——.

"The principal collection is however far from denying that such a wish exists, on th contrary, he thinks that if the people of Kanara had their choice they would prefer the simple form of administration which prevails in Coorg, their ancient judicial institutions and exemption from the tobacco monopoly to "our more rigorous system" of revenue and jurisprudence.

"The evils of our judicial system whatever they may be, are common to all the people of the Madras territories. The tobacco monopoly is rigidly enforced in Malabar and Travancore, as well as in Kanara, and the land assessment in Kanara is particularly moderate, and as all the land is a saleable property, it is perfectly just that payment of the full demand should be the revenue rule and remission for it only an exception——

"Up to 1831, Kanara had remained in the state described by Lord W. Bentinck, to be

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be in 1806, an example of tranquility of an easy and regular realization of the revenue and of general prosperity....."

The Beginning of an Era:

From 1837 to 1947, for a period of 110 years, Coorg enjoyed an era pf peace and tranquility. There were no wars, revolts or rebellions, and the small district prospered under benign British rule. The names of men who were rewarded, as already said, were the following, for their services during the Kanara insurrection:

Dewan Cheppudira Ponnappa, Kirgur Village,
" Apparanda Bopu, Padinalknad,
Subedar Koravanda Biddayya, Kolagdal village,
" Mandepanda Monnayya, Chembebeliyur Village,
" Mathanda Appacha, Bellumad Village,
" Kollira Achayya, Kolatodabaigodu Village,
" Porikera Aiappa, Padinalknad,
" Karneravanda Muddayya, Kadietnad,
" Chettolira Appayya, "
Jaghirdar Subbu Mamoo, Nalknad,
Parpathigar Thathapanda Subbayya, Kadietnad,
" Kochanda Doddayya, Kakkabe,
" Guddanda Chittiappa, Bittangala, Nangala Village,
" Natolanda Nanjappa, Padinalknad, Kadiatur Village,
" Karera Subbayya, "
" Mukkatira Nanjappa, Kunjilageri Village,
" Ajjikutira Kalayya, Kiggatnad,
" Charimanda Uthayya, Beppunad,
" Kalmadanda Subbayya, Kadietnad,
" Mandetira Subbayya, Nalkeri Village,
" Mukkatira Achayya, Badaga, Murnad,
Munshi Mandepanda Thimmayya Chembebeliyur Village,
" Bittianda Nanjappa, Marenad/ Bittangala.
" Iychettira Iyanna, Palanda Village or Halugunda,
Bollarpanda Muthanna,
Ittira Mandappa,
Phakroo Ali,
Pattamada Somayya,
Ballachanda Ponnappa,
Totera Maadu,
Kanjithanda Appayya,
Chuvachali Bheemu,
Maleyanda Manacha,
Annadi Thimmayya,

Apart from these main beneficiaries of land grants and other rewards there were some more people who were rewarded with medals, lands and political pensions. Those men had belonged to the different Coorg families, and in 1874 fifty-five men enjoyed political pensions granted for THREE lives, and their names as given in the list of 1874, were as below:

Cheppudira Subbayya	Rs.	600
Mandepanda Monnayya	"	180
Kollira Nanjappa	"	180
Mathanda Nanjappa	"	180
Bittianda Kariappa	"	180
Koravanda Ponnappa	"	200
Codanda Subbayya	"	135
Mandepanda Thimmayya		180
Porkera Madayya	"	135
Thathapanda Poonacha	"	120
Karneravanda Boluka	"	120
Khader Khan	"	120
Chettolira Kariappa	"	120
Koluvanda Kariappa	"	120
Mandetira Appayya	"	120

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Kodandera Medayya	Rs.	70
Kochanda Subbayya	"	70
Natolanda Madappa	"	70
Charimanda Kariappa	"	70
Chaurira Achayanna	"	70
Kandrathanda Appacha	"	70
Udiyanda Aianna	"	70
Thathanda Subbayya	"	40
Konachanda Nanjappa	"	40
Palekanda Kuttappa	"	40
Kambiranda Medayya	"	40
Thithira Poonacha	"	40
Koluvanda Kariappa	"	40
Mudera Chinnappa	"	40
Mukkatira Madappa	"	40

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Iychettira Kariappa	Rs.	I20	Tottera Ganapathy	Rs.	20
Ammanda Subbayya	"	I00	Phakru Ali	"	20
Kodandera Kuttappa	"	I00	Pattamada Somayya	"	20
Ajjikutira Nanjappa	"	70	Boladanda Nanjappa	"	20
Karera Nanjappa	"	70	Kanjithanda Nanjappa	"	20
Kalmadanda Somayya	"	70	Chovachali Cheeyanna	"	20
Mandepanda Kariappa	"	70	Maleyanda Manacha	"	20
Guddanda Ponnappa	"	70	Ittira Subbayya	"	20
Mukkatira Muddayya	"	70	Annadiana Kariappa	"	20
Mukkatira Uthayya	"	70	Konganda Kalayya	"	20
Amnichanda Subbayya	"	70	Ballachanda Ponnappa	"	20

Letter or SANNAD was given to each of these men in addition to the money. When they died, their eldest son got the pension but only ten per cent of the original sum. If one got Rs. I20, his son got only Rs. I0/-. Other than this, there was no other political issues to cope with after I837. Some of the members of the ex-Raja's family were all conveniently pensioned off. Devammaji, the sister of ex-Raja and the wife of Mukkatira Iypanna or Chennabasappa, lived in Appangala, and she was given a life pension of Rs. 3000 from the I4th October I834. 26 other members of the Raja's family at Haleri, including some workers, were all given pension ranging from Rs. I50 to Rs. 48/- a year.

The two old Dewans, Ponnappa and Bopu, retired shortly after I837, and after them there was no post of Dewan under the British administration. The Government divided the administrative work into different departments with British or European officials at the head of each of them. The Kodavas became the most favourable of the Government employees with the resourceful Kodava employees enjoying top official positions as Munshis, Shirestedars, Mukteshwars, Subedars and so on. As to the history of the Coorg administration after the year I837, a detailed report has already been given by this author in his earlier work of I953, "A TINY MODEL STATE OF SOUTH INDIA."

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CHAPTER VI.

Some Historical Facts in General!

Christians & Konkanis:

Viraraja the Elder gave protection to the fugitive Roman Catholics who fled from the claws of Tipu Sultan in I792, during the second Mysore War. The Konkanis incurred Tippu's displeasure more because they sided General Mathew during the seige of Mangalore in I783, and during the fall of Bedanore. Viraraja gave these Konkanis land in Virajpet, procured a priest for them named Father John de Costa of Goa, built a chapel, allotted 84 butties of paddy annually, etc. All those were Christians of Mysore and Mangalore.

Virarajpet was Founded:

Virarajpet was founded in I792 when the Raja met General Abercrombie on his march to Srirangapatna in I79I. In April I795, Viraraja the Elder took up his residence in Nalknad. Tippu, then maddened with revenge against the Raja, gained over his relative, one Lingaraja and some Coorgs to undertake the foul plot of shooting the Raja at a favourable spot in the jungle on his way to Mercara. The first attempt failed. Again arrangements were made to way lay Viraraja with the men belonging to Lingaraja when the Raja came from his Nalknad palace to Mercara for Shivaratri. The conspiracy was betrayed. Lingaraja and his associates were killed. The two conspirators with one leg cut off, were posted in Virarajpet to show Tippu's treachery.

The Raja Congratulated:

The Raja being a staunch ally of the British, received letters of congratulations on the Raja's providential escape, by the acting Governor-General Sir John Shore, and the Governor of Bombay, J. Duncan. Viraraja had no sons by his first wife, and therefore, he married for the second time in I796. The English Commissioner at Malabar and a Company of Sepoys honoured the wedding by their presence, and they included Alexander Bell of Calicut. Mahadevamma was declared Rani and that her children to succeed the Raja after his death.

Rajammaji and the Sode:

In I80I, the Raja contacted Basavalingaraja of Sode or Soonda in Goa to create a matrimonial alliance between his daughter Rajammaji, by his first wife, and Basavalinga, and wrote to the Governor-General about this and procure Soonda Raja three months' leave from the Portuguese Government. He also wished to settle one lakh of rupees of the property, held by him in Bombay Government paper, upon Soonda Raja who was poor, as Rajammaji's portion. The wedding took place in December I80I at Nalknad in the presence of Capt. Marriot of Mysore, and Capt. D.Foulis and Capt. Ashbourner from Malabar, and after the wedding and before the monsoon of I802, the Soonda Raja returned home.

The Western Maganes & Boundary:

In I804, Capt. Dennis Mahoney arrived in Mercara with a letter from the Governor-

Governor-General informing him that six Maganes of Kanara would be transferred to him by Ravenshaw, the Collector of Mangalore, in return for the supplies he had furnished and the services he had rendered. These districts added to Coorg on the Western frontier yielded about 24,900 pagodas a year. The boundary between Coorg and Mysore on Subramanya side was finally fixed by Mr. Pieis and Major Mackenzie. I90 stones were erected with the Company's mark on the top and written as Mysore & Coorg on either side.

(News came to Viraraja the Elder that his daughter Rajammaji of Soonda had a baby son, and he was named Sadashivaraja.)

A Communal Murder in I834:

The two non-Kodava inhabitants of Coorg, Ambu and Ranga, were accused of having murdered a Kodava, named Kallera Tipu, and severely wounded his brother Bhima, at Kalagdal Village in June I834, a month after Coorg's annexation by the British. It must have been the first trial taken place in accordance with the procedure of the British courts, and the Commissioner for Coorg Affairs in Mysore, recommended to the Government of India to carry into effect the sentences passed against the accused, and that was on the 27th July I834.

The Post of Dewans after I834:

These posts were continued. The pay of the Dewans were under discussions and till September I834 it was not raised. The issue of the reinstatement of Dewan Ponnappa who went after the Raja up to Bangalore, was also under consideration, and the Government had to wait for the land assessment reports from the annexed taluqs of Puttur and Amara-Sulya. On the 2nd January I837, the British inquired if there was any truth on the charge that Dewan Ponnappa's agents instigated the mutiny to subvert the British authority. It seemed that Karnik Laxminaranayya plotted the whole thing and put the blame on the Kodava Dewan. The truth came out, and Laxminaranayya was arrested in Marcara and later kept in custody in Bangalore from May I837.

"Lingaraja's Heart Was on Money":

The heart of Lingaraja II was fully set on the money which was in Bombay (Rs. three lakhs) and in Madras (Rs. 5.50 lakhs), in I8II, and he was busy in smoothing the way for the appropriation of the treasure. Some deputies were sent to Madras (with presents) to the Governor to demand the interest of the sum deposited in the Company's treasury. The Accountant-General first demurred to the payment of interest into the hands of another person but an accredited agent of the owner of the bonds, Devammaji. Lingaraja represented that his brother Viraraja had left this large legacy to his daughter because he intended her to succeed to the throne, but since he himself was now charged with the Government, he must protest against any private member of the family being considered proprietor of so considerable a portion of public funds.

Lingaraja II Finally Succeeded:

Lingaraja tried to appropriate Rs. three lakhs of Bombay funds when the Company reduced the interest on the public loan. He took this opportunity to sell Rs. 3 lakhs of Viraraja

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Viraraja the Elder to M/S Forbes & Company who demanded cash payment by the Government. Here also the treasury objected, and then the references were made from Bombay and Madras to the Supreme Government on this subject of Coorg bonds. The Governor-General declared that he reserved settlement of the question for the future. When Devammaji attained majority it would be time to see whose property in the Madras funds was. In the meantime, Lingaraja might draw the interest as guardian or regent of Devammaji. As to the Bombay funds, Lingaraja should prove his right, and these restrictions and judicial investigations were not liked by the Raja, and at last he succeeded in appropriating the bonds to himself. As to the Madras bonds, the Binny & Co., drew the interest every year for the Raja of Coorg, and this practice continued till 1833.

Lingaraja II- the Master Villain:

The story how this man had come to power had already been stated at length. By the end of the year 1812, he had succeeded in all his plans and had taken possession of his inheritance of his late brother Viraraja. The legacy left to Devammaji by her father had now become Lingaraja's since the property of the Rajas was always considered as State property and no indivudual of the royal family could bequeath them. With all that, Lingaraja had felt uneasy from time to time. That was why he abdicated earlier in order to protect his son's interest and raised his son to the throne in his lifetime. Kunta Basava is Lingaraja's gift to his son who continued the evil designs of his father. The first thing that Lingaraja must have told Kunta Basava was to assist his son to liquidate Devammaji and other royal relations including children so that his son's position would be safe. Indeed, that vicious plans ended with disastrous effects.

Col. P.Lindsey's Movement into Coorg:

The success of the Coorg expedition in 1834 was mainly due to military planning of Col. Lindsay. After entering Coorg, the British troops camped at Hebbale on the 2nd April 1834 on the banks of the Kaveri. He wrote that: "No casualties on either side. On the day they camped at Harangi and some skirmishes took place. My force attacked and took Kanive pagoda (temple) and affected passage across the Ghat." On the 4th April, Colonel Lindsay camped at Jambur, and finally on the 6th, the entire British forces reached Mercara and took possession of the fort without opposition. The British flag was displayed on the fort walls. The troops were much harrassed during last two days because of the hills and jungles. The fort was vacated by orders of the Raja before the British army arrived there, and Col. Fraser was in full command of Coorg on the 6th April 1834.

Some Statements of Accounts:

Military stores at Bangalore and Cannanore were ordered for a long list of things like grape shots, ammunition, ropes, knives, pickaxes, billhooks, etc. The total expense for a period of six months for the army and civil service from 1834 April, was estimated at Rs. 12,81,300. The Eastern and Northern column troops had cost the Government for a period of two months in April and June- Rs. 2,17,000. From then on the salary payments

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were made promptly to the native civil servants and military men in Coorg. From the 1st August 1839 to the 31st March 1840, a sum of Rs. 1,29,729 was disbursed on the salary payments alone. Darasha Kaustaji was a noted sandalwood merchant from whom a sum of Rs. 48,650 was due to the Government in 1838, according to Capt.LeHardy's letter dated the 14th August 1837.

The ex-Raja's Affair in Benares:

A letter from the India House, London, dated the 20th January 1840 said in reply to a certain query, that: "Considering it necessary that Capt.Carpenter should be retained with the ex-Raja (the time of the Magistrate of Benares fully occupied), you have, we perceive, appointed that officer as deputy collector and Joint Magistrate at Benares with a consolidated allowance of Rs.1000 per month and an allowance of Rs. 225/- for his establishment as Superintendant of the ex-Raja. We cannot approve of this------If it be necessary on account of Capt. Carpenter's knowledge of Kannada language, to retain him as Superintendant of the ex-Raja, it would be better to give him an adequate salary for that office alone------We have already sanctioned the grant which you have made of a sum of Rs. 10,000 to provide furniture and other comforts to the ex-Raja of Coorg. We are happy to find that the measures of emancipating the Government slaves has been successful. The persons so emancipated have conducted themselves well-------".

The East India Company on Coorg Booty:

A Government communique from England stated that: "------We do hereby give and grant to the East India Company all such booty and plunder, stores, provisions etc taken during the hostilities in Coorg, and also all such ordnance and military stores taken possession in the fort of the Raja of Coorg, in trust as to one half part of the value thereof for the proper use of the said Company, and as to the other half part thereof in trust for the use of commander, officers and men belonging to the army employed in the hostilities, to be distributed to amongst them according to the usage of the Army in India.....We shall be pleased otherwise to order, hereby reserving to ourselves to make such order therein as to us shall seem fit. GIVEN AT OUR COURT AT SAINT JAMES'S THE 6th day of June 1835, in the fifth year of our reign."

Some Changes Were Made in Coorg:

During the journey of the ex-Raja from Vellore to Benares, a medical officer was nominated to accompany the camp of the ex-Raja to whom the compensation for loss of regimental staff salary was granted, and the fact was discussed with the Raja of Goomsur of Vizianagaram through which territory the ex-Raja of Coorg passed, in about the October 1836. The detachment at Mercara was withdrawn by an order of the 24th October 1836, and it was ordered to join the Company at Cannanore and all Ordnance stores at Mercara be removed to Bangalore. Dr. Baikie, a Suregeon of the 36th Regiment was appointed Civil Surgeon of Coorg in November 1836, and one Dresser Chinathamby was transferred as a vaccinator. Small pox and malaria were the two diseases that required the immediate attention of the new Government despite the movements of the people in and out of Coorg. For instance, as early as

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as 1791, Viraraja the Elder has gone as far as Tellicherry, 1809, Lingaraja's emissaries have gone as far as Madras and in 1820 the then Raja himself wrote on the 8th December of that year"for permission to go to visit Subramanya temples and that the Collectors of North Malabar and Kanara be authorizedto show every attention to His Highness."

Minutes of the Directors on Prize Money:

The minutes of the Directors of the East India Company, dated the 30th August 1837, said that: "Resolved that the return of the European officers and men of His Majesty's service whose shares of Coorg Prize Money remain unclaimed having been received from the Madras Government, the amount due to His Majesty's troops, viz, Company's Rs.2,46,076 be comfortably with usual practice made over to the Royal Hospital at Chelsea on account of the parties interested, and that of the amount due to the Company's officers and soldiers, viz Company's Rs. 17,315- the shares due to the former be paid by warrants when applied for those to the latter, discharged by the cashier. The Deccan, Bharatpur and Kittur Prize Monies were ordered to be discharged at the bullien value of the rupees deducting charges of remittance-------."

The Coorg Prize Roll- the 8th September 1837:

i) the Regiment of Sappers and Miners ii) the 4th Regiment of Native Infantry iii) 24th Regiment of Native Infantry iv) 20th Regiment of Native Infantry v) 40th Regiment of Native Infantry- total Rs. 17,315.

Col. Davis Foulis & Col. Gilbert Waugh- each got- Rs. 27,930x2= 55,860
Col.G.M.Stuart, Col. Jackson, Cool.M.Cubbon, Col.Fraser- each got- Rs.16,757x5=83,785
Col. J.L.Trewman also got- Rs. 16,757x1= 16,757
Major Steele, Major C.M.Bird, W.Bradford and M.Tweedie- each got- Rs. 11,172x4=44,686
38 officers were paid at the rate of- Rs. 5,586, each.x38= 2,12,234
About 92 men and officers were paid at- Rs. 2,793 each.x92= 2,56,896
About five men were paid at Rs. 698 each.x5= 3,480
About twelve men were paid at- Rs. 140 each,x12= 1680,
About six were paid at Rs. 93/- each and about 125 were paid Rs. 46 each.-total- 6,373/-

The total amount of money distributed was Rs. 6,64,995 to 289 men in all, as could be seen after multiplying the above sum with the number of men derived benefit. All this amount was paid between August and December 1836.

Bombay Government Secret Communications:

31st Oct. 1837: From the chief secretary an extract from the memorandum of intelligence obtained at Bombay respecting the intrigues of the Habshee chief of Jinjira, in connection with the late insurrection at Mangalore & Coorg.

9th January 1837: From the Resident of Mysore relating to the arrest of certain people in the service of the Raja of Mysore who are considered as accessories to the intrigues in Coorg.

5th February 1837: From the Resident of Mysore that the Raja of Mysore was gratified that his conduct in regard to the part he acted in the conspiracy had been thought worthy of notice of the Governor-General of India-----.

11th March 1837: From Col. Cubbon, Commissioner for Coorg Affairs, addressed to the Collector of Trichinopoly that the Jangama Aparampara had held some communications of a seditious nature with another Jangama, a follower of his.

23rd March 1837: From Binny & Company requesting an answer regarding the promissory note for Rs. 6,53,940 standing in the name of Devammaji, the daughter of the late Viraraja Elder of Coorg.

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23rd October 1837: From Binny & Co stating that they were anxious to get the Government promissory note in the name of late Devammaji------but if they decline, the only course then left is that they presume will be to advertise the Bond on the different papers of the three Presidencies------(Madras, Bombay & Bengal.)

19th December 1836: From Col. Mark Cubbon, forwarding deposition to the rumour that a plot had been projected to subvert the British Government in Coorg and expressing his conviction that the report is utterly false and unfounded. (But in about a month afterwards it became evident that the rumour was true.)

The Raja Permitted to Go to England:

To the Superintendant to the Raja of Coorg: "Sir, With reference to the correspondence on the wish of the ex-Raja of Coorg to send one of his daughters to England for the purpose of receiving a Christian education and his desire to accompany him thither, I am directed by the Governor-General-in-Council to inform you that the hon'ble Court of Directors, to whom the matter had been referred, has been pleased to consent to the visit, and to sanction the Raja's absence from India for one year, with the understanding, however, that the Government are to be put to no expense on his account.

You are requested to intimate to the Raja, the hon'ble Company's decision, and make such arrangements for His Highness's journey as he may desire, reporting the same for the information of the Government.

Sd) H.M.Elliot, Secretary to Government of India, (Foreign Department) dated the 25th Kuly 1849, No. 1487. Fort Williams, Calcutta, dated the 21st August 1849.

The Raja's Intimation to the Government:

As it occurred to the Raja that his visit to England determined upon ~~him~~ for a very important purpose, might afford him an opportunity of bringing before the Home Government certain pecuniary claims which he had against the East India Company, he communicated the circumstances to the late Major Stewart, the Governor-General's Agent at Benares who suggested that in order to prevent any doubts arising as to the openness and straightforward character of the Raja's proceedings, he should apprise the local Government of his intention to do so. In accordance with his advice the Raja formally intimated the same to the Governor-General two months before his leaving Benares. The letter of the 8th October 1951, said that:

"You are aware that I have taken leave to go to England on account of my daughter. On my arrival in that country, I intend to represent there those of my circumstances which I have already done to your Government. I have therefore informed you on this considering you as my great friend. Sd) Viraraja.

On the 10th October 1851, the Raja received an acknowledgement to his above letter.

The Expense of the Journey to England, etc:

On the 11th December 1850, the Secretary to the Governor-General wrote on the subject of the arrangements for the departure of the ex-Raja of Coorg to England, as below:

"The Raja should be informed that he is deposed and is under the charge of the Government agent at Benares, and it has been a matter of favour that permission is granted to His Highness to proceed to England. The necessity of an Englishman accompanying the Raja is also approved by the Government; that man should be a gentleman, and possessing the confidence and under the control of the English Government. No other Englishman should be allowed to accompany the Raja but the person who is selected by the Government

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and who may be going on a furlough to England. An engagement should be entered into by that gentleman that he should return to India after a year with the Raja. The expense of his journey should be incurred by the ~~Emmgx~~ Raja, and on receipt of this letter the Raja should be distinctly informed that the expense of his journey should be entirely incurred by him, and no Englishman without the approval of the Government shall be allowed to accompany him——".

On the 4th September I05I, Major Stewart wrote that Major Drummond of the 3rd Bengal Light Infantry, had been appointed to accompany him to England, and the Raja in his reply, expressed his satisfaction at the selection of that gentleman, "for, and I, of my own accord, engaged any other one for the ~~pix~~ purpose, I should have been obliged to incurr the expense, but, as he is appointed by the Government, I am relieved from it, for which I am very grateful."

The Raja Was told to Pay all Expenses:

Major Stewart was determined that the Raja should not remain long in his ~~xxxxxxxx~~ agreeable error, and wrote the very next day to say that His Highness was much mistaken in supposing that the Raja "would incurr no expense on account of Major Drummond, for that on the contrary, he must bear all his charges, and that if High Highness was not disposed to pay them, he (Major Stewart) would report his refusal to the Government and prevent him from going to England.

It was said, that "This selection of Major Drummond——was not going on furlough, might afterwards become the subject of animadversion, Major Stewart most dis.ingeniously endeavoured to make it appear that he had mentioned the name of Major Drummond to the Government at the Raja s request, an asseryion which High Highness denied most emphatically. The Raja now requested Major Stewart to inform him what would be the nature and amount of the charges he was to incur on Major Drummond's account. The Resident, as of desirous of leaving his friend as wide a margin as possible, declined giving an explicit answer but took the opportunity of notifying His Highness that he would ALSO HAVE TO DEFRAY MRS. DRUMMOND'S PASSAGE TO ENGALND."

The Raja was Heavily Charged on all Counts:

In continuation, the report said that: "The Raja naturally indignant at such an imposition remonstrated with Major Stewart upon the subject, representing to him that as he (the Raja) had already selected competent female attendants for his daughte he had no need whatever for Mrs Drummond's services. His expostulations as might be expected, were again met by the threat of his journey being prevented, and he had, therefore, no alternative but to acquiese.

Major Stewart subsequently notified to the Raja that the expense he would have to defray for Major Drummond were:

One year's salary- £ 960, passage money from Benares to England and return passage money together for Mr. & Mrs. Drummond- £ 4I6. Total £ I376.

The whole incident was described in the book by "An OFFicer" written in I856, who said that:

"If a desire to oblige his friend may be urged as an excuse for Major Stewart, in thus saddling the unfortunate Raja with such an expense for a twelve-month trip to England, surely there can be no justification be found for the East India Company's having sanctioned so monstrous a charge- a charge further increased by an item of £ 395 for hotel charges, made by Major Drummond as incurred by him at Mivart's establishment in London, where he and Mrs. Drummond had remained from the 28th May I852 to the 2nd May I853."

The Court of Directors Declinedd to Reduce:

The whole matter was later on taken to the Court of Directors of the East India

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India Company were informed of this unjust burden that was loaded over a political prisoner like the ex-Raja of Coorg, and the Raja's lawyers in England took this case to the Directors of the Company in about December 1856, praying to compell Major Drummond to refund the money that was deducted as his allowance from the ex-Raja, which included the Major's expenses at the Mivert's Hotel, However, by a letter of the 9th March 1857, the Court of Directors declined to accede to the ex-Raja's request enclosing Major Drummond's letter in reply to the Raja's memorandum. (The rest of the story concerning the Raja could be found in the other records gathered by this author).

Soon after his arrival in England, the Raja got his daughter Gowramma baptised in the presence of Queen Victoria. The function was held on the 30th June 1852, and performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Queen stood sponsor for her and gave her the name- Victoria. From then on the Raja felt strong in royal favour and later commenced a Chancery suit against the East India Company for the recovery of Rs. 6,80,000, but the case dragged on taking a weary course, and in 1858, the Government of India was placed under the Crown and the Raja's suit fell to the ground.

Rev. Moegling's Conclusions in his "Memoirs":

Rev. H. Moegling wrote his "Coorg Memoirs" in 1853. He said:

"Kodagu has been anglicised into Coorg; when and by whom I am unable to tell."

As to the origin of the Kodavas, Rowlandson opined that the Arab emigrants established themselves in Malabar in the time of the Ummayide Caliph (705 A.D.) and the Tankamara, Nankamara ALIAS Nagamara ALIAS Kurks (or Turks), were related to Kurgs (or Coorgs)- an inland people.

Moegling had this to say when Gowramma was baptised:

"The judgments of God have descended upon the race of the Rajas. Their history had ended in infamy and exile. Yet in the midst of judgement, He has remembered mercy. A child of this house (of the ex-Raja) has found her way into the Church of Christ, the Queen Victoria, sovereign of the greatest empire of the world has not been ashamed to bestow her name and affection upon a daughter of the last of the Haleri Rajas. An auspicious omen for Coorg."

Allowance to the Raja as discussed in 1847:

Minute by hon'ble Mr. Millett and hon'ble Sir F.Currie, dated the 5rd August 1847:

"In 1841-42, Government of India decided that the ex-Raja's claim to the Government promissory note for Rs.6,53,940 could not be recognised. That decision must, we think, be deemed final, unless instructions are received by the hon'ble the Court to reconsider it.....The total receipts of the district of Coorg from 1836-37 to 1845-46, were Rs. 19,56,254 and the total disbursements for the same period, Rs. 16,70,467, leaving a surplus of Rs. 2,85,786 from which must be deducted Rs. 14,000, extra disbursements on the Raja's account recently sanctioned which reduces the surplus to Rs. 2,71,786. The annual surplus revenue excluding the disbursements on the Raja's account, will probably be Rs. 60,000. I presume that the statement from which the above results are deduced- contain the receipt and charges of that portion only of the Coorg territory now farming the district of Coorg, and which was an important part of the Raja's country.

"But there are, besides the districts of lower Coorg, incorporated with the district of Kanara. In consideration of the above circumstances and the necessities of the ex-Raja, as represented by Major Carpenter, I concur to the President's proposal to allow the Raja a fixed stipend of Rs. 5000 per mensem; and as recommended by Major Carpenter, I would grant him a bonus of one month's allowance to enable him to enter upon the management of his own affairs free from embarrassment."

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Reports from the TIMES, LONDON, on Gowramma:

The London TIMES, dated the 29th July 1852, reported that:

"The Young Princess of Coorg: The superintendance of the education of the young Christian princess of Coorg has, we understand, been transferred from Mrs. Drummond to the Viscountess Hardinge, who will assume charge after the departure of the Raja, which is at present fixed for the autumn."

The other reports in the TIMES, London, were on the 29th July 1852, captioned as: Young Princess Under Lady Hardinge; on the 17th May 1852 captioned as "Coorg Raja Writes to the Queen", and on the 19th June 1852, which said: "Coorg Raja Writes to the Archbishop" of Canterbury.

Some other leading dailies that referred to the Raja, were the DAILY NEWS of the 18th November 1856, the MORNING POST, dated the 2nd July 1856, and about the reports of the House of Lords where the Raja's case was discussed. Milner Gibson spoke about the Raja's case in the House of Commons on the 8th July 1856.

(The Raja's article in the MORNING POST, captioned as "Christianity in India" and some other published material about the Raja and his daughter, have all been collected by this author and incorporated in his collected records on Coorg and which are now preserved at the Mercara Fort Museum and Library.)

A Letter from the Government: 25th July 1856:

RETURN: To an order of the House of Lords, dated the 25th July 1856, for copies or orders of the India Government respecting the amount and conditions of the allowance to be made to the deposed Raja of Coorg.

East India House, Sd) James C. Melvill,
the 16th Feb. 1857.
(Ordered to be printed- 10th March 1857.)

No. 1 Extract Foreign letters from the Government of India to the Court of Directors, dated the 7th October (No. 60) 1848.

118. With reference to Para-s 111 to 113 of our general letter, No. 9 of 1848, we transmit herewith further correspondence on the subject of the ex-Raja of Coorg.

119. The plan submitted by Major Carpenter for improving the ex-Raja's circumstances embraced three points, viz. i) The desire of the ex-Raja to be removed from Benares to some place in the Madras territory, ii) The inadequacy of the amount allowed for the support of the ex-Raja and his family, and, iii) the amount (estimated at Rs. 14,000) by which the ex-Raja's disbursements had exceeded the sanctioned sum. The consideration of the first question led to the correspondence reported to your hon'ble Court in our letter quoted above. With advertance to the general state of the receipts and disbursements of the district (as exhibited in the statements furnished by the Accountant to the Government of Bengal, a copy of which forms one of the collection of papers noted on the margin), a disbursement of Rs. 14,000 in charge of the estimated accumulation of the ex-Raja's debt, was authorised. As regards the other question, it appearing that the probable surplus revenue of the Coorg territory might be estimated at future, at about Rs. 60,000 per annum, the ex-Raja, in consideration of the circumstance, and of His Highness's necessities, was allowed a fixed stipend of Rs. 5,000 per mensem, together with a bonus of one month's allowance at that rate to enable him to enter upon the management of his own affairs, free from embarrassment.

No. 2. EXTRACT POLITICAL LETTER from the Court of Directors to the Government of India, dated the 18th April (No. 14) 1849.

Foreign Letters from the 7th October (No. 60) 1848 (118, 119 and 111 and 113 of the letter, dated the 7th Feb. (No. 9)1848; Ex-Raja of Coorg.

79. The ex-Raja did not, at first, draw a pecuniary stipend, but his expenses were defrayed by the Government a maximum of expenses (Rs. 3915½ per month) being fixed

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fixed for this purpose, which Major Carpenter had found it necessary to exceed, until the over-payments reached the amount of Rs. 14,000. You have now cancelled that debt, and, in conformity to the opinion of Major Carpenter, you have determined to grant to the ex-Raja for the future, a specific monthly allowance. That allowance you have fixed at Rs. 5,000 and you have besides given him a month's allowance as a fund to start with, in order that he may have no excuse for getting into debt. We sanction this arrangement."

THE TIMES- 24th July 1856, House of Commons (Wednesday the 23rd July):

The House met at 12'0 Clock.

Mr. Gibson presented a petition from Veera Rajender Wadeer, the late Raja of Coorg, complaining of the peremptory order of the East India Co., that he should return to India, and praying that the pension which he enjoys from the East India Company, may be paid to him not withstanding his residence in United Kingdom."

Charges on account of the ex-Raja of Coorg. (25th July 1856):-

Years All in £.	Salary of the Supdt.	Establishment.	Disbursement on a/c of Raja & family.	Family Pensions.	Total. (All in £.)
1836-37.	4,984	—.	63,018	11,887	79,890
1837-38.	4,983	—	50,352	10,418	65,753
1838-39.	1800	1,288	55,113	13,538	71,739
1839-40.	3400	2,920	50,926	14,846	72,092
1840-41.	2200	1771	46,852	13,955	64,778
1841-42.	2200	1884	47,121	13,658	64,864
1842-43.	1885	2502	46,979	19,163	70,530
1843-44.	2400	2466	46,969	18,842	70,677
1844-45.	2800	3054	46,969	21,665	74,488
1845-46.	2400	2643	46,978	23,576	75,597
Total	29,052	18,528	501,277	161,548	710,438

No. 3- MINUTE by the hon'ble Sir T.H.Maddock, dated the 30th July 1847.

Before coming to a resolution regarding the amount of annual allowance which it would be right to fix for the support of the ex-Raja of Coorg and his family, I should have wished to see the question relative to the Promissory Note standing in the name of the ex-Raja's sister Devammaji, finally disposed off. I find, however, on referring to the records of the foreign office, that since the year 1842, no step has been taken which can lead to a decision as to the disposal of the large sum of Rs.653,940 besides interest, for which the note was granted. In February 1842, the hon'ble Company was informed by the Government of India that we saw no grounds for recognising the validity of any claim on the part of the ex-Raja to the note in question, and, had therefore directed it to be deposited in the Government Treasury at Madras, till a claimant might appear who would satisfy Government of his or her claim to the property. It does not appear that the opinion of the Supreme Government have since been noticed by the hon'ble Court, through in their letter of the 25th August of the preceeding year, they had dire cted us to determine, with the aid of our legal advisers, whether the property belonged to the ex-Raja in his private capacity or to the State of Coorg, that is, to the British Government. The ex-Raja of Coorg can, in his private capacity, claim the property on no other ground that that of being the heir of his late sister, and in discussing that question, we shall have to only

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only consider whether the circumstance of an enmity existing between him and his sister, is a sufficient bar to rights which would otherwise, I believe, have been unquestionable. On the other hand, it appears to me very doubtful whether the British Government as vested with the actual sovereignty of Coorg, can claim to succeed to property which through arising out of the revenues of Coorg State, under the former Raja, was alienated from the resources of the state during the Chief's life time, and made the property of a female subject of the State. We could not urge that this property is liable to confiscation as public property, in consequence of the hostility of the present ex-Raja and if it could be thus considered as public property of the state, the prize agents might perhaps have a claim to it superior to that of the Government. On the whole, I am inclined to think that if we adopt the advice of the hon'ble Court and consult our law advisers, we may find them in favour of acknowledging the claims of the ex-Raja as heir to his sister Devammaji.

But I doubt whether on this occasion, this course is necessary. Whatever might be the result of such a reference, the ex-Raja must still remain dependant, for the most part, on the British Government for a comfortable subsistence, the interest of the Note in question not amounting to a sum nearly equal to that which we allow for his expenses.

As long, however, as the property in this Note continues undecided, it affords us the means of adding to the average amount of the ex-Raja's present income, such an amount as may tend to his comfort without risk that, the surplus revenues of Coorg being insufficient to defray the ex-Raja's stipend, the Government would be liable to loss on that account.

It would appear from the accounts received from the Financial department that the average surplus revenue of the last five years was Rs. 57,720, and this average is known to be much below what we may be ordinarily expected, and I should calculate the future revenue at more than Rs. 60,000 per annum.

I do not consider that a person in the ex-Raja's position can have the least claim to the whole of the surplus revenue of the territory of what he has been deprived for political offences against the paramount power; but taking into account all that has been urged by Major Carpenter with reference to the ex-Raja's various difficulties and to the circumstances of the undecided property in the Government Promissory Note for Company's Rs. 655,940, I am of opinion that it will be expedient to settle on the ex-Raja an allowance of Rs. 5,000 per mensem or Rs. 60,000 per annum, and to present him with such a sum beforehand as may enable him to discharge all his debts before he commences to draw a monthly stipend. Sd) T.H.Maddock."

Well, after a series of correspondences of the above nature between concerned parties and the Governments, the House of Lords took up the case of the ex-Raja of Coorg, on the 25th July 1856, and the proceedings were recorded.

THE TIMES, London- of the 26th July 1856, reported that:

At the 'Lords':

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"The Lord Chancellor took his seat on the woolsack at 5'0 clock.

"The Earl of Hardwicke presented two petitions praying that a Committee be formed------The Earl of Harrington gave notice that on Monday next would put a question to the Government on the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick.

Topic: i) Preservation of Stonework------
ii) Parochial school, (Scotland)
iii) India
iv) ex-Raja of Coorg.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS: Debate held between the 30th June and 29th July 1856.
The printed proceedings- page- 1422.

the 25th July 1856:

The Marquess of Clanricarde moved for Returns connected with the land tax of Bengal, Behar, Orissa and Benares; of Indian officers employed in civil and political duties in 1847 and 1855-------.

He believed the number of appeals would not be nearly so great if the courts of India were tolerably well constituted or if a spirit of litigation and oppression did not exist, which induced the civil servants of the Company to commence proceedings, and involve the Indian Government in law suits that few of the natives were able to resist. In many of these cases the East India Company had been signally, and he might say, disgracefully worsted. If there was no objection, he would likewise move for copies of any Minute of the East India Government in 1834, specifying the terms and conditions of the allowance to be made to the deposed Raja of Coorg. He could not understand upon what ground it was that the East India Company required this deposed prince to spend his income in India. His stipend amounted to the paltry sum of £ 448 per annum, less than was paid by the Company for a dinner at the London Tavern, or for a fee to counsel for arguing an appeal. The sum was even less than the salary of the Directors, and it was impossible to arrive at any other conclusion than this, that the Company wanted this gentleman to be turned out of the country, in order that he might not be able to prosecute his legal suit against them.

The Duke of Argyll said that he had stated on a former occasion that the Government did not feel itself called upn to defend the course which had been taken by the East India Company. It happened with respect to the payment of pensions, that the law and constitution had entrusted the East India Company with a very large discretion and this was a point on which the Government had no right to interfere. This prince had obtained leave for a year, and at the expiration of that period the Company had required him to return to India.

Returns ordered to be laid before the House.

The debate that took place earlier on the 21st Monday, July 1856, at the House of Lords, was as below: (Proceedings pages- 1065 to 1067):

The Marquess of Clanricarde wished to put a question to the Government with respect to the treatment of the Raja of Coorg by the East India Company. The Raja was a prisoner of State at Benares, and some time ago he applied to the Company for leave to come to England chiefly for the purpose of superintending the education of his daughter, whom he wished to br brought up as a Christian. He obtained leave of absence for one year; at the expiration of that period he applied for an extension of leave, but it was positively refused by the Company, and as he did not return they stopped that portion of his allowance which he received in this country, the rest being applied to the support of his relatives at Benares.

A more tyrannical and unjust proceeding could not well be imagined. The Raja's medical advisers had told him that this country was more healthy for him than India, but the East India Company, had sent the physician to examine him, and he said there would be ~~danger~~ no danger in his returning to India by a sea voyage at a certain time of the year. One very important fact is that the Raja was prosecuting a suit against the East India Company in the Court of Chancery, and that they were demanding his return to India at the very time when his presence in this country was of the utmost importance. He (Marquess of Clanricarde) could scarcely believe that the Government knew anything of the circumstances of this kind. He wished to ask the ~~m~~ noble Duke (of Argylle) what were the reasons of the Company for insisting on this nobleman's

nobleman's return to India, and why they had withheld the allowance which they contracted to give him while in this country[1].

The Duke of Argylle said: The noble Marquiss seemed better informed upon the details of the Raja's case than he was, for he had not seen any of the papers, and was only acquainted with the general state of facts. He believed that the Board of Control had not power whatever to compell the East India Company to pay the allowance which they had withheld from the Raja. The noble Marquess had stated the facts correctly, and by his statement that the Raja was a state prisoner, he implied that the Company had power to require the return to India of this prince who was considered in that country to be a prisoner of war.

The Company could either have given or withheld leave of absence, and, therefore, it was not an act of tyranny on their part to refuse to allow him to remain in England beyond the period which had been specified. He understood the local Government of India considered it was objectionable that native princes should remain permanently in England, expending here the revenues which were given to them by the East India Company. The noble Marquess had insinuated that the object of the Company in demanding the Raja's return to India was to impede the suit which he was carrying on against them; but he could not conceive that they were actuated by any such reason. It was perfectly obvious that by the employment of lawyers he could prosecute that suit as well in India as in England."

The debate continued on the same day, the 21st July 1856, at the House of Lords, and the proceedings were as usual widely reported in the English papers:

"The Earl of Ellenborough rose to confirm the accuracy of the noble Duke's statement that the Board of Control had no power whatever to compel the Court of Directors to pay the prince the sum they agreed to give him during the year he had leave of absence. The noble Marquess had stated the facts of the case correctly, and he (the Earl of Ellemborough) must say that, taking into consideration all the circumstances, the conduct of the Court of Directors in refusing the payment to the Prince, was very ungenerous and unwise (hear, hear), but at the same time, he agreed with the noble Duke that it was neither for the advantage of the native princes, nor generally, for the advantage of the Government of India, that those princes should come and reside in this country in order to prosecute their claims. He had himself privately advised the Raja of Coorg, four years ago, to return to his own country, being quite confident that it would be more to his own credit and comfort to rest in the midst of his family at Benares where he was much respected, than to reside as an individual unknown in this country, (and, he now publicly renewed that advice).

As to the suit against the East India Company for the recovery of his property, he could not comprehend how a question of that kind between two sovereigns- for such they were- could be made the subject of inquiry before the English Court of Chancery; and he believed it would be found, in the course of the interrogation that the property neither belonged to the Court of Director nor the Government of India nor the Raja but to the Crown, and that it had been misappropriated by the Government of India. If this Prince were dispossessed of his property in consequence of military operations, it clearly, as the prize of war, belonged, not to the Government of India but to the Crown; and if the Crown asserted its right, the Raja would be deprived of all excuse for not returning, and the Company, of any reason for conducting themselves towards him in a manner most ungenerous and uncourteous. He should, therefore, strongly recommend the noble Duke to suggest to the law officers of the Crown to inquire into the matter."

The above proceedings in the British House of Parliament on a petty prince of India, showed the interest the British people took in respecting the human dignity and freedom. This much of noise created by the above gentlemen at that august assembly also showed that Viraraja of Coorg had succeeded in creating an impression of his existence in that country although he was not materially benefitted by the debate that took

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took place at the Parliament. However, commenting on the AFFAIRS OF INDIA, in its issue of the 25th July 1856, the MORNING POST of London, reported that:

"------He would not go into the question of how far these confiscations could be depended on the ground of public morality. All he asked was a return of the number confiscated, and he hoped he would not be told that the return was too lengthy to be made. He begged also to move that the return of the law expenditure in England of the East India Company since 1853, ordered to be laid before the house on the 16th June, be made forthwith. He believed it would be found that the law expenses of the East India Company in England were something monstrous, and would reveal a spirit of litigation which was not creditable on the part of a sovereign power towards those whose territory and revenues had become absorbed in the possession of the Crown.(hear, hear,).

If there was no objection he would likewise move for copies of any minute of the East India Company Government, in 1834, specifying the terms and conditions of the allowance to be made to the deposed Raja of Coorg. He could not understand upon what ground it was that the East India Company required this deposed prince to spend his income in India. His stipend amounted to the paltry sum of £ 448 per annum, less than was paid by the Company for a dinner at the London Tavern or for a fee to Counsel for arguing an appeal (hear, hear). The sum was even less than the salary of the directors and it was impossible to arrive at any other conclusion than this, that the Company wanted this gentleman to be turned out of the country in order that he might not be able to prosecute his legal suit against them (hear,hear).

The Duke of Argylle said that he had stated on a former occasion that the Government did not feel itself called upon to defend the course which had been taken by the East India Company. It happened with respect to the payment of pensions, that the law and constitution had entrusted the East India Company with a very large discretion, and this was a point on which the Government had no right to interfere. This prince had obtained leave for a year, and at the expiration of that period the Company had required him to return to India."

"The returns were then ordered". (The proceedings of the House of Lords.)

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CHAPTER VII.

A Review of the Raja's Case.

A Retrospect:

The Raja's activities in England from the day he landed there in 1852, — the entire account has been given exhaustively in the book that his English friend wrote anonymously for him in 1857, and published in London by John Bumpus, 158 Oxford Street. From that book, one could find out that however much bad and cruel a man might be at a given time and under a special circumstance, and in charge of a kingdom to rule, he could also be a good man under a different circumstance and as a free man. Viraraja's case is an instance for that. This man, the moment he was exiled and made a political prisoner at the distant Benares from 1835 to 1851 and later in England till his death in 1859, he had consistently tried to give a good opinion of himself to his captors and masters. That showed that if he had had a good training while young, things would have gone on in a better way than it had gone on in a tragic way. The author who wrote the book, an Englishman, dedicates the book to his hero with these words:

> "Honoured Prince, Having, ere the 'evil day' had arrived, received from your Highness many proofs of kindness, condescension, and generousity, I beg permission to dedicate the following narrative to you, not only as a mark of sincere gratitude but also as a token of admiration of the philosophic fortitude and dignified patience with which your Highness has borne alike the wrongs of the oppressor and the aspersions of the slanderer. dated the 17th May 1857."

The Raja seemed to have given him, the author, everything of his side of the story on all that went on in Coorg from 1820 to 1834 and even later, but the official versions are quite different. The Raja had tried to put up his side of the case in an able manner, and in that he was assisted by the British lawyers and friends, while the actual facts were quite different. There was cruelty and repression in Coorg all through till 1834 and the Raja cannot deny that by his belated arguments. However, he was lucky that his life was saved and he had the fortune to be in England during his last days. During the first four or five years of his stay in London, he was treated well by the elite of the city. Many a time he was invited to the sumptuous banquets and "many of the directors of the East India Company felt honoured by introducing him to their private circle and by being considered as his friends."

The Raja's Efforts:

The author of the above book recounts in detail the Raja's activities in England as soon as the latter set foot there. His first care was to concert measures to get his daughter baptised, and he had determined upon informing his wishes to Queen ictoria, in writing, in the hope of getting her favourable response. He wrote that:

> "———I have most respectfully to represent, that my ancestors, after much and sincere endeavour, procured the friendship of the British Government, and I also followed them and most eagerly continued it———
>
> "My object is to submit if your Majesty is pleased to condescend to take my daughter under your gracious protection and kindness in a manner becoming her position as princess, it is my sincere and earnest wish to have her brought up in the princi-

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principles of the Christian faith, also to give English education.

"Before leaving India, I intimated this desire of mine to the local Supreme Government, and after two or three years, to my great joy, I received permission to come to this country------.

"After having her (my daughter) baptized, your Majesty will be pleased to cause her to be brought up and educated in the same manner as the daughters of the noble-men of this country-----This is my earnest desire.

"I may be permitted to observe that up to this day no Raja or prince of India ever had conception of such a design. I took the first step towards it and came here. My this object is worth your Majesty's support------I have no one here of my own country. I, therefore, solely rely on the gracious kindness and generousity of your Majesty. When you agree to protect my child she will then be happy and comfortable, indeed, in every way-----One may do such an act of kindness towards one's own but to extend that benevolence to strangers, will be truly worthy of your Majesty.

"With the exception of your Majesty no one else is able to do this. Should my object prove unsuccessful, I shall be put to shame before all India-----I humbly solicit the favour of a reply to my representation-----."

The Raja received a reply to his above letter to the Queen, from J.C.Harris M.P., President of the Board of Control, India Board, on the 7th June 1852, which said, that:

"-----Her Majesty has commanded Mr. Harris to explain to the Prince Viraraja that it would not be in accordance with the usages of this country that Her Majesty should take charge of his daughter in the manner proposed by him. But her Majesty being desirous of assisting the praiseworthy intention of the Raja to promote the instruction of his daughter in the principles of Christianity and to constitute her a member of the Church of England, will confer with the Archbishop of Canterbury on the subject and will appoint a time, under his advice, for the performance of the ceremony of baptism at which Her Majesty will be pleased to signify her intention of being present AND OF STANDING SPONSOR TO YOUNG PRINCESS."

Letter to the Archbishop:

After the receipt of the above letter, the Raja addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 17th June 1852, as follows:

"My Lord Archbishop: My principle object for coming to this country after an arduous and expensive journey, is to place my beloved daughter under the care and protection of her Majesty-----I am also willing that my daughter should be educated in the principles of Christianity and constituted a member of the Church of England. My only anxiety is that my daughter be brought up as becoming her birth, so that I may not experience any humiliation when I return to my native country. It is an act worthy of her Majesty's consideration and I, therefore, hope that your Grace will also countenance and assist me to carry out my intention-------".

The Raja had talked to the Archbishop personally about his plans, and, on the 19th June 1852, he received a reply from the Archbishop, as follows:

"Sir, I greatly approve your intention of bringing up your beloved daughter in the principles of the Christian religion-------Your plans to leave the princess in this country and to make provision for her education here, I shall be ready, if required to give my advice concerning the person to whose care she may be properly entrusted-------You have at my heart the support to your objectives-----."

Later, the Raja wrote another letter to the Queen. Among other things couched in court language, he wrote, that:

"-----I further beg that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to inform me of the day and hour on which I may come and make over my little daughter to your Majesty's protection-------. I trust your Majesty will be pleased to send for me that I explain myself fully about the arrangements etc-----.".

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To the above note by the Raja, he received a reply, as below:

"To His Highness, the Prince Viraraja, The Lord Chamberlain is commanded by her Majesty to invite his Highness the prince Viraraja to attend the christening ceremony of his daughter in the chapel at the Buckingham Palace on Wednesday next, the 30th (June 1852) at one'o clock."

This ceremony took place on the appointed day and time as said above. The ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by several church officials. Queen Victoria was pleased to stand sponsor to the princess Gowramma. The other sponsors were Viscountess Hardinge, Mrs. Drummond, Sir James Weir Hogg, the Chairman of the East India Company. The princess was named by the Queen as 'Victoria'. Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales, the princess Royal, prince Alfred and others including the Raja himself, were present at the ceremony. The Queen was attended by twelve people including Lord Chamberlain, Viscountess Canning, Marquiss of Aberdeen, Viscount Hardinge, hon'ble John Harris, President of Board of Control, and Major Drummond. After christening, the distinguished circle were conducted to the dinner room where luncheon was served. Finally all of them left the palace at 2.20 p.m.

Raja's Financial Affairs:

The book that was written by the Raja's friend in London, said that when the Raja first arrived in England in March 1852, East India Company agreed to allow him for his current expenses the monthly sum of £ 100 to be deducted from his original pension of £ 6,000 a year, but on the 20th May 1853, the Court of Directors notified that no further remittance of his stipend would be transmitted to him after the 20th March, and this they did upon the ground that the leave of absence had been granted with the understanding that his Highness was to return to Benares after the expiration of twelve months. But no such condition had ever been granted entered into by the Raja.

In vain did the Raja urge the unsatisfactory state of his health and consequent danger he should incur by being compelled to return to India. Apart from his daughter's safe settlement in that country, he wished to await the decision of the High Court of Chancery upon the suit which he had instituted against the hon'ble Company. The Court of Directors persisted in refusing to resume the payment of his pension. However, in order to attract the attention of the public and to enlist their sympathies, a note was published in the DAILY NEWS of the 18th November 1856, captioned as A PRINCE DETHRONED BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY. He wrote to the Editor, that:

"Sir, permit me to occupy a little of your valuable space by calling your readers' attention to the proceedings of the hon'ble East India Company. I have been given to understand that the actions of that body in many instances are somewhat liberal, but I would submit that in my own case they are particularly so, and certainly not in accordance with my own ideas of justice.

"I am by birth and descent the rightful Raja of Coorg, a mountainous principality in the south-west of India and for 13 years previous to 20-4-1834, I was an independent Hindu prince——My ancestors were of vast service to the Company, and, in fact, my late uncle rendered them such assistance in 1799 and they were enabled to cope with and finally completely overthrew Tipu with whom the Company were at war——.

"Chennabasava, married to my sister Devammaji (much against my wish), was provided my own private purse, a suitable mansion near to my capital. Things went on well for

for sometime, but from 1830, he became dissatisfied with his subordinate position, and one night, dragged two of his men, bound one hand and foot, suspended him from the rafters of his house where he was dead, and then fled to Mysore. By stratagem he managed to pass a great distance unmolested until he reached the barrier, where he was met with opposition——He took refuge in the British residency in Mysore, and my attempts to recover him proved futile——".

This is a long article in which the Raja narrates all that happened from 1834 to 1850. He describes how he spent 14 years in Benares as a prisoner and also about his description by the British historians as tyrannical, cruel, and so on. The Raja says that all that was false, but the actual fact was different, however. On the subject of the people of Coorg wishing to be under the British, the Raja said:

"——This is not true, either. That they submitted, I admit, but wherefore? They had lost their king, and as the weaker party and without a leader to direct them, were forced to give into the stronger; let their feelings be what they might."

He proceeded saying, that:

"During my exile they painted me as an object unworthy of consideration and sympathy of an Englishman, but I am here, Mr. Editor, with a conscience guiltless of any crime or offence——I can't conceive I have in a way infringed upon the Company's rights or broken the treaty which my ancestors made with them. But I will pass them over. My kingdom has been taken from me and I am an exile. I require only that which I am in every respect entitled to by the law of this land, by the law of the nations and justice. I humbly and heartily appeal to the British public through your valuable columns——.

"In conclusion, it may not be irrelevant to mention that I have received the utmost kindness from Queen Victoria to whose care and reliance I commend my daughter. That amiable queen stood sponsor to my child at her baptism which was solemnised ten months ago——I doubt not, she will realise a fond father's most sanguine hopes and expectations, and in (my daughter) following the example of so excellent a Queen——.

"My gratitude to the English nation can but cease with my life and even then I shall leave one behind who will live to show her own sentiments when my ashes rest in peace. She will then vindicate my past actions and no doubt will convince Englishmen that my faults were not of the heart——."

Lord Dalhousie's Treatment:

The Raja wrote a letter to Lord Dalhousie for an interview with him. They had known each other, but not intimately, when Dalhousie was in India. Therefore, after his return from India, the Raja wrote to Dalhousie on the 22nd May 1856, that:

"——I take the earliest opportunity of offering my hearty congratulations not only for your safe arrival in your father-land but also upon your brilliant and successful career in the vast Hindustan, a career which, for the benefits it has conferred upon the British empire in general and upon India in particular, may rival a renowned administration of a Clive or a Wellesley. Great indeed, as is at all times the honour of being appointed to wield the Viceregal sceptre over dominions so extensive and to sway the destinies of hundreds of millions of human beings——.

"Permit me, my Lord, to say that I admire and appreciate, and thankful for the solid improvements which your Lordship's auspices have been effected throughout India. I feel personally in you for having permitted me to visit this country of power and civilization——Fearful of trespassing too long upon your attention, I shall now conclude with the earnest request that as soon as you sufficiently recovered, I may be allowed the honour of paying my respects in a personal interview, an interview which will be but the renewal of acquaintance that commenced in 1849. It will, be in your recollection, that when you were on your way from the north-west Provinces to Calcutta, myself and my daughter had the honour of dining with your Lordship at the house of Col. McGregor at Benares——. Sd) Viraraja Wodeyar.

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To this long letter, Lord Dalhousie sent a crisp reply of a few lines stating that:

"Lord Dalhousie presents his compliments to his Highness, Virarajа, the late Raja of Coorg, in reply to his letter of the 22nd May 1856, and begs to state that he declines the interview which the Raja requests.

"Lord Dalhousie further begs to add that in the event of their meeting elsewhere, he must decline to recognise any acquaintance with the late Raja of Coorg.
"dated the 2nd June 1856, Brighton."

The Raja was shocked when he received this letter, and, therefore, on the 9th June he wrote from his Clifton Villa, Paddington, that:

"——Being wholly unconscious of having ever given to you the slightest cause for personal offence, I can only attribute your unfortunate impression against me, to the malicious and slanderous reports so industriously propagated by my enemies—— Not content however with refusing to grant me the honour of an interview, you have thought it becoming your rank and character to convey that refusal in terms as discourteous as they are unmerited on my part, and thus to aim an additional shaft at the victim of injustice and oppression."

Message to 'Strangers' Home':

The Raja was also one of the invitees for the ceremony of laying the first stone of THE STRANGERS' HOME in London. As he was severely ill at that time, he wrote to the Secretary of the Society from his house in 20, Cliffton Villa, Warwick Road, Maida Vale, Paddington, stating that:

"Gentlemen, Permit me to tender you my cordial thanks for your polite invitation to be present at the interesting ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the HOME. At the same time I express my sincere regret that ill health compels me to decline it. I assure you I greatly admire and fully appreciate the benevolent feelings that have prompted the erection and endowment of such a building——.

"Gentlemen, it is my opinion that while it is the duty of all persons to whatsoever faith they may belong, whether they be Christians, Hindus, Muslims- to give a helping hand to this labour of love, it is more especially incumbent upon those who have amassed riches in the sunny clime of India, to come forward in no niggard spirit upon the present occasion. Now, as far as my countrymen are concerned, I am fully confident——that with proper notification in India through the officials, the Rajas, princes, zamindars, nawabs and others, amply sum of money could be realised to carry out the objects of the society——.

"I deplore that owing to the peculiarly painful circumstances in which I am placed, in consequence of the denial of my just claims by the powerful corporation, I am precluded from contributing to your funds in the degree becoming my rank——".

Writing on the above note of the Raja, the MORNING POST of London, commented in its columns under the caption THE RAJA OF COORG, as follows:

"We have much pleasure in inserting elsewhere the copy of the letter——by his Highness the Raja of Coorg. Prevented from by severe illness from being present upon the occasion, the Raja availed himself of the opportunity to express in grateful and feeling terms his admiration of so excellent an institution and at the same time, his regret that——his contribution was not such as to enable it to be considered as the true exponent of his good wishes for the success of so useful and philanthropic a society.

"Charity and benevolence never appear so amiable as in those whom "impends misfortunes' threatening cloud" and who forgetting their own sufferings endeavour to alleviate the distresses of others, and we are more gratified by this manifestation of the unfortunate Raja's kindness——".

The Raja's article in the MORNING POST on the Christianity of India, in the issue dated the 2nd July 1856, begins as below:

"Sir, my attention has been called to a minute of the Marquiss of Dalhousie, the ex-Governor-General of India, which was recently published by order of the House of Commons, and in which his Lordship is pleased to say:

"There are two incidents connected with the families of native princes which remarkably signalize the period we are now reviewing———.

"The first is the adoption of the Christian faith by Maharaja Dulip Singh, the last of the rulers of the Punjab. The act was voluntary on the part of the boy———.

"The other incident is of a similar nature. I refer to the Christian faith baptism of the daughter of the ex-Raja of Coorg under the special protection of Her Majesty."

"Sir, with respect to the former, I think that the noble Marquess is entirely wrong when in terms more befitting a pious frequenter of Exeter Hall than an astute and philosophic statesman, he attributes to uninfluenced convictions that which was the mere result of education.

"In the year 1847 when Maharaja Dulip Singh was only nine years of age, he was forcibly separated from his mother, Rani Jindan Kaur———.

"As to myself, although brought up in Hindu religion———I emancipated myself from its trammels that during twenty years in exile at Benares, I never once entered a temple———I never during the eclipses of the sun and moon, bathed in the river Ganges, a rite considered so solemn by the Hindus———".

(The entire article by the Raja- the cuttings, could be found in the collected records and files compiled by this author and deposited in the library and museum at the Mercara fort). || Note.

At the House of Lords:

The Raja found that all his representations and entreaties to the hon'ble East India Company failed to induce them to render him justice. Therefore, he took his case to the House of Lords, where Marquess of Clanricarde undertook to introduce the subject in the Parliament. His Lordship had a forceful argument in favour of the Raja but the Duke of Argyle, in reply, had ably rebutted those points, and the latter was supported in his views by the Earl of Ellenborough. The details of the proceedings of the parliament are also deposited in the files at the Mercara Fort Library. || Note.

What Lord Clanricarde said was that:

"The Raja's application to stay on in England has been refused because the East India Company had not the power to seize his person in this country (hear, hear). They determined to stop his pension———A more despotic act never was perpetrated (hear, hear). The Raja had been now, in all, 22 years as subject of England, and he had conducted himself in the most loyal and becoming manner, and the attempt to remove him from this country, was a most tyrannical act, for which no reason had been alleged———. Their lordships would hardly believe that the person so treated was at law with the East India Company and was at that moment prosecuting a suit in Chancery against them for the recovery of property, and they under such circumstances exercised their power most tyrannically to get him out of the way———that was an act which the parliament of this country would not allow (hear,hear). It was impossible, however, that any British minister could sanction the treatment of a prince in that manner———."

The Duke of Argyle replied to the above arguments with equal force and said that he did not think it desirable that the prince should be allowed to remain in this country. The Earl of Ellenborough confirmed the accuracy of the Duke's statement. However, the Raja replied to the statements of the Duke of Argyle on the 22nd July 1856, that:

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"The very great respect which I entertain for your Grace as a member of the house of ~~the~~ Peers, not less than as filling so distinguished a post in her Majesty's Government, would I confess, under any circumstances than those which I am placed, have deterred me from taking so great a liberty as that of addressing to your Grace, a few remarks upon what fell from your Grace's lips on the 2Ist Monday in the House of Lords, upon the occasion of Lord Clanricarde's asking the Government about my affairs———.

"i) That I was considered in India as a prisoner of war ii) That I had leave given me to come to England for one year iii) That the expiration of that time, I was desired to return to India although I had asked permission to remain here for a longer time iv) That the East India Company considered it objectionable——— v) That your Grace could not think there was any reason to impute to the East India Company a desire to impede me in the persecution of my law suit———."

In fine, the Raja summed up the whole thing as below:

"It is true that I am considered as a war prisoner and have been so for 22 years, which might, I conceive, have entitled me to an act of amnesty. I have comforted myself to the unqualified satisfaction of Company's officers———This severity, not to say tyranny, on the part of the East India Company, becomes more conspicuous when contrasted with the graceful clemency of her Majesty who granted her ~~forms~~ free pardon to convicted traitors like O'Brien and others after a detention of eight years——.

"My leave of absence was not given me on the condition that I was to return at the expiration of I2 months nor have I the East India Company any evidence, written or parole, to prove that it was granted under such a provision. Upon that occasion, I well remember I asked the late Major Stewart, my superintendant, whether if I chose to return home before the expiration of I2 months or prolong my stay beyond that term, his reply was, "It is only a matter of form; we ourselves apply for one year's leave of absence, which upon our application, is always extended———".

"———The East India Company is fully informed of the object for which I came to England, i.e. my daughter's education and to prosecute my claim against them———.

"It appears singular that the objection of the East India Company to absentism should be suspended in the case of Raja Dulip Singh———and spending forty times more than is allotted to me, but, however, this may be, the objection cannot possibly apply to me, for out of the annual allowance of £ 6,000 made to me £ 4,320 is paid to my family in Benares and £ 480 is assigned to my daughter's education and support here.

"The fact of my being compelled to return to India would be fatal to my suit in the Chancery. a) By the loss of time incurred in communicating———from a distance b) By there not being any English solicitor or lawyer at Benares with whom I could consult. c) By the order which there is no doubt would be sent to the British Resident at Benares, to prevent me from holding any correspondence with parties in England.

"I have no right to call in question the assertion of the hon'ble Company———The favourable opinion of my conduct expressed by Lord Ellenborough as Governor-General, Lieut. Carpenter, Col. McGregor and others were fully competent to form an opinion, sufficiently exonerates me from so unjust and unfounded imputation.

"Believe me, my Lord Duke (of Argyle), when I assure you, it is no idle wish to controvert what your Grace has been pleased to advance, that has induced me to venture upon these remarks. Conscious that ever since my deposal I have never performed an act that is prejudicial to the hon'ble Company———."

Note (NOTE:- The rest of the minutes of the House of Lords are in the separate hand-written files that is deposited in the Fort Library in Mercara, Coorg.)

N.B.:-The readers shall also refer to the other material compiled and typed in the exercise note books and bound along with other papers, of this author, and deposited at the Mercara fort library.)

DR. I. M. MUTHANNA,
M.A., (B.O.L.,) B.T., (MADRAS)
PH.D., (COLO.,) DIP.-IN-JOURN. (LONDON)
PHONE: 325-3573

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CHAPTER VIII.

The Raja's Will and After 1859.

There have been voluminous letters and correspondence on the Coorg Raja's ~~[illegible]~~ affairs concerning his political and economic future, and that on the 17th June 1854, he finally decided to file a suit in the Court of Chancery claiming from the hon'ble East India Company the two promissory notes over which he had the inherited right. The hearings of this suit and his motion in the House of Lords went on for some time till 1856 and 1857, together with the answers from the Government from time to time. The suit continued to be at the ~~[illegible]~~ Chancery court, but the Raja died, almost disappointed and broken-hearted, on the 24th September 1859, in his house in Paddington, London. Before his death, he had, however, executed a will and appointed on the 20th June 1859, Sir John Login and Mr. Montgomery Martin as executors of the will.

Under the powers vested in them they proposed by way of compromise of this suit that the sum of Rs. 21,37,430 should be appropriated for the benefit of the family of the late Raja. This was rejected by Sir Charles Wood. On the 13th and the 14th November 1860, the hearing of the case took place before the Master of the Rolls, and judgement was delivered on the 8th December 1860 dismissing the plaintiff's Bill ~~[illegible]~~ without costs on the ground of want of jurisdiction in any municipal court over the subject despite the right to two Government promissory notes held by the plaintiff in his public capacity as the Raja of Coorg, and, taken possession of by the East India Government in the exercise of their sovereign power.

Will & Codicils of Viraraja:

Viraraja Wodeyar, just three months before his death in London, had dictated a Will, and that was as below:

"This is the last will and testament of me- Viraraja Wodeyar, ex-Raja of Coorg, now residing at 20, Clifton Villa, Warwick Road, Paddington, in the county of Middlx- in the kingdom of England. I appoint Sir John Login of Church Hou-e-Kew in the County of Surrey, and Robert Montgomery Martin of Gloucester-Terrace, Camden Hill, Kensington, in the said County of Middlx, trustees and executors of this Will.

"I direct all my debts, funeral and testamentary expenses to be paid with all reasonable speed after my death. I give to each of the two Indian females now residing with me, Subhadry and Mudry, the sum of £ 1000, free of legacy and also all their cloths and such articles of jewellery as have been usually worn by them respectively- the same to be for their separate use and benefit free of legacy duty. I give Rs. 300 to each of my concubines residing at or near Benares in India free of legacy duty. I give each of my said executors the sum of £ 100 free of legacy duty if he acts as such trustee and executor as aforesaid. I give Ali Akbar of 235, Maida Vale, Paddington, the sum of £ 100 free of legacy duty. I also give to the said Ali Akbar my two carriages and two horses- all free of legacy duty.

"I give to Mr. John James Birkett, 22 Clifton Villa, Warwick Road, a sum of £ 50/-. I give Adolphus Richardson, who is in my service as coachman, the sum of £ 20/- free of legacy duty. I give to each of my other servants living with me at the time of my death, the sum of £ 5/-. All my jewels and trinkets which

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which I have now in England, I direct, may be sent to my Rani who is now at Benares, and I give and bequeath the same to her and to my other wives and children in equal shares and proportions. And I direct her to give and divide the same amongst them accordingly for her and for their own use and benefit.

"I also direct that a list shall be made of the said jewels, trinkets and articles of jewellery and that a copy of such list together with the said jewels and articles of jewellery be delivered to Subhadry and Mudry. I hereby authorise and empower them to do so and to send them in any other way they may seem fit. I give and bequeath all the residue and remainders of my estate, whatever and wheresoever, both in India, England and elsewhere, and all property whatsoever and wheresoever- over which I have any power of appointment or disposal unto the said Sir John Login and Robert Montgomery Martin, their heirs, executors and administrators, upon trust to divide the same amongst such of my three wives (who are now in Benares) and such of my children, both legitimate and by reputation, as shall be alive at the time of my disease in such shares and proportions as they respectively would be entitled to the same according to the Hindu Law.

"(I hereby authorise and empower my said executors or the survivors of them or either trustees of my Will or the person or persons who for the time being shall be my personal representatives at their own absolute discretion to carry on and prosecute or to refer to arbitration or otherwise settle or discontinue the suit in the High Court of Chancery in England which I have instituted against the East India Company, and now the prosecutions against the Secretary of State for India, and also to institute or prosecute any other proceedings in any court of judicature for recovering and enforcing payment of the monies, the subject matter of the said suit, I earnestly request and implore the Government of India, to pay to or for the benefit of my said three wives and my said children the pension which has been hitherto paid to me or for my use, by the Government of India or to make some other suitable provision for them.)"

The Funeral & After:

The Raja's last days were not at all happy. He died under the load of worries- many of which was his own making. Apart from his political and economic troubles, his young daughter who was about 19, by this time, was also indifferent towards him because of her Western education and environment. With all this, the Raja died as a lonely man and far away from his own cherished land and people. Apart from those two Indian women, there were half a dozen of his intimate associates with him when he died and they were summoned during the last moments. He had expressed his last wish that his body be carried to India and to Coorg for burial. In the last days of his, Mr. R.M.Martin observed that, "the Raja refused sustenance and expressed his disinclination to life. I have had his body placed in a lead and oak coffin, in Number One of the unconsecrated catacombs at Kensal Green Cemetry." Mr. Martin further said, that:

"The funeral was conducted in a manner befitting the rank of the deceased; a portion of the beautiful burial service of the Church of England was read in the Chapel to a large auditory, by the Rev. M.Arthur, new Secretary to the Wesleyan Mission in London, formerly a missionary in Mysore, and conversant in the language of the Raja (Kannada). Mr. Arthur who had been intimately acquainted with the Raja for many years and knew his favourable opinions with regard to the Christianity (though he had not been baptised), felt justified in the performance of a funeral service, addressed to the congregation, a most solemn prayer for the soul of the deceased, prefaced however by the clear declaration that the Raja was not claimed as a convert to Christianity but he was viewed as an exile who had died in the foreign land.

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"The service gave satisfaction to the audience. I sent by ~~the~~ book-post a copy of the presumed Will of the ex-Raja of Coorg. Sir John Login, the other executor named, has not yet consented to act, and has postponed his decision on the matter. I have sent Lord Broughton to see J.W.Hogg, and to Lady Catherine Harcourt, the copies of the Will and of the correspondence with Sir John Login, of which if desired, the Council shall have a copy. Sir John Login, in a letter to me on the 30th Sept. said, "You appear to have taken every means in your power to secure the property", and that he will take time to consider the course which he (I) will adopt."

"——There is, however, no time to be lost in securing the property of the deceased prince at Benares for the benefit of all the members of his family. I do not know what may be the amount of that property. I hear of one sum of II,000 in money and of a large mass of jewels, some in large chest in the house of the Raja at Benares, and some buried under or near the house. As I am now acting as an ~~executor~~ executor and contemplate placing the Will under the direction of the Court of Chancery to which I will hand over the jewels and property, now in my possession. I solicit as an act of justice and of humanity that instructions be sent to the Resident at Benares to secure and place under seal the property in the house of the Raja at Benares and any other property which may be found in India, belonging to the estate. These instructions, I hope, may be sent to Marsellis, or better still by telegram. Not knowing whether Sir John Login would cooperate with me as an executor to the presumed Will of the Raja, I was not in a position, until this morning to make an official application, or to convey the information contained in this letter. Should the Council of India have any instructions to give me on the subject, they shall be promptly attended to. I trust that the Secretary of State for India will deem that I have fulfilled my duty. Sd) R.Montgomery Martin."

The Viceroy's Letter:

The news of the Raja's death quickly spread in Calcutta, Benares and Coorg. At the time of his death there were Rani Nanjammaji, six of the Raja's concubines, two concubines of his father, Lingaraja, one illegitimate son, Lingaraja, and five other illegitimate sons named, Chandrashekar, Somashekar, Virabhadra, Nanjunda and Mudraswami. There was yet another illegitimate son, Mudduraja Swami. The two illegitimate daughters of the Raja were Eramma and Gangamma. Of course, the elder Gangamma had already been married to the Rana of Nepal in the 1840-s when the Raja was in Benares. The Rana jung Bahadur G.C.B. was an influential man of the time. This author tried to contact the Embassy of Nepal in New Delhi in 1959, to find out some information about the family situation of Jang Bahadur and Gangamma, but without success. Note

As to the parentage of the Princess Victoria Gowramma, it came under separate category. It was welknown that the Raja had a couple of Kodava women as wives, and even the Raja himself was supposed to have been son of a Kodava woman although it was evident two of the sisters of the last Raja, Muddammaji and Devammaji were the daughters of Devakka of Palangada family who was married to Lingaraja. However it was said that the Karyakar Biddanda Somayya's sister was married to the last Raja and she too must have followed the Raja to Benares along with her brother Somayya in 1834-35. Gowramma could have been the daughter of this woman of Biddanda family but her father must have been an European who had then resided in Benares. It should be also known that Gowramma was born in Benares in 1840-41 and she was pretty with European complexions and features. There are stories to say that Englishmen

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Englishmen and women in England had taken Princess Gowramma as an English girl due to her remarkably fair features.

After the Indian Office in London were informed about the Raja's death and about his will, Mr. T.C. Baring wrote on the 19th May 1860 to Sir John Login and Mr. Robert M. Martin stating that:

"I am directed by the Secretary of State for India to acknowledge receipt of yours dated the 27th April, in reply to acquaint you that the Government of India have already been instructed to submit their views with respect to the provision to be made for the maintenance of the family of the late ex-Raja of Coorg, and that attention will again be called to the subject."

In reply to the communiques that were despatched from England, the Viceroy of India Lord Canning, wrote to the Foreign Secretary, Sir Charles Wood, from Simla on the 30 April 1860, that:

"I have the honour to reply to your despatches enumerated in the margin------regarding the allowances of the family of the ex-Raja of Coorg.

ii) The ex-Raja's death makes it necessary for me to offer any opinion on the subject of his memorial, but having regard to the sum which was assigned for the support of the Coorg family during his Highness's lifetime (Rs. 5000 a month) and to the fact that the family is now reduced in number not only by the Raja's death but by the unfortunate suicide of the other two members, I think Rs. 3000 a month, is a fair but not too liberal an allowance for those who remain in India, and I recommend that this sum be allotted to them hence forward.

iii) But I would treat the allowance of Princess Gowramma as a separate matter. The Princess is a Christian; she can never return to her family in India; the condition in which she is placed in England, and the expenses attendant upon it, are not fully known to the Government of India, and I feel difficulty in saying whether Rs. 400 a month is or is not a suitable allowance for her in the very particular circumstances in which she stands. Much too will depend upon what her future may be. For these reasons, I would suggest to her Majesty's Government that the provision for her should be settled in England, and that it should be irrespective of what is done in India for the Hindu members of the family to whom I would allot a Rs. 3000 a month.

iv) If her Majesty's Government should sanction an allowance of Rs. 3000 a month for the members of the Coorg family in India, I would recommend that it be distributed amongst them in about the proportion noted below with the understanding that (except in the case of the concubines whose stipends will absolutely lapse at their death) on the lapse of each pension by the death of recipients, the Government of India will exercise its judgements to the continuance of any portion of the sum to any relation or dependant of the deceased.

For the Rani Rs. 600, six concubines Rs. 50 each or Rs. 300, five other concubines Rs. 50 each or Rs. 250/-, the legitimate son Lingaraja Rs. 500, six illegitimate sons Rs. 200 each or Rs. 1200, and a daughter in India Rs. 150. Total Rs. 3000.

Sd) Lord Canning, Governor-General of India."

The Family in Benares:

Enclosures in the above letter included letters from George B. Gubbins, Superintendant to the ex-Raja of Coorg to Mr. Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-General's letter, dated the 16th November 1859.

"Sir, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Simpson's letter of the 7th inst. enclosing a copy of the Will executed by the late ex-Raja of Coorg in London, on the 24th September last, as well as a demi-official communication addressed to the Foreign department, Government of India, James Williams Kaye.

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ii) "In reply I have the honour to state that on the intelligence of the demise of the ex-Raja of Coorg reaching me on the 30th ultimo, by electric telegraph, I thought it my duty at once to put a strong guard over the premises occupied by that nobleman's family.

iii) "The two elder illegitimate sons happened to be absent on a sporting expedition in Mirzapur district, and were immediately summoned to Benares. On their arrival all the brothers were desired to join and have their late father's treasure dug from the palaces in which it had been concealed, and this was commenced on the 2nd instant.

iv) "On the 4th inst. I received a D.O. communication from Mr. Montgomery Martin, one of the executors of the Will, and from John William Kaye, informing me of the dispositions made by the late Raja.

v) "I left Benares on circuit on the 7th inst. but before doing so, I had locked all the valuable property that I could collect into three iron and wooden chests, which have been carefully sealed up. The chest containing the most valuable portion of the property, such as two gold bricks, women's jewellery etc has been moved out into the portico of the house, and a guard put over it.

vi) "There was however no list of property whereby I could be guided, and it is impossible for me to say whether all the valuables left by the late Raja have been exhumed or not. The possibility is that they have not exhumed all of them and it was only be exerting my entire influence, and by threatening one of the illegitimate sons with incarceration, when he began to deny there being any buried treasure that I got them delivered up at all.

vii) "I hope to be able to make an inventory of the property when I return to Benares, and I have in the meanwhile left Rs. 8,000 in cash with the Rani Nanjammaji to enable her to meet the current expense of her household, and to have the funeral obsequies of the two Ranis, Gangamma and Devammaji, decently performed.

viii) "I regret to inform you that on the intelligence of the demise of the ex-Raja of Coorg reaching the nobleman's widows, Rani Gangamma who had been kept in charge of his affairs, considered her duty to commit suicide by swallowing a large dose of opium. On hearing of her illness, I immediately proceeded to the family residence, summoned the Civil Surgeon, and assisted him trying to bring her back to consciousness, but the stomach pumps broke, and the emetics had no effect and the lady expired in a few hours. I then took every precaution to prevent poison of any sort being introduced, but I was again summoned there on the Ist inst. by the intelligence that another Rani was dying.

ix) "The Civil Surgeon was again sent for, but Rani Devammaji had expired before either he or I could reach the house. I thought it then my duty to take stringent measures to prevent the recurrence of such an event, the more so as I learnt that the third and the last Rani named Nanjammaji, was, with one of the concubines, in a dying state, they having, like the last Rani, refused to partake any food since they had heard of the ex-Raja's death, and I did not quit the house next morning till the Civil Surgeon, Dr. Check, had convinced himself that all the household had eaten their food and were doing well.

x) "The family left by the ex-Raja of Coorg now consist of one Rani, a lawful widow, six concubines, three of his father's wives or concubines and two of his grandfather's concubines or wives.

There are seven sons whom I had imagined to be all equal and legitimate, but I have now ascertained that there is but one among them, named Lingaraja, who is born of a lawful wife. He is, however, unfortunately next thing to an idiot, and speaks with difficulty.

xi) Besides the two daughters- one married to the Rana Jung Bahadur, and the other who is now in England, I have ascertained the existence of a fourth daughter, named Gangamma who appears to be eight or nine years old.

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xii) "I beg, in connection with this subject, to annex a copy of a communication received from the offg. Civil Auditor, North West Provinces, and to inform you that the allowance of Rs. 5,000 per month, made for the support of the Coorg family, had been stopped by that officer and to solicit H.E. the Viceroy's orders from the subject of its continuation or otherwise.

Sd) G.B.Gubbins, Resident Officer in Benares."

Some More Official Letters:

After the death of the Raja, there were some formal official letters, and a few of then were as below:

From J.Aede, Civil Auditor, North-Western Province, Allahabad,
To G.B.Gubbins, Superintendant of the ex-Raja of Coorg in Benares,
the 9th November 1859.

With reference to the intelligence by a recent mail of the death of the ex-Raja in England, I have the honour to request a certificate of the date on which the event occurred to enable me to audit the accompanying bill for his pension for September last, which is returned for amendment, if necessary.

From the Chief Secretary to the Government of India,
To F.B.Gubbins, Camp- Aligarh, 13th December 1859.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 16th ultimo, submitting a report regarding the family affairs of the late ex-Raja of Coorg, and in reply to communicate to you the Governor-General's approval of your proceedings.

ii) The suicide of the two Ranis is a subject of much regret to his Excellency.

iii) You will receive hereafter His Excellency's views regarding the provision which is to be made for the family of the ex-Raja.

From the Under-Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General,
To the offg. Secretary, Government of India (Foreign dept.), Calcutta,
Aligarh, dated the 18th December 1859.

With reference to the accompanying copy of a correspondence with the Superintendant of the ex-Raja of Coorg, I am directed to request that you will be good as to obtain the opinion of his Honour the President-in-Council as to the provision which should be made for the family of the ex-Raja.

From. Fred. Gubbins, to the Secretary, Government of India,
Benares, 19th Dec. 1859.

In continuation of my letters------I would beg to be again allowed to draw the attention of the Supreme Government of India to the affairs of the family of the late Raja of Coorg.

The money that I had left with the surviving Rani is stated to have been all of it expended in performing the funeral rights of the last Raja and his two widows, and the family clamours for more money.

I beg likewise to annex a copy of a letter received from the late Raja's secretary Mr. Birkett and to submit that if the family allowance was once settled, one of the sons might proceed to England for the purpose of bringing back to this country the two native ladies alluded to by Mr. Birkett and the late Raja's corpse.

The Raja's Last Moments:

John James Birkette of 7 Gloucester Place, Kentish Town, London, wrote on the 24th October 1859, a letter to the Raja's wife Gangammaji in Benares, describing the last days and few moments of the Raja. He said, that:

"------As Secretary to His Highness the late Raja of Coorg, during the whole of his sojourn in England, I deeply regret that it is my painful duty to convey to your Royal Highness the sad intelligence of his death, which event took place on the 24th

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24th September last. On the 29th, his remains were temporarily conveyed to ~~Kennsi~~ Kensel Green cemetry, and his funeral was conducted with every respect due to his royal rank. The neighbourhood in which he lived showed their regret for his loss by closing of their houses on the mournful occasion, for he lived and died respected by all, and his loss was deeply felt, more especially by the poor to whom he was very charitable and good.

I was daily with him during his long illness; he was attended by the first medical man in the country, and by the Queen's physician. He received every kindness and attention from all about him, especially from his two Indian ladies, his attendants, who never ceased to his last moments to watch over and comfort him day and night. I was at his bed-side when he expired; he was sensible to the last. He expressed regret and a great anxiety about his two ladies being left unprotected after his death, and was sorry that his son was not in England to take charge of them, but hoped that he would soon arrive on hearing of it. He desired me to write and beg that your Highness would see to their future wants and comfort and make a provision for them both during their life-time out of his pension from the Government. He also expressed a wish that his body should not remain in England, but that it might be conveyed to his native country- COORG.

I beg to say that the two Indian ladies intend, in accordance with the wish of his late Highness to remain in England until they hear your wishes and intentions, or till the arrival of the Prince- your son, to take charge of his father's remains, when they would like to return with him to India, and that as soon as possible, as they do not wish to continue to live in this country.

I have been and still am in charge of His Highness's property (jewels etc) in the house, and are under custody and locked up. A list taken of the, and deposited with the bankers, under the authority of His Highness's solicitors and executors, and shall feel obliged by an answer being sent to this letter by return mail, and addressed to me. Sd) James Birkett, London.

From W.Grey, offg. Secretary, Government of India,
To the Secretary to the Governor-General, (Foreign dept.), Calcutta,
dated the 20th March 1860.

With reference to the letters dated the 13th and 27th December (1859), I am directed to forward the accompanying copy of a correspondence with the Governor-General's Agent in Benares relative to the provision to be made for the members of the Coorg family.

ii) It will be observed that the Agent has been already authorised to make such allowance to the family in India as he may deem proper, not exceeding Rs. 2000 a month, and the President-in-Council feels no hesitation in now recommending that the larger amount proposed by the Agent should be provisionally sanctioned, pending the orders of the Secretary of State for India on the case....."

Money Allotments to the Family:

From the offg. Under-Secretary, Government of India,
To the Agent to the Governor-General in Benares connected to the family of the ex-Raja of Coorg,
dated the 6th February 1860.

H.E. the Governor-General having forwarded your letters for the opinion of the President-in-Council, as to the provision which should be made for the family of the deceased Raja of Coorg, I am directed to state that it appears to his honour-in-Council that stipends somewhat on the following scale, will afford a suitable provision for the surviving members of the family.

To the Rani Rs. 500 a month; six concubines Rs. 300; five other concubines Rs. 250; a legitimate son Rs. 500; for the daughter in England Rs. 400; six illegitimate sons Rs. 600, and for the daughter in India Rs. 100.
Total amount Rs. 2,650.

ii) Before, however, communicating on the subject with the Governor-General, the

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the President-in-Council is desirous to be favoured with your opinion, and it is possible that circumstances may exist, with which you are acquainted, that may render modifications on the above case advisable. It may, for example, be the case, that one or more of the illegitimate sons have been acknowledged as holding a position superior to the others, and adverting to what is mentioned regarding the mental condition of the legitimate son, it may not possibly seem necessary to make for him so large a provision as that above suggested.

iii) I am desired, therefore, to request that you will be good enough to communicate your opinion as to the provision which should be made for the several members of the ex-Raja's family.

iv) Pending the final orders of the Government, you are authorised to make such allowances as you may consider necessary for the comfort of the family in India, not exceeding in the aggregate of Rs. 2000 a month, calculated from the date on which the pension allowed to the Raja was stopped. It should however be carefully explained to them that the amount to be ultimately allowed, will depend upon the views of His Excellency the Governor-General and of the Home Government."

From Fred. Gubbins, Agent in Benares,
To the Under-Secretary, Fort William, Calcutta, the 25th Feb. 1860.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter------.

In reply I beg to submit that I do not consider the sum of Rs. 100 a month as in any way an adequate allowance for the several illegitimate sons of this family.

The fact is, that the custom of Coorg country differ very much from those of this part of India, and from our own. The ladies of the late Raja's Zanana, whom we style as concubines, are with them called Ranis and occupy a position but little inferior to the real Ranis, and I have been told that of the two sisters, one was a Rani and the other a concubine.

The off-spring of these ladies have likewise been always regarded in almost exactly the same light as the one legitimate son, and the older brother Chandrashekar, who is illegitimate, has invariably acted and been received as the head of the male portion of the family during his father's absence.

The executors of the late Raja's will, Sir John Login and Montgomery Martin, inform me that they have every hope of their being able to compromise the suit laid against the Government for a perpetual commutation of the former allowance of Rs. 5,000 per month, and, I would, therefore, respectfully solicit that the present proposed allowance be raised (as a temporary measure) from Rs. 2650 to Rs. 3000 a month, and that the distribution of this sum be (with the exception of Princess Gowramma's stipend of Rs. 400) left to the Agent of the Governor-General in Benares.

Should the proposal acceded to, I shall no doubt be able to keep my portion of the family contented on their monthly allowance of Rs. 2650.-------.

NOTE: It is proposed to allow the daughter in England Rs. 400 a month, and she is white and as illegitimate as the six children. It would appear harsh to give her four times as much as is given to them. (As to the illegitimacy of Gowramma, as already said, her mother must have been a Kodava lady, probably the sister of Biddanda Somayya, the Karyakar, and the father must have been some European official resident in Benares during 1840 and 1841.)

Utmost Consideration Shown:

The below is the Minutes of the hon'ble Bartle Frere, dated the 5th March 1860.

"I do not think that under any circumstances we can go wrong in sanctioning the arrangement proposed by the Agent to the Governor-General, at least till we receive the orders of the Secretary of State for India. I think we should treat this family with the utmost liberality consistent with justice to other parties, and I do not feel satisfied from the tone of Mr. Fred. Gubbin's letter that they will meet at his hands with the consideration, which is, I think, due to them. I have no doubt it was im-

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impossible to prevent the suicide of the two Ranis, and it may have been necessary to have "threatened with incarceration" the sons who seem not to have been aware that it was the Agent's duty to have his father's property dug up and put under lock and key. But the former event should have been reported otherwise than by an incidental and somewhat flippant notice in a letter on another subject written a fortnight after the event, and after attaching all the valuables he could find, the Agent was, I think, bound to make better provision for the daily wants of the family than by reporting, some six afterwards that "the family clamours for more".

Setting aside all higher considerations, it should be remembered that any want of consideration shown to this family at Benares, will speedily be repeated with natural exaggerations in every native court in India and that though the justice of our proceedings in going to war with, and deposing the late Raja has never, I believe, been questioned by competent judges, opinions are by no means so unanimous regarding our later proceedings since he has been our prisoner.

I should, at any rate, wish my remarks regarding the Agent's treatment of the family, to be submitted to the Governor-General, and to the Secretary of State for India. I should fain hope that any want of consideration extended not further than the Agent's manner of expressing himself in his official report, but it is precisely such mistakes of manner which form the sting to such acts of disagreeable duty as it fell to the Agent to discharge, and unless I am entirely mistaken in the view I have expressed, any notice of the matter by His Excellency will have beneficial effect.

It is difficult for anyone who does not personally know the race, to understand how utterly different they are from us, and even from Indian races in all their motives and modes of action, but there is much, even in these few papers, to illustrate the wideness of being judicially decided. The so called compromise is also based upon a statement which in several important particulars, is correct, especially the allegations respecting the legal and equitable claims of the ex-Raja——.

As the time for reviving the suit is close at hand, it is very desirable that I should be furnished with definite instructions whether to proceed at once or consent to a postponement to give time for the consideration of the proposal by the Government, and if the latter course is determined on. I would take the liberty of suggesting that I be authorised to take the opinion of the standing council and the counsel engaged in the suit, upon the expediency of entertaining a compromise upon the terms now offered, or upon any other terms....."

At the Chancery Court:

The belbw is a copy of the proceedings of what went on at the hearing at the Chancery Court, in England,

"In Chancery: Plaintiff: Viraraja Wodeyar, ex-Raja of Coorg.
Defendant: Secretary of State for India (who has come to the place of the East India Company).

Statements and propositions of behalf of Sir John Spencer Login and Robert Montgomery Martin, the executors of the Will of the late Raja of Coorg:

i) The Will was filed in this cause on the 17th June 1854 by Viraraja Wodeyar, the ex-Raja of Coorg, against the hon'ble East India Company, for the purpose of recovering payment from them, of the amount due to the promissory notes together with interest there-on from the year 1832 to the present time, the one of which promissory notes is dated the 1st May 1832, and is for Rs. 2,03,900 and the other of such promissory notes is dated 1st February 1811, and is for Rs. 6,53,940- making together Rs. 8,57,840.

ii) The suit was in a position to be set down for hearing but before it was set down, on the 25th September, the Raja died, having first duly made and published his last will and testament, dated the 20th June 1859, and appointed Sir John Login and R.M. Martin, executors thereof, who duly proved the same in the principal Registry of her Majesty's court of Probate, on the 2nd November 1859.

iii) That in the Will of the said Raja, is contained a clause with reference to the said suit of which the following is a copy:

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"I hereby authorise and empower my said executors———my said three wives and my said children the pension which has been hitherto paid to me or for my use by the Government of India or to make some other suitable provision for them."

iv) That the said executors———did on the I6th Nov. I859, file their bill in the hon'ble court against the Princess Victoria Gowramma of Coorg, before his honour the Master of the Rolls praying amongst other things, that it might be referred to the Chamber of the Judge to whose court this cause is attached to inquire and certify whether any and what proceedings should be taken by the plaintiffs in reference to the claims made in the suit by the said testator against the East India Company, and now against the Secretary of State of India, or in reference to the claims by the said testator mentioned in the said suit, or whether the plaintiff should (if the Secretary of State for India is willing) under what terms and conditions compromise the said suit, or the claims of the said testator therein mentioned.

v) During the lifetime of the Raja, the India Government allowed him a pension which now reverts to them of———Rs. 60,000 per annum. Under the ordinary circumstances, it is assumed that this pension would now have been reduced to his family to one half- say- Rs. 30,000 per annum.

But in consequence of one of his daughters, Princess Victoria Gowramma, having been educated in England, in a position of life which entails a great expense, an addition must be made to the sum (and which has already been settled on her) a sum of Rs. I0,000.

In case the said Sir John Login and Montgomery Martin, or either of them, or any future trustees or trustee of this Will, shall die, refuse or become incapable to act in the trusts thereof, it shall be lawful for the survivor or continuing trustee, or the retiring or refusing trustee, to appoint some other person or persons in his or their place to be a trustee or trustees of this my will———.

Sir Charles Wood, of the Political Department, wrote on the 7th October I859, to the Governor-General of India, that:

"With reference to my letter of the 30th Sept. I transmit to you herewith for the information of your Excellency's Government a copy of the will of the late ex-Raja of Coorg, and a letter relating to it, from Mr. Robert M. Martin, one of the executors named in the said will."

Some More Letters:

After I860, and after a futile court battle, the executors of the will, Sir John Login and Montgomery Martin, tried their best to see that the family members of the late Raja were relieved, and therefore kept on pressing their claims and demands for the benefit of the members of the Raja's family. Many of those letters, the copy of the printed ones, could be found attached in the personal files of this author, and which are now deposited at the Fort Library in Mercara. The above two gentlemen continued writing even till I865 on the claims of the late Raja, and all those copies could be found in the file and could be reproduced for the use of the students of Coorg history. Here are a couple of letters, however:

On the 5th January I863, the India Office in London, wrote to Sir Login and Robert M. Martin, stating that:

"In reply to your letter of the 28th July I86I, submitting a renewed application on behalf of the family of the late ex-Raja of Coorg to the benefit of the Government promissory notes,———So long the subject of litigation in this country———I am directed by Sir Charles Wood to acquaint you that H.M.'s Government being of opinion after full consideration that the arrangements made in India and in England for the maintenance of the family of the late ex-Raja are liberal and sufficient, he cannot see any reason for disturbing them nor of making any appropriation of the Government

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promissory notes, to what you allude, in favour of the members of the Coorg Raja's family.

(About the two daughters who were left in Benares, it was said, as already made known that the first one was the wife of Rana Jung Bahadur of Nepal, and another younger girl was also said to have been residing at the Nepalese Court with her sister, and, the latter one was definitely an illegitimate one.)

Sir John Login and R. Montgomery Martin got another letter from H. Hamilton, Treasury Chambers, and dated the 22nd Nov. 1861. This seemed to have been an earlier letter which was included in the latter file of letters. It said, that:

"The Lords Commissioner of Her Majesty's Treasury have had before them the memorandum which accompanied your letter of the 11th May last, praying that Her Majesty may be advised to grant to you as executors of the will of the last Raja of Coorg for the benefit of his family certain securities to which were formerly the property of the Raja but have now become vested in the Crown; and I am directed to acquaint you that the result of the judgment of the Master of the Rolls referred to in your memorandum was to have the promissory notes in question at the disposal of the Crown as part of the revenues of India. They are accordingly in the possession of the proper authorities in India on behalf of the Indian Government and there are no grounds on which my Lords can claim the same or interfere in your case."

Sd) Geo. Hamilton. Treasury Chambers,

DR. I. M. MUTHANNA,
M.A., (B.O.L.,) B.T., (MADRAS)
PH.D., (COLO.,) DIP.-IN-JOURN. (LONDON)
PHONE: 325-3573

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CHAPTER IX.

Notes on Coorg History (Pre- 1930.)

The Encyclopaedia- India: (1885):-

The third Edition of this encycloepaedia, by Surgeon-General Edward Balfour in three volumes- 1400 demy pages, said on Coorg as below: (The 1st Ed. in 1858)(Civi

"Coorg in 1837- there was a rebellion in the British district of Kanara. The Coorgs at once marched there, quelled the rebellion and recaptured for the British the treasures carried off by the insurgents. The Governor-General directed that the recovered treasure should, as a reward, be divided amongst the Coorgs, but they to a man, refused to receive it, and proudly declared that they had not fought for loot. The British Government awakened to a sense of the spirit of these rude warriors, then directed JAGHIRs and UMBLI lands to be conferred on them and presented their chiefs with horses, rifles, Khillats and other marks of honour. Later, still when the British supremacy in India had been shaken to its foundation (in 1857), a body of Coorgs, armed to the teeth, suddenly made their appearence at Peryapatna under the secret instructions of the late Sir Mark Cubbon and by their presence tended to suppress the growing insolence and disaffection of the Muslim classes of Srirangapatna and the adjacent parts of the Province (of Coorg)."

(Note: It was after this Sir Mark Cubbon proclaimed the Indian Arms Act of 1861, by which Coorgs were exempted from the Act and were allowed to hold arms. The above brief was first given by Capt. Robert Cole in his book on Coorg of 1867.)

The Coorg Plantation Fund petition-1863:

The episode of founding the Education CUM Plantation Fund in 1862-63 through the enthusiastic support of Rev. George Richter, the headmaster & Inspector of Coorg Schools. The petition concerning this is as below:

"We, the undersigned headmen of Coorg, taking a lively interest in the intellectual enlightenment of the sons and daughters of our country-men, have by the advice of Rev. George Richter, agreed upon and resolved to carry out the following plan:

i) Having obtained as a free gift from the Chief Commissioner of Mysore & Coorg, Lewin Bowring, the two jungles of Paramadu and Punchi (?) in Yedenalknad, a claim to which having been relinquished by the late Subedar Kolutanda Subbayya, in favour of the present undertaking.. We bind ourselves by this document to raise at five per cent per annum from amongst ourselves, and other Coorgs who are willing to join us, a sum of money sufficient for the purpose of opening a coffee plantation as an endowment for the Mercara Central School and its boarding house.

ii) The subscribers choose amongst themselves six Coorgs as a Committee who together with the Principal of the Mercara Central School, undertake the management of the whole business and who have power to fill up vacancies———.

iii) After the loan has been repaid, the plantation will for ever be the property of the Central School and held the trust for the same by the appointed Committee but the annual net profits can only be applied to educational purposes———.

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"As the present Principal of the Central School has taken so great an interest in the welfare of the Coorgs (Kodavas), and we may expect him to do the same also in future, we cheerfully accord him his position in our Committee, but in case of the present Principal retiring from his post, his successor will have no claim to the same privileges and can be admitted only with the consent of the Committee.

Mercara, Coorg:
IIth October I863.

i) Sd) Cheppudira Subbayya (2nd Asst. Superintendant),
ii) " Keluvanda Kariappa, Subedar, Mercara taluk,
iii) " Mathanda Appacha, head-Shirestedar (and a war-hero),
iv) " Kenganda Appayya, judicial Shirestedar, Mercara.
v) " Codanda Appacha S/O Subedar Madayya, Muktesbwar,
vi) " Bittianda Kariappa, head-Munshi, Mercara.
vii) " Kuttetira Iyappa, Treasurer, Mercara.
viii) " Kanavanda Pommappa,
x) " Bittianda Muddayya,
xii) " B. Shamanna,
ix) Chonrira Appayya,
xi) Appaneravandh Achayya,
xiii) Thimmappayya.

(Note: There is one more name as 'Appayya' but the family name is not known, but in all, there were 14 signatories to the above petition, and thus, that was the birth of the century or more- old Coorg Education Fund, which has now risen to more than Rs. ten lakhs of rupees. When the above FUND was born, there were hardly any middle educated Kodavas but now after a hundred years they have risen as a highly educated race and they have spread all over India and even in some parts of the world.)

The Central School Building: (I869):

The Building Committee consisted of the late Superintendant Major Martin, and three other Coorg or Kodava officials. The principal, MR. G. Richter planned and executed within the next five years (I863-68), the proposed buildings at an outlay of Rs. 32,548 towards which the Coorgs subscribed Rs. 9,722, the Europeans in Coorg, Rs.47I/-, the sale of the old school house got Rs. 6500, and the balance was paid by the Government.

The boarding house was ready for occupation from the beginning of I87I. The Girls' Boarding House was under construction- and it was built by Subedar Keluvanda Kariappa, the first Kodava pupil of the English School, Mercara, in I856, and also his friend, Cheppudira Subbayya- later the 2nd. Asst. Superintendant.

The new Central School was opened in May I869, and that contained I76 pupils of whom twelve were girls. In all 93 Kodavas were there and the rest of the students were the others. Geography, history, Maths, and science subjects were introduced. Needle-work for girls, singing were the other subjects. Gymnasium was also built. Mr. Richter, a very energetic Principal, wrote that:

"On the whole the Coorg boys, though eager for learning and diligent and persevering in their studies, have not that quickness of perception and brilliancy of intellect------They are slow and lack imagination, but are solid in their acquirements and gifted with sound Commonsense.....Coorg boys and others trained in the Central School are now found in every office of the various departments of the Government in Coorg and some fill important posts, but it is to be regretted that many of them did not complete the course of education offered to them------None of the first class pupils has yet attempted to pass the matriculation examination though in the opinion of the Director of Public Instruction: "If these boys were to remain another year under instruction, they might all be prepared to pass the matriculation test of the Madras University." (Report- I869-70)

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The Kodavas as Christians, according to Richter:

"In all nine Kodavas became Christians. Stephnas Alamanda Somayya ended his life in disgrace as a revenge, burnt the Alamanda chapel and disappeared. His son grew up at Mangalore theological seminary. He had two daughters and they lived as Christians in Mangalore."

Richter also said that "Col. J. Fraser's (I834) hopeful view of the Kodavas' preparedness for embracing the Christian religion, when the opportunity was offered to them, has not been realised. To what causes this failure may be ascribed, it is difficult to say------Perhaps Col. Fraser formed his opinion before he had sufficiently made himself acquainted with the Coorg character------Dr. Moegling's labours (in I850-60) in Coorg (who had converted a few Kodavas and hundreds of Holeyas-Harijans) have not been in vain."

On appointing the district Magistrate (I880)

The Chief Commissioner of Coorg wrote to the Government of India, that:

"I hold that the English judge or magistrate in India is naturally better qualified to try cases in which Europeans are accused than the native judge------Section 45I of the C.P.C. seemed a racial one. It said, that:

"In trials of the European British subjects before a High Court or a Sessions Court------the trial shall be by a jury of which not less than half the number shall be Europeans or Americans or both Europeans and Americans------".

This was the answer sent to an all India questionnaire that was afloat at that time. In Coorg, however, all officials were the Europeans, especially the gazetted ones, right from I834 to I92I.

Questionnaire to amend the Criminal Procedure Code (I882):

Apart from the Chief Commissioner's above answer, some other local officials too sent their views in I883, in reply to the question on amending the C.P.C.: Konganda Ganapathy, who was Subedar, Mercara, wrote in I883, that:

"I must not be misunderstood in my opposition to the Bill. I am proud to say that pure natives of India have proved themselves, both morally and socially, capable of filling with credit some of the highest and the most responsible posts in India, and there is no doubt that there are many others who would do justice to their appointments as magistrates. What I mean is that the Bill is uncalled for, and has been thrust upon the Europeans contrary to their wishes and is therefore certainly to be deprecated."

Major H.M.Magrath, District Magistrate of Coorg, said that:

"The bill to amend the C.P.C. so far as it relates to the exercise of jurisdiction over the European British subjects------I consider the change proposed in the law undesirable on political grounds------tends to increase racial antagonism which it is made desirable to avoid in our Indian empire------".

racial

Col. W. Hill, Commissioner of Coorg, said that the measure was premature and impolitic. There were in Coorg at that time about 200 Europeans, most of them planters. There were some influential public meetings at Ammathi and Mercara in protest of the Bill as unjustified. The MADRAS MAIL reported the proceedings as follows:

i) We are of opinion that this Bill which we consider is unnecessary and uncalled for by either Natives or Europeans, and which the Government have unwisely proposed for the sake of two or three Bengali natives, will deprive us of the only right and

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and privilege which we Europeans in India enjoy and would place our lives and liberties at the mercy of the native magistrates who are almost ignorant of our ways and habits of life------.

"Here in this Province where there are so many Europeans, this act, if passed, would bear particularly hard. So long as there is an European judge who knows our ways and habits, and can sift carefully the false evidence brought forward, the natives are careful about bringing false accusations.

The Europeans thus protested at the prospect of the natives becoming district magistrates. Cheppudira Subbayya- the 2nd Asst. Commissioner, and N. Mennappa, Subedar, Yedenalkad, wrote on the Bill in April 1883, that:

"------We beg to submit that the Bill does by its provisions, no doubt, remove an existing anomaly, and that all things considered, it is such a measure as should be passed into law.

"We cannot see any objection to the Bill------Europeans and the Natives of every class or creed are, without distinction of class or race, all equally subject of H.M. Empress of India.

"Under the liberal Government, the Natives have qualified themselves to be considered eligible to fill most responsible positions. Indeed, natives have long been appointed to seats on the Bench of the High Courts in the several Presidencies------and natives as Magistrates have jurisdiction over the European British subjects------We are, therefore, of the opinion that the Bill should be passed into law."

Rev. H.A.Koundinya, a Brahmin convert, a missionary of Anandpur, educated in Europe and married a German, said that educated natives can honourably stand with men of European nationalities of similar grades and standing------." Thus, he and Cheppudira Subbayya and N.Mennappa supported the Bill, Konganda Ganapathy, the Subedar, said, however, that:

"------I think the amendment is really unnecessary------It will do us no good if we are called upon to perform the invidious task of punishing Europeans, while it will endanger the kindly feeling which should subsist between the Europeans and natives of the country------".

Headmaster- Central High School:

In 1896-97, the Madras Government asked if Coorg and Bangalore Education department be put under the Director of Public Instruction, Madras.

About ten years earlier than that in 1886, Madras Government declined to recommend for the sanction of the Secretary of State the creation of a separate headmastership to Central High School (in May 1886) in response to a letter of the Chief Commissioner of Coorg. At that time, Edmund Marsden was the headmaster as well as the Inspector of Schools, Coorg & South Kanara, and he was the last among the officials to hold the dual post which had been in vogue since the time of G. Richter.

From the Education Report of 1870-71:

Inspector George Richter's report for the year was as below:

"The boys were regular in their lessons, and made considerable progress. I introduced this year the matriculation text books as an experiment, but out of the five boys only one seems able and willing seriously to prepare for the examination. As formerly observed, the Coorg boys are not distinguished by that quickness of perception and brilliancy of intellect which are frequently observed in the Brahmin youth. Besides, it should be considered that the Coorg boys have in their parents, no educated mentors to direct or appreciate their studies; education in Coorg has not yet descended to a second generation- all their learning the boys receive at school and the home influence is not always of an encouraging kind------.

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"The Normal School recently established at the Central School for the education of teachers, will prove a great boon. There are, at present, five candidates under instruction, but until the Boarding House is rendered available also for their abode, they will hardly be able to stay in Mercara. With the funds from the education cess this obstacle will be removed, and a larger number of teachers may be trained------."

Some Epoch-Making Incidents & Eras in Coorg History:

1174 AD. The first known reference to the Kodavas in the Palpare inscriptions.

1450 " The Poet KumaraVyasa mentioned the name of KODAGU in his Mahabharata.

1680 " The Haleri ruling dynasty of Coorg founded.

1736 " Benira Muthanna's exploits in Malenad and Tulunad.

1763 " Hyder Ali's confrontation with the Coorg Chiefs began.

1784 " The Kodavas decided to seek the British help to stop Tippu's atrocities.

1790 " Coorg became British territory after the Tellichery treaty.

1809 " Karyakar Muthanna and two others were sent to Madras to see Lord Minto.

1834 " Coorg was annexed by the British and the Raja exiled.

1857 " The South Kanara insurrection and the role of the Kodavas.

1861 " The Exemption from the Arms' Act for the Kodavas.

1863 " The Secondary Education started with signing of the "Great Petition".

1871 " The first two Kodava boys appeared for the matriculation examination.

1877 " A year of great famine all over Coorg as elsewhere.

1900 " A year of very little rainfall which resulted in draught.

1915 " Some educated Kodavas sent overseas as soldiers during the World War.

1918 " A delegation of five Coorgs went to Madras to see Lord Chelmsford.

1924 " Legislative Council for Coorg, and a year of heavy rainfall and floods.

1929 " Lord Irwin, Viceroy of India, visited Coorg during his South Indian tour.

1933 " Mahatma Gandhi's visited Coorg during his South Indian tour.

1944 " Kodandera Kariappa became the first Indian Brigadier in the Indian Army.

1952 " The responsible Government for Coorg started working.

1956 " Coorg was merged into the State of Karnataka- 1st Nov. 1956.

The Simon Commission Report on Coorg (1928)- Vol. I:

"------North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Delhi, Ajmere-Merwara and Coorg and Andaman Is.- in each of these there is a Chief Commissioner------.

"The whole administration of finance are a Central charge, including matters like Education & Public Health------Coorg stands rather apart, for in Coorg a Legislative Council has been set up, provincial subjects have been separated from Central subjects, and separate revenues have been allocated to the local Administration, but there has been no explicit devolution of authority to its Chief Commissioner. In the other Centrally administered there are no Legislative Councils. The local executives are merely agencies of Government of India; the annual estimates of revenue and expenditure are a part of the Central Budget.

"------At the end of the 18th century, Coorg allied itself with the British against the common foe Tippu Sultan. In consequence of the mis-Government of its rulers, Coorg was, with the consent of the inhabitants, annexed in 1834------The Coorgs (Kodavas) from time immemorial were the lords of the soil, number about 44,000 out of a total population of 1,64,000. They form the largest compact unit and are strikingly Rajput in characteristics.------.

"The constitutional treatment of Coorg presented itself as a difficulty immediately after the passing of the Act of 1919. It was thought that the inhabitants of Coorg would consider an Advisory Council of the kind suggested in the Joint Report unworthy of their political and educational advancement. The alternatives were, therefore, offered of amalgamation with Madras or of a Legislative Council of their own. In a representative meeting of the Coorgs (Kodavas) holding both moderate and advanced views, the latter alternative was accepted. Rules were accordingly framed for Coorg, separating Provincial from Central subjects, abd Provincial from Central revenues. A Legislative Council of twenty members were constituted, fisteen of them elected.

"The Council has legislative, deliberative and interrogative powers. Its resolution on the Budget are merely recommendatory, but its finance Committee has often exerted influence on the Budget in its preparatory stages. Its bills are subject both to the previous sanction and subsequent assent of the Governor-General.

"A separate legislature for a province of the size of Coorg is clearly anomolous. It has met on an average for six days in the year, but even so it found it difficult not to descend to parochial matters which are more properly the business of the Coorg district board, or to interfere in administrative details. There is an antagonism of long standing between Coorgs and Brahmins which shows no sign of abatement. The Coorgs of the older type look askance at the new blood to which the Council gives eminence; the elements find the powers of the Council inadequate——Amalgamation with Madras would secure political advance at the price of the loss of individuality and loss of easy contact with the heads of administration.

"The alternatives for Coorg, are, therefore, closer association with the Centre or the development of its own institutions. The former alternative, involving as it would the loss of the Legislative Council, is unacceptable to the people of Coorg. A desire for the retention of the Council combined with representation in the Central legislature was expressed in an unanimous resolution in 1924. The Government of India, did not agree to give Coorg a representation at Delhi.

"The cost of the present administration is already high.....The day when a separate Coorg will be able to sustain the full paraphernalia of responsible Government must lie far ahead."

Simon Commission Report Continued: Vol. II:

"We have described in detail——the Coorg legislature, and there is no ground for changing the existing constitutional arrangements.

"While discussing the composition of the Federal Assembly, the Commission said, Coorg should have one member elected by its Legislative Council. The Provinces of Ajmere-Merwara should have each one member in the Federal Assembly. The Delhi representative should be elected by the members of the Municipal Council and District Board in joint session.

"Coorg revenue in	1924-25-	Rs. 15 lakhs	1925-26-	Rs. 14 lakhs,	
" "	1926-27-	" 13 "	1927-28-	" 14	"
" "	1928-29-	" 14 "			

In the Volume I, Page 401 of the Report, it is said that:

"In 1924, a local legislature was established in Coorg, which then ceased to be directly administered by the Central Government."

The Coorg Prize Money (1834):

The Coorg Prize Money was, in fact, distributed in November 1836, and the details concerning this has been said elsewhere. According to the Warrant for the distribution of the Prize Money and signed on the 22nd June 1836, was as follows:

Sir P. Lindsay received one-sixteenth of the whole amount, the rest of the officers shared the money as below:

Colonels-	Rs. 25,000 each.	Lieut. Colonels-	Rs. 15,000 each.
Majors-	" 10,000 "	Captains -	" 5,000 "
Subalterns-	" 2,500 "		

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The Raja in England: (in 1856):

Much about the Raja's activities in London has already been said in the previous chapters. This author has visited many a time his house in Paddington, London, between 1965 and 1967 where the house still possessed the trace of its old colour, carvings and appearence. That house and a block of flats in Warwick Avenue is preserved as an interesting specimen of development of the mid-18th century architecture, as was reported in the Daily Telegraph, the London daily- on the 15th October 1966. The address of the area is: 20, Clifton Villa, Warwick Avenue, Maida Vale, London.

A public function to which the last Raja of Coorg attended in England was the inauguration of STRANGERS' HOME. The details about this was also recorded in the previous chapters. Among those Indians apart from the Raja Viraraja of Coorg, who could not be present on the occasion:

Maharaja Dulip Singh of the Punjab (who was then in England as a young exile)
Ishwar Narain Singh Bahadur, the Raja of Benares,
Nawab Mir Jafar Ali Khan of Surat, and many other Parsi Gentlemen of Bombay.

The Raja of Coorg was 'unable' to attend but sent a small contribution.
The Prince Albert opened the HOME, and that was on the 31st May 1856.
Raja Dulip Singh addressed the meeting in English.

The Issue of Amalgamation of Coorg in 1880:

The Chief Commissioner of Coorg, who was also the Resident of Mysore, wrote to the Government of India, from his camp at Ootacmund, on the 16th April 1880, that:

"Coorg, since the expulsion of the Raja in 1834, has been under the Commissioner of Mysore who has also been the Chief Commissioner of Coorg. On the restoration of Mysore there will be no longer a Chief Commissioner of that Province, but a British officer will be appointed as Resident at the Court of the Maharaja of Mysore. Under these circumstances, it appears to Mr. Gordon that in providing for the Government of Coorg there are but two courses open, either to place the Province under the Resident of Mysore who should then be appointed Chief Commissioner of Coorg also, or to incorporate Coorg into the Madras Presidency.

"The former plan——will cause the least change and disturbance in the existing arrangements for conducting business of administration, and Mr. Gordon believes it will accord with the wishes alike of the Coorgs and of the ever-increasing body of influential planters in that Province. In 1862 when the reorganisation of the Mysore Commission was proposed by Mr. L. Bowring and sanctioned by the Government, Coorg was made into a district of the Ashtagram Division of Mysore, but this provoked such a strongly pronounced expression of feelings of Coorgs that the arrangement was reversed.

"Mr. Gordon, the Chief Commissioner, is now satisfied that it would be just as distasteful to the Coorgs of today to have Coorg formed into a district of Madras. The circumstances under which the British Government assumed the administration of their country, render these desires of the Coorgs quite intelligible, whilst their steady loyalty, unswerving attachment and valuable assistance to the British Government in troubulous times past are additional reasons for complishing with their wishes when this can be done without disadvantage to the public interests——.

"The Province is small and easily managed; it measures only 1572 sq. miles, contains population estimated at 1,68,312 souls, has no large towns. Mercara is the largest with a population of 8200 and it comprises only six taluqs and 512 villages——

"One peculiar and important advantage that the administration by the Resident of Mysore presents is the comparative fability with which all questions connected with the coffee industry would be disposed of, for Coorg depends mainly on Mysore for its labour——.

"Coorg yields a surplus of about Rs. 2 lakhs and it has an expanding revenue. The surplus is calculated after making allowance and expenditure on account of the Mercara Garrison, which, it is understood, if the recommendations of the Army Commission be adopted, will be greatly reduced, if not altogether saved in future——."

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From the Coorg Home Records- 1872- 1884:

In March 1872, an application was forwarded by the Agent of the Governor-General at Banares from one of the Coorg ex-Raja's illegitimate sons for the early marriage of the two of the late ex-Raja's daughters with the son of Devammaji, the late Raja's sister, was ordered to be transmitted to the Superintendent of Coorg for report if the proposed marriage could be affected.

On April 1872, a copy of the letter from the Superintendant of Coorg on the above subject with an intimation that the efforts of the late Raja's family to re-establish relations with certain people in Coorg had attracted a good deal of attention and that a strong opinion having been expressed by the most influential headmen of the Province that such relationship should not be permitted, the Chief Commissioner was constrained to decline to authorise any arrangement for proposed marriage.

The petition from Devammaji, sister of the late Raja, to the Viceroy, praying for permission for her son to assume the title of Raja, transmitted by the Superintendant of Coorg, was submitted by the Government of India with an intimation that Mr. Bowring, the late Chief Commissioner in 1869 forbade the assumption of that title by the petitioner's son, and that as there would appear to be no ground for acceding to her request on the subject, and on the 25th April 1872, the C.C. recommended that it should not be granted.

On the 20th June 1872, the Government of India wrote declining compliance with Devammaji's request.

The subject of Devammaji's son's wedding with the ex-Raja's two daughters was taken up again on the 8th April 1872. Government of India wrote to the Chief Commissioner of Coorg about the ex-Raja's daughters' marriage should not be replied without previous reference to the Government.

In November 1875, Biddanda Somayya wrote that after his death, his remains may be interned within the precincts of the late Raja's cemetry, and sanction was accorded to the request, with a remark that it is limited to Somayya only and not anybody else of his family.

A petition received from the husband of Gangamma, the late daughter of the ex-raja, praying for the continuance of the pension enjoyed by her, was submitted for orders of the Government of India.

In August 1884, Devammaji, daughter of Linga Raja and sister of the last Raja, sent a petition to which Commissioner was requested by the Government of India to report whether the order complained by her prohibiting an adoption in the family was issued, and, if so, on what authority.

The chief commissioner agreed to a proposal to present to the Madras Museum an old fashioned silver ink-stand, with pen-holders and sand box, said to have been used by the Coorg Rajas.

* * * * * *

In July 1882, one Brahmin Sayyya of Padinalkad, wrote on an excess amount recovered on the Kanateri-kadu jungle belonging to Devammaji, daughter of the ex-Raja of Coorg, was forwarded to the Commissioner for report. This was in 1882-83.

Devammaji's brothers were not granted Rs. 50/- pension each as requested, and the orders were passed to this effect in 1892.

A Report on Land Revenue and Bane Lands: (1865-75):

It was said that the avowed intention of the Rajas in assigning the Bane land free, appears to have been to enable the ryots cultivating kathands to procure manure and fuel although as in Manjrabad dry crops are grown free of tax, is questionable whether such cultivation would have escaped tax.

Anyway, now the Bane land cannot be taken up by itself without paddy land being at the same engaged for and cultivated, and it is necessary to prevent any abuse of the privilege. Of course, so long as he paid the Jamma rate, the tenant was at liberty to cut down the trees if he choses to do so, save those kinds always reserved by the Government. This was said in December the 18th 1865.

In 1874, Cardamonm jungles were leased to many and some lessees had a big acreage. Bane land is a portion of forest land attached to each rich holding or WARGA and were

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were originally given for the purpose of fuel, grazing of leaf manure in connection with the WARGA. At the time these Banes were allotted, coffee was unknown in Coorg and the Bane had no special value. Later coffee was planted.

In 1890, the JAMA revenue was	Rs. 61,866.	Sagu revenue:	Rs. 83,164
" " Umbli "	" 6,365.	Jodi wet "	" 6,157.
" " Sagu dry "	" 8,333.		

Jama ryots are those who carry swords and guns and perform duties of the palace paying UMBLI tax as a mark of having the confidence of the palace. HUKUM NAAMA says that "Honest Jama ryots who are not able to attend (royal) conference or to carry arms and attend hunts" shall pay Rs. 10 for 100 butties.

"As you have obtained these lands on Jama tenure according to the established custom of the country, you can enjoy the same yourself, your sons and grandsons hereditarily by paying assessment to the Government at the rate of Rs. 3 per 100 butties or two PAGODAs and 10-16 PANAMs for 165 butties and live happily."

"The Sannads were written like this and it gives the land for three generations only and the assessment was liable to be raised after that. But the Rajas intended it to be hereditary for ever and later also the British presumed it to be so.

"The first Raja who came to Coorg in the 17th century had DHULI BHATTA or refuse grain swept from the thrashing floor as revenue and later he gained despotic power.

A report of 1898 from the C.C., Col. Robertson to the Government of India, said that "UMBLI was given on a permanently privileged assessment. The service rendered by the Kodavas in suppressing the outbreak of 1837 in South Kanara are still remembered in the country, and I feel sure the Government of India would not wish to take any step calculated to convey the impression that they now under-value the feelings which prompted the Coorgs to render such signal assistance in 1837.

KITTI BITTI signifies the duties exacted from JAMA and other Coorgs to the SWAMIs or the masters- the duties of importance.

Coorg Revenue Survey:

Mr. Barkar was in charge of Coorg revenue survey. He, along with G. Haller, demarcated land boundaries, prepared field maps, assessed land revenues, etc. A scheme of survey and settlement operation was drawn and it costed Rs. 1,56,000, in 1890.

J.P.Barkar was the deputy superintendant of the revenue survey. There were ten surveyors and 100 Amins to assist him. There were about 25 Shanbhogues as well.

In 1890-91, Mr. Cardozo of Madras Survey Department, visited Coorg and he recommended G. Haller to Coorg Government and the latter did a good job at that. Haller served from the 18th March 1890 to 1914 as Asst. Director of Land Records & Agriculture, Registrar of Cooperative Societies & Revenue Settlement Officer.

In 1901, the Population of Coorgs- 36,091, Brahmins 2,818, Gowdas 11,928, Vokkaligas 12,389, Harijans 26,995, Yeravas 14,586 and Lingayats- 8,702.

Coorg Revenue in 1901- Rs. 3,89,319	1904- Rs. 3,96,348	1907- Rs. 3,72,079.
1910- Rs. 3,63,957	1913- Rs. 3,90,915	1916- Rs. 3,95,141.
1921- Rs. 4,11,317	1925- Rs. 3,74,400	1928- Rs. 3,73,313.
	1933- Rs. 3,61,089.	

Stamp Revenue: 1884- Rs. 74,466,	1887- Rs. 80,450	1892- Rs. 91,311.
1895- Rs. 1,11,371	1898- Rs. 70,853	1900- Rs. 57,312.

Cardamom Cultivation:

Edgar Ludlow wrote an account of cardamom cultivation in 1871.

He said that in 1863 cardamom was sold at Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 per maund. At Nalknad a large store was built to stock cardamom, and merchants of Tellicherry purchased them. The cardamom jungles were in the Rajas' hands because the Coorgs were scattered in plains after being the captives during the time of Tipu's ravages. The British sold all cardamom in Nalknad store to a Parsi merchant, Dara Sait. For several years the Coorgs continued to deliver cardamom to Government as it was the practice, and only after 1850, the jungles were leased for short terms. The Europeans in the meantime

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purchased jungles for coffee cultivation and that reduced the protection of cardamom. Nevertheless, Mr. Ludlow recommended a long-term lease of cardamom MALAIs. Rev. Moegling wrote that "a cardamom jungle is a mine of wealth to its possessor."

In those days Coorg used to have torrential rains. In 1896 the rain fall was 156 inches, in 1897 137 inches and in 1899 only 99 inches, but in the next year in 1900 the rainfall was 144 inches.

COORGS & YERAVAS- an Ethnological Contrast.(1901)
by Thomas H. Holland of Geological Survey of India.

Contrast in stature, chest, girth, nasal index, cephalic index, facial angle etc. In facial angle (Madras) brahmins, Palli and Coorg 69°, Kota and Kammalan 70°, Badaga 71°, Irulla and Paraiah 68°, Panian and Toda 67° and Yerava 66°.

The major communities of the time (1900), are Coorgs 32,600 and Yeravas 14,210. George Richter called Coorgs Dravidian tribes and not as Aryan Hindus. He regarded the presumption of their being Kshatriyas or of Rajput descent as without the slightest foundation in history or tradition and without evidence.

Dr. Gustav Oppert classes the Coorgs with the Gudian division among the pre-Aryans on account of the name like KO- KODAGU, even though this seems far-fetched.

Turning to the other features which constitute race characteristics, we find that the Coorgs are equally distinct from their neighbours in the South. They have nearest approach to a brachycephalic head (79.9, in nasal index (72.2)——their percentage of stature, they are distinctly shorter feet, fore-arm and leg, smaller pan and chest——data show that Coorgs and Yeravas belong to two totally distinct and ethnic branches, but in view of the fact that they have lived in close proximity, and almost domestic relationship with one another for a long period, I have scrutinised the records of each individual for evidence of a possible blood relationship in the near past——It is highly unlikely that any of the higher castes in India are able to boast with certainty of complete freedom from the aboriginal black blood of the country and even amongst the Coorgs, there are some which display a suspicious atavistic approach to the race of which the Yeravas are the fairly characteristic members.

"——The character which marks Coorgs off from all other tribes of the South is their singular tendency towards brachycephalism, their cephalic index of 79.9 narrowly excluding them from Broca's class of sub-brachycephalic. These characters, with their comparatively fair skin and general bearing, mark them off with unmistakable distinctness from the other races, who also speak Dravidian languages and leaves the question of their ethnic relationship an unsolved problem.

"A comparison of the figures for the Coorgs and Yeravas suggests a blood mixture in the former tribe, whilst the latter are a very compact pure race with a comparatively limited degree of individual variation. This point is especially well-expressed by a diagram grouping- say the heads, noses and some particular feature in which the two tribes show a striking contrast on the average.

"By whatever process it has been brought about, whether by infusion of foreign blood or by racial differentiation, there is a physical contrast between the average high vast Hindu and the aboriginal tribes. If you regard the physical characters of the former to be of a high type and the latter to be of a lower type than all the castes we know in South India, the Coorgs rank among the highest.

"Judging by such characteristics as the stature, the nasal index, the long arms and limbs, the facial angle and the colour of the skin, the Coorgs certainly do not seem to belong to South India. Their manners and customs present none of the streaks of savage life frequently met with among the mountaineers of India."

Slavery:

The question of slavery in Coorg attracted the attention of the authorities very shortly after the assumption of the British rule in 1834. The first attempt at emancipation was made with the disposable slaves attached to the Rajas' PAMPAs. Some of the slaves after emancipation took up lands on their own account and one or two are

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are now well-to-do cultivators, others accepted work as free labourers, whilst others, it is believed, through the agency for a converted Coorg and Rev. Moegling converted Alamanda Somayya, and, those Christians settled in Alamanda in Coorg where they form the nucleus of an interesting rising Christian village.

Coffee lands:

In a letter to Mr. Mangles, the Chief Commissioner wrote, that:

"With due consideration to the interests of Coorg, as well as to the claims of of numerous other applicants for coffee lands——the cultivation of coffee is largely restricted——he cannot recommend that any larger extent of land should be assigned free of cost than that which has been offered to him——."

One Basave Gowda encroached upon and planted coffee in the URUDVE in 1854-55; this was considered as trespass, but it ceased to be so the moment Government consented to receive from his assessment. Patel Basave Gowda stated, that:

"In 1846 all the ryots were in the habit of taking up lands wherever they chose, and cultivated them. In the same manner he also selected the URUDVE for the purpose of planting coffee, and from 1864 he paid assessment on that.

Sir Mark Cubbon's Testimony: (1837):

"In securing this object (attachment of the Coorgs to the British rule after the insurrection of South Kanara in 1837), I am disposed to give a very secondary place to the realisation of revenue, and rather to regard the land as an assignment for the maintenance of a body of warriors on whose steadfast fidelity the tranquility of the neighbouring territories may be considered in a great measure to depend. For, the impression is strong in my mind that so long as we are sure of the attachment of the Coorgs, there will be little cause for anxiety about the dangerous disturbances in South Kanara, Malabar, Wynad or the adjoining districts of Mysore; and even if they should arise, they would be readily suppressed by the Coorgs alone, who are from habit beyond all comparison, better qualified than regular troops for service in a difficult country and from whose pursuit the insurgents must well know they could have no chance of escape."

Capt. Robert Cole said in 1867, that:

"——This has been lately illustrated by the prompt manner in which the Jama Coorgs turned out to assist at the Mysore Elephant hunt. I received a requisition from the Superintendant of Ashtagram Division to bring up 500 armed Coorgs, as it was a harvest time. I only sent orders for 300 to assemble, but in 56 hours, I was on the march with upwards of 500 men and the number increased to over 650 men before I reached halfway to Mysore, and the material bearing and cheerful manner of these men formed a remarkable contrast with those of Mysore, and a subject of comment."

Thus there are a good many reports describing the gallantry of the KODAVAS of the last centuries. Capt. Robert Cole said in 1867 in another report that:

"Cheppudira Subbayya discharged treasury duties——to my satisfaction. He is a willing and zealous official, and, I believe, impartial in the discharge of his duties towards Europeans and natives.

"Head Shirestedar Mathanda Appachanna, Naib Shirestedar Konganda Appayya, who are considered as headmen of their race, continue to deserve honourable mention of their services. They exercise great control over the Coorgs and are of the utmost use to the Superintendant in the disposal of all questions of importance coming up before him—

Superintendant's Office, 11th June 1867, Camp- Fraserpet, Sd) R.A.Cole."

Some More Testimonials for the Kodava Prowess:

Lewin B.Bowring, in his book "Mysore & Coorg" said in 1871, that:

"——Hundreds of people assembled to witness the Coorg (Kodava) dance, and I shall never forget the scene. The old fort, the picturesque crowd, the fine men in their striking costume, and the graceful manner in which they danced——was quite unique, and that there is nothing like it in any other part of India."

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"Mercara was originally called Mahadevapet. Tipu Sultan called it Jaffarabad, and that was so only for a short time. The word Madikeri was used for the first time long after that in the time of Viraraja the Elder, and Linga Raja confirmed that name. The latent strength and potentialities of the Kodavas came to the forefront only after the English rulers began to see in them during the time of Tipu Sultan, and after that there were several opportunities for Kodavas to come to the limelight as a victorious race in many a local war and skirmishes.

During his visit to Coorg in 1928, the Viceroy of India Lord Irwin said, that:

"A gun is a traditional Coorg weapon and is borne by many of you (Kodavas) as part of your Jama-tenure duties, and I would remind that the privilege of bearing arms has been reserved to you in the Order of 1924 in spite of the fact that the old standing exemptions have been withdrawn from many persons and classes privileged in the past."

Lewin Bowring's Report of the 30th June 1862:-

"The head and Naib Shiresteadars, Mathanda Appasha and Kongandra Appayya respectively are diligent in the performance of their duties———.

In 1861-62- total expenditure of the Coorg administration- Rs. 1,59,472.
Excise revenue Rs. 49,640- and that was an increase of Rs. 13,953.
Coffee revenue Rs. 32,103, and that was an excess of Rs. 4,161.
In 1859-60, land revenue was Rs. 1,48,230 and in 1861, it was Rs. 1,47,273.
Excise and Stamp revenue averaged at this time around Rs. 35,000 per annum.
It was also reported that during the year 1861-62, three royal tigers and 19 cheetahs were killed (but these are only official figures.)

The Public Works department spent in 1862 Rs. 14,646.
Pension to the members of the ex-Raja's family- Rs. 6,448.
The political pension to the war heroes' descendants- Rs. 5,950.
The population of Coorg in 1839 was 81,437 and in 1861- 1,18,352.
The number of Kodavas in 1839- 17,096 and in 1861- 23,341.

It was said that the jungle tribe from Mysore and Wynad migrated into Coorg- chiefly into Kiggatnad in the first half of the last century.

The cardamom revenue during the time of the Raja was Rs. 30,000.
In 1862, Mercara was connected to Mangalore by post. On the post office and the Electric telegraphic remittance, the expense in 1861 was Rs. 2,870.
The planters insisted on Fraserpet- Siddapur, Mercara- Kodlipet roads to be opened.
Rev. Richter's cinchona experiment farm, three miles from Mercara, was successful.

Official cadres in 1871 were as follows: i) Superintendant ii) 1st Asst. Superintendant, iii) 2nd Asst. Superintendants iv) Subedars and v) Parpathigars.

KADANGAs are war trenches, and they also formed the Nad boundaries. In those days Mercara was garrisoned by the 28th regiment- from the 17th Feb. 1874. A territorial force was started in Coorg in 1902, and that continued to function for over 35 years.

(For details on these miscellanious topics, refer to this author's book A TINY MODEL STATE OF SOUTH INDIA.(1953).

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CHAPTER X.

An Era of Modern Educational Progress.

A List of Chief Commissioners:

Coorg was under the British right from 1790, after the treaty of Tellicherry, but the internal affairs were all ~~mmm~~ managed by the Rajas, and in that way the last three Rajas, Viraraja the Elder, Lingaraja II and Viraraja the Younger, who ruled from 1890 to 1834 were merely feudatory chiefs under the British. After the British took over Coorg under its direct administration in 1834, the chief of the district was called the Superintendant, and in that, after Col. J. Fraser, the first Superintendant of Coorg, was Capt. LeHardy who had much to do in quelling the rebellion of the non-Kodavas in the year 1837.

Thus from 1834 to 1869 the Superintendants of Coorg were under the Commissioner of Coorg & Mysore, whose headquarters was in Bangalore, and during this period, for most of the time, Col. Mark Cubbon, who was responsible for the exemption of the Kodavas from the Indian Arms' Act of 1861, was the Commissioner of Coorg & Mysore. There were a good many able Superintendants of Coorg like Capt. Robert Cole and others during 1835 to 1869, but nothing much was achieved in respect of over-all progress of the local people even though one should say that a foundation was firmly laid for the modern development of the little Coorg.

Lewin Bowring was the last Superintendant of Coorg, and after 1869, the Chief Commissioner of Coorg became the district head with L. Bowring himself becoming the first Chief Commissioner from 1869:-

L.B.Bowring CSI- 24th Feb. 1869.
Col. R.J.Meade KCSI- 21st Feb. 1870.
R.A.Dalyell K.C.S.I. 1st April 1875 (offg.)
C.B.Saunders - 5th June 1876.
J.D.Gorden KCSI- 1st April 1878.

Resident in Mysore & Chief Commissioner of Coorg: Bangalore.
with the Commissioner of Coorg as the local chief.

J.D.Gorden 25th March 1881,
J.D.Sandford 1st May 1882 (offg.)
J.B.Lyall GCIE. KCSI. 8th June 1883.
Col. T.G.Clarke 17th Dec. 1884 (offg.)
AHT. Maryindale KCSI. 21st May 1885 (offg.)
CER. Girdlestone 2nd June 1886 (offg.)
D.Fitzpatrick GSI.GCSI. 20th March 1887 (offg.)
Gen. Prendergast KCB., 10th Oct. 1887 (offg.)
Col. Olver John KCSI. 15th Jan. 1889.
Gen. Prendergast KCB., 1st June 1881 (offg.)
Col. Henderson CSI. 16th April 1892.
Col. H.P.Peacock 12th July 1892 (offg.)
W.Lee Warner CSI.KCSI., 20th Feb. 1895.
W.M.Young CSI.KCSI., 18th Sept. 1895.
Col. D. Robertson 7th Dec. 1896.
J.A.Crawford 28th June 1899(offg.)
J.A.Bourdillon KCSI- 5th Nov. 1903.
ALP. Tucker CIE., 29th July 1904.
A.Williams 22nd May 1905 (offg.)
SM.Fraser KCSI.CIE., 22nd Nov. 1905.
Col.H.Daly KCSI.KCIE. 26th July 1910.
Henry Cobb CSI,CIE,CBE. 7th April 1916,
W.Barton CSI,CIE,KCIE. 8th March 1920,
S.E.Pears CSI,CIE,KCSI, 29th June 1925.
L.M.Crump CIE., 14th March 1928 (offg.)
Col. RTC. Burke 23rd June 1930.
" CTC.Plowden CIE. 5th May 1933
" J.De Gordon CIE,OBE,MC., 9th Dec.1937.

The office of the Chief Commissioner was bifurcated from the Resident of Mysore and his headquarters was transferred to Mercara and consequently there was no post of Commissioner of Coorg.

J.W.Prichard, Commissioner, was the first Chief Com. in Coorg- from 1st July 1940,
Col. J.De Gardon (acted only for three months after him) " 1st Feb. 1943.
Dewan Bahadur Ketoli Chengappa B.A., CIE., " 26th April 1943.

Chief Commissioners from the 15th Aug.1947 to 31st Oct.1956.

Dewan Bahadur Ketoli Chengappa BA., CIE., (Continued) from the 15th Aug. 1947.
" " Tiruvenkata Mudaliar BA., from the 25th Feb. 1948.
Col. Daya Singh Bedi IPS., from the 20th March 1950,
T.G.Narayana Iyer BA., IAS., from the 1st October 1955 to the 31st October 1956.

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The Central School, Mercara, Coorg:

Mercara was the centre of the development in the last century, and the Central School of those days was the centre of attraction. In the year 1835, the missionaries, with the help of the Government, started a primary school there, and with that began the modern system of education in the district. When English was introduced as a language to be taught, that school was called the Anglo-Vernacular School, and that was so till about 1855 when Rev. Moegling raised the school to a middle school standard, and the school building was on the Northern end of the Mahadevapet street, near the Rajas' tombs. Rev. Moegling continued to be the headmaster of the Anglo-Vernacular School till 1860 and the first batch of two Kodava students of that school in 1855-56 were Koluvanda Kariappa, later Subedar, and Cheppudira Subbayya, later, retired as 2nd Asst. Commissioner in 1884 (He died in office).

With the coming of Rev. George Richter, a very able educator and public worker, the development of Education in Coorg took a new turn. He started the Coorg Plantation Fund, laid the foundation for the Coorg Education Fund, Raised the Middle School of Mercara into a Secondary School, many more schools were opened all over Coorg with George Richter as Inspector of Schools, He initiated the construction of the Mercara High School buildings and hostel buildings, he encouraged Koluvanda Kariappa to get up a Girls' School in Mercara, he founded the Normal School, he initiated the modern curriculum in schools and built the Mercara High School on the model of the German and English public schools. Two of his first batch of Kodava students who rose to high positions were Codanda Madayya and Mathanda Chengappa, about whom much has been said in other published works by this author.

The fourth form class was opened in Mercara in 1869 and with that the Middle School stepped into the first stage of becoming a High School. George Richter was the headmaster right from 1860 and he also continued as Inspector of Schools, and here is a list of the headmasters of this celebrated school who had occupied the position right from 1870 to 1950 for Eighty years:-

George Richter-	1860 to 1878	also Inspector of schools for 20 years from 1860.
W. Crockery (Ag.)	1878 to 1879	Richter went home on leave during this period.
George Richter	1879 to 1881	" retired; SSLC. exams- locally conducted.
Edmund Marsden IES.	1879 to 1886	(was the last headmaster to act as Inspector as well.
Thomas C. Rice	1886 to 1888	(was the first full-time headmaster).
Charles W. Moss	1888 to 1890	
F. John Moss-	1890- to 1891.	(Acting.)
Thomas C. Rice	1891 to 1892	(Acting.)
Charles W. Moss	1892 to 1898.	
Thomas C. Rice	1898 to 1903,	
C. A. Wilkinson	1903 to 1907,	
Henry Collaghan	1907 to 1910,	
Charles Rensford	1910 to 1912,	
W.H.Whitworth	1912 to 1913,	
S.I.Steele	1913 to 1916,	
M.S.H.Thompson-	1916 to 1921,	
W.B.Bairelly	1921 to 1924,	
Panje Mangesh Rao	1924 to 1928,	
Cukkemane M.Rama Rao	1928 to 1939,	
Pattada C. Uthayya	1939 to 1943,	
Biddanda S.Kushalappa	1943 to 1948,	

Education in Coorg- 1872- 1899:

Acting headmaster, Ed. Marsden wrote in 1878, that:

"I propose the appointment of a graduate of Madras University for the post of sub-deputy Inspector of Schools. He ought to be a good mathematician and should know Kannada. There is no one suitable here———I would prefer a man good in mathematics and ignorant of Kannada———".

In 1881, the Central School rose to the rank of a High School with 51 pupils in high school classes and with a total strength of 302. Till 1881, the candidates would have to go to Bangalore or Mangalore to appear for the S.S.L.C. examination, and that was so right from 1871 to 1881.

In 1871 five candidates were sent for the S.S.L.C. examination and two passed, and those were Codanda Madayya and Mathanda Chengappa.

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In 1881, the members of the Mercara School Endowment Fund were:
H.G.Thompson, the Superintendant of Coorg,
Edmund Marsden, Principal, Mercara School,
Cheppudira Subbayya, Second Assistant Superintendant,
Konganda Ganapathy, later Subedar, Mercara,
C. Chinnappa/ in the place of Koluvanda Aiappa.

In 1881, there were 56 primary schools in Coorg, and expense on Education was Rs. 23,246/-. Dr. Koravanda Appayya L.M.& S., started working in Virarajpet as a doctor from April 1882. H. Chennayya of the Government Civil Service office, was appointed as acting deputy Inspector of Schools.

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Just twenty years back in 1857, there was only one Government School but in 1862 there were 13. After Richtor's becoming Principal of Mercara, the progress was quick. From 91 pupils in 1857, the number rose to 496 in 1862.

Sir Mark Cubbon contributed his private funds for the development of Mercara School in the early stages while the Government did not make any grant for some time. In 1862, the Coorg headmen said in their 'Great petition" that:

"Through the noble generousity of the late lamented Commissioner, Col. Mark Cubbon KCB., the blessing of Education has been extended to us six years ago though at the time we did not appreciate it as we do now. Our minds were darkened and full of prejudices as to its possible effect, but through the influence of the established English School at Mercara, its steady progress, the temperate, judicious and devoted manner in which it has been carried on for the last six years, together with the encouragement from the successive superintendants have disarmed all our fears, and we most earnestly desire that all our children should be benefitted by the instruction there given.

"The great influx of European settlers into our country makes the education of our children appear doubly necessary to our minds, since our own ignorance renders our intercourse with the planters most difficult, unsatisfactory and disadvantageous."

The petition said in continuation, that:

"The peculiar circumstance, however, that Mercara, though the principal town, contains but a few Coorg houses, enables only a limited number of Coorg boys to attend the school. To remedy this disadvantage we have resolved to collect amongst ourselves a sum of money sufficient to build and endow a boarding house for about 100 boys. The Coorg officers and pensioners are ready to contribute half a month's pay which together with the subscriptions of the farmers will amount to Rs. 6000. This is all what we can do for the present but we earnestly wish that our daughters should also receive some education and for them we have to build a similar house."

Thus started a grand scheme for Education. The proposed building was estimated to cost Rs. 20,000. Coorgs offered Rs. 6000. The sale of the old school house, formerly the Rajas' elephant stable and subsequently a gift from Sir Mark Cubbon for the school was expected to produce Rs. 3,000. The balance of 11,000 they requested the Government, together with the site of a ruined palace erected by the late Raja for the entertainment of European visitors.

Mr. Lewin Bowring wrote, that: "It has probably rarely happened in India that a whole race has come forward------" for the cause of Education. The sanction towards the project came in January 1863.

George Richtor undertook building of the central school premises, and the project was completed in 1870. 301 acres of land as a free gift from Chief Commissioner Bowring was given for coffee plantation near Ammathi. The proceeds of this property was the Coorg Endowment Fund or the Plantation Fund of the later days.

About the Normal School that came into being in 1872, Richtor wrote, that:

"Whilst in Germany, I visited the training colleges in Berlin and other places and attended several lessons for a month. The curriculum comprises religion, history, philosophy, grammar etc and masters have annually to furnish an essay on some educat-

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educational theme to the Council of Public Education."

George Rictor returned from Europe in I874 after finishing his holidays and continued his great missionary work of educating Coorgs.

Girls' School in Mercara was started in I873, Boys' Boarding House in I873, Virarajpet Anglo-Vernacular School in I869, Anandpur Mission School in I857, Anne's Catholic School in Virarajpet in I870, Badagarakeri School in I868, Hudikeri in I870, Kantamurnad in I873, Hebbale in I878, Napoklu I834, Hathur I869, Kunda I834, Andagove I834, Fraserpet I874, Karada I868, Devangere I866, Shanivarasante I870, Bavali I834, Jambur I874, Kalthod I863 and so on. Richtor wrote in his report in I875, that:

"The indigenous schools which I inspected are in every respect inferior to Government schools, the masters in most cases are incompetent and very irregular in attendance. Every year these schools are started anew only to be closed after a few months. The subjects taught in all these schools are arithmetic, copy writing, reading, Jaimini Bharata, Ramayana and old Kannada books and manuscripts."

In I870, Karada was the most advanced schools with IOO pupils. Mr. B.L.Rice D.P.I., Mysore & Coorg, wrote, "I was much pleased with the intelligence of the boys. One of them recited a Kannada verse of Graetor, 'I am the son of the Highlands'."

In March I877, Rev. Richtor, Principal of the Central School, was appointed Inspector of Schools, Coorg. A preparatory metric class was formed in January I877 into which I6 students were admitted. Mr. Richtor tried to open many Girls' Schools, and, Koluvanda Kariappa was a staunch supporter to him in that.

Mathanda Chengappa returned from Cambridge, England, due to his ill-health. He was offered the post of an Attache to the Mysore Commission after his return from England, but his state of health did not permit him to accept that. He died in I877.

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When Mr. Richtor left the post of Headmaster to become Inspector of Schools, his place was taken by Mr. Corkery who was a probationary, and after two months Edmund Marsden became the Principal of the Central School. Benjamin Lewis Rice was then the D.P.I, of Mysore & Coorg. A half-yearly conference of Kannada teachers was resumed in September I878; 36 teachers attended and each of them was paid an allowance of Rs. I/I5 for two days.

Head Shirestedar Codanda Appacha was the son of Madayya who was a Subedar in Puttur during the rebellion of I837. Appacha's son Madayya, the first Kodava (or one of the first two), was appointed in the former Mysore State and later he rose up in service as one of the top officials in the State. Madayya donated a good number of books to his Alma Meter, the C.H.School, in I877.

In those days, in points of merit, the best schools were Napoklu, Kaltod, Kavadi, Bavali, Karada, Bellumad, Chembebalyur, Besagur and a few others.

Boarding House stipends were paid in Mercara at Rs. 2/- for each boy. 40 boys were paid stipends in I875. Mr. Richtor considered that it was time to restrict the stipends only to deserving boys.

Bittianda Devayya, son of head-Munshi Bittianda Nanjappa, was appointed sub-deputy Inspector of Schools.

In I875 the system of School Panchayats was started with their duties of promoting the interests of the schools of their area by securing a good attendance and bringing to the notice of the Government all irregularities. The leading Coorg officials opined that "the establishment of the School Panchayat will be a salutary measure much conducive to the welfare of the Vernacular Schools in Coorg."

It was in I862 that the Anglo-Vernacular school of Mercara was designated as Central School, and all village schools were affiliated to that. In villages there were no school buildings in the I860-I and public office buildings' verandhas were used as classrooms. In I87I-72, three Kodava pupils were sent to Bangalore to appear for matriculation and that was the first time that Coorg students had gone to that high level.

Mr. Dunning, an assistant teacher in Mercara, introduced cricket in Coorg in I874. He also formed a "Mutual Improvement Club".

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After the completion of the Girls' School building, Koluvanda Kariappa wrote to Rev. Richtor, as follows:

"Sir, I have the pleasure to inform you of the completion of the Girls' School building which now present to Her Majesty's Government for the sole purpose of my country's good and would earnestly hope, that my efforts to meet a great want of my country women will be supplemented by our liberal Government in the appointment of an efficient European mistress———", dated the I9th July I87I.

In reply to this letter, George Richtor said, dated the 20th July I87I, that:

"———Having been foremost amongst your countrymen, not only in acquiring knowledge yourself but also in encouraging by word and deed the general educational movement in Coorg, you have crowned your benevolent efforts by giving so practical help to the instruction of the daughters of your country in the boarding house now erected by you. May complete success of the scheme which will most surely affect the social welfare of Coorg, be your proudest reward, and may your 'House' derive the largest benefit from female education———".

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After the erection of the Boarding House, a good number of pupils began to take advantage of that after travelling a long distance from their Nads.

The Normal School, built in I87I, was conducted by a Brahmin teacher of the Central School. The students derived Rs. 3/- as stipend and they used to have a training for six months. Palekanda Aianna, the headmaster of the Anglo-Vernacular School, Virarajpet, was the first native to become deputy Inspector of Nad schools. He was succeeded by one H. Mallappa. The position of schools in I87I, was as below:

Taluq:	Nads	Schools	Boys	Girls	Total
Mercara	5	2	9I	3	94
Padinalknad	5	6	379	33	4I2
Yedenalknad	3	9	488	63	55I
Kiggatnad	4	6	234	7	24I
7-Savirasime	4	2	85	2	87
Nanjarajapatna	3	2	I22	5	I27

The German Mission School at Anandpur had I6 boys and I5 girls. Mrs. Wenger died, and Mrs. Koundinya took her place. ~~In I87I~~ This was founded in I857 and there were 28 pupils in that. Normal School of I87I had 5 pupils, Girls' School of I870 had I8 pupils, Catholic School of Virarajpet, founded in I868 had 58 pupils and Roman Catholic Lower School of Virarajpet had 2I pupils in I869.

The First Schools Opened in I834:

To open schools in I834, Col. Fraser obtained sanction from the Supreme Government, and, accordingly the English-Kannada schools were opened for the first time at Mercara, Virarajpet and Hatghatnad (Ponnampet ?). In I843, Capt. LeHardy proposed to redistribute the grant in such a way as to provide eleven Kannada schools at the reduced rate of Rs. 5 a month. The Superintendant, Capt. Haines reduced the salary of the non-English masters except that of Mercara to Rs. 2.50 a month, and by that he was able to open 2I Kannada schools in different Nads.

In I854, Rev Moegling of the Basel Mission, offered to superintend schools. Till I854 all those schools were quite in Hindu style. Even the school in Mercara was not in a state of efficiency. "The Coorgs have been taught nothing and learnt nothing", said Moegling, and added, "the consequence is that during the last twenty years there has been no moral and intellectual improvement———Their natural capacities are equal, if not superior, to those of many other races of India but their ignorance is extreme."

In I857, the judicial Commissioner, Mr. Dovereux, finding the requirements of both Mysore & Coorg, received a sanction from the Governor-General, and from that started schools in the six taluqs of Coorg. Mercara English School was affiliated to the Central College, Bangalore and Rev. Moegling was in charge on Rs. 250 a month.

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From then on the Mercara school began to be inspected "by one of the officers of the Mysore Educational establishment." In the beginning the parents were reluctant to send their children to the distant schools of five or ten miles away. However by 1865, there were 75 schools that functioned on local taxation, though a good many of them were not in good shape. The development of Education was that:

In 1835 there were three Kannada schools, In 1842 there were 16 Kannada schools, in 1855 there were about 60 Kannada schools, and also a Hindustani school in Mercara, founded in 1845. The Coorg petition of the 17th October 1863, that founded the Coorg Plantation Fund and Education Fund and also the Central School of higher education, was signed by 65 leading men of Coorg. The names of the signatories that were already given at the page is given here again in view of the importance of the document. Those were:

Cheppudira Subbayya, 2nd assistant Superintendant,
Koluvanda Kariappa, Subedar,
Mathanda Appachanna, head Shirestedar,
Konganda Appayya, judicial Shirestedar,
Kodanda Appachu, Mukteshwar,
Bittianda Kariappa, head Munshi,
Kuttetira Aiappa, Treasurer,
Keravanda Ponnappa,
B. Shamanna,
Chowrira Appayya,
B. Thimmappayya,
Bittianda Muthayya,
Appaneravanda Achayya,
and others.

The Central School was entirely conducted during the years 1855- 1863, by the Basel Mission, but after 1863, it came to the charge of the Government. A public examination was conducted in November 1863 and that was presided over by the Superintendant of Coorg and attended by the deputy Inspector of Schools. When the D.P.I. visited the school in January 1864, there were 144 pupils in Mercara school and among whom 77 were Kodava students, 28 Hindus, 5 Christians and 4 Muslims.

The boarding house was first occupied by the students in 1864. The first assistant, Mr. Rehling occupied a room there. Foundations were laid to the principal's quarters in the same year. Cheppudira Thimmayya was the first Kodava teacher in Mercara, but, later he took to Katchery jobs. Mr. Graetor taught music and gymnastics.

In Virarajpet A.V. School, started in January 1869, 55 boys were on the rolls among whom 45 were Kodavas. Apart from Palekanda Aianna, the headmaster, one Machayya, (Iychettira ?), a relative of Mathanda Appachanna, was an English teacher. Pete Subedar P (?) Appayya took a lot of trouble in getting up a substantial building.

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This is a list of Superintendants of Coorg right from 1834 till 1869 when the post was changed to the Commissioner of Coorg with the Resident of Mysore being the Chief Commissioner of Coorg from 1881. The names are:

Col. J.S Fraser-in-charge of Coorg Affairs-		from 6th April 1834.	(Raja dethroned)
Capt. C.F.LeHardy ,	Superintendant of Coorg	2nd Sept. 1834,	
Capt. H. Haines	"	"	10th March 1843,
Col. W.C.Onslow	"	"	2nd " 1844,
Capt. H.F.Gustard	"	"	7th " 1846,
" G.M.Martin	"	"	16th Jan. 1855,
" H.F.Gustard	"	"	27th Oct. 1856,
" G.M.Martin	"	"	31st Dec. 1856,
" H.M.Elliot	"	"	21st June 1859,
" F.M.McHutchin	"	"	31st Dec. 1861,
" T.G.Clarke	"	"	8th March 1862,
" J.A.Campbell	"	"	28th April 1862,
" Robert Cole, Lewin Bowring & others from 1865 to 1869.			

The Commissioners of Coorg had their headquarters in the former Mysore State, and excepting Col. Fraser, all the others had their office in Bangalore. They ~~were~~ had the above Superintendants under them for the administration of Coorg from Mercara. The following were the Commissioners from 1834 to 1869 till their office was transferred to Mercara:-

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3rd March to 6th April I834, Col. J.Fraser was with the Coorg campaign,
6th April to Ist ~~I8~~ Sept. I834 " " was in his office in Mercara as Commissioner,
2nd Sept. to I4th Jan. I836 " " had his office in Mysore as "
I5th Jan I836 Col. Mark Cubbon was the Commissioner of Mysore & Coorg.
Ist March I86I (after 25 years of Cubbon's reign) Col. C.B.Saunders "
2Ist April I862 Lewin B. Bowring became the Commissioner of Coorg.
I0th April I866 Col. C.B.Saunders again became the Commissioner of Coorg,
II th November I867, Lewin B. Bowring came to the post again.
2Ist February I870, Col. C.B.Meade took charge as Commissioner with his office transferred to Mercara with the new post of first Superintendant working under him. (There was no more the post of Superintendant.)

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The land revenue exclusive of cardamom and coffee, was as follows:

I835- Rs. 89,9I5,	I850- Rs. I27,II8,	I865- Rs. I67,803,
I840- " I,02,270,	I855 " I28,9I7,	I870- " I50,66I.
I845- " I,08,498,	I859 " I45,949.	

The Subedars in Coorg I863, were the following:

Cheppudira Subbayya (Mukteshwar) Mercara,
Belliappa (?) Nanjarajapatna,
Koravanda Ponnappa, Padinalknad,
P (?) Ponnappa- 7-Savirasime Hobli,
B (?) Bopu, Virarajpet.
Chowrira Appayya, Mercara,
W (?) Devayya, Yedenalknad,
P (?) Appanna, Kiggatnad,
H. Appayya Mahadevapet,

There were eight Subedars including one in Mercara Mahadevapet.

The Christian mission of Coorg by a 'Firman' passed by the Raja in I805, was founded under the jurisdiction of a Bishop, Vicar Apostolic of Bombay——who wrote to Rev. F. Barnardiuo, Vicar Apostolic at Mangalore. The latter wrote to the Superintendant of Coorg in I846 about the support they needed from the Government.

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One Mr. Hunt was the contractor of the Mercara- Siddapur road along the southern slopes of the Nurokkol Betta. This picturesquely winding road along the ridges of the hills through Chethalli, was completed in I876.

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In May I875, Col. Sankey, Chief Engineer, Mysore, remarked that:
"I found that no ~~xxxxx~~ end of promising tree (avenue tress) between Peryapatna, Fraserpet and up to Mercara, have just now ~~xxxx~~ been hacked about in such a manner by the Telegraph subordinates——I have never seen such a reckless barbarous work ——The rearing of avenue trees had been undertaken and carried throughout Mysore with much trouble and expense——.

In I877-78, sanction of Rs. 38,05I was made for road works, bridges in Kaltod, Ammathi and Murnad road; tracing road from Bhagamandala to Sulya, road from Thithimati to Ammathi through Pollibetta, tracing road from Somwarpet to Suntikoppa via Harangi, travellers' bungalows in Siddapur, Koyanad and Somwarpet, road from Siddapur to Pollibetta, repairs to roads of Sampaje Ghat and Fraserpet and Siddapur road, and Virarajpet- Peryapatna road via Siddapur; Arkalgode- Sakleshpur road (Coorg portion); and Fraserpet- Sirangala road.

Rs. I0,475 was spent for constructing Virarajpet market.

In I878 roads from Murnad to Ammathi and Mercara to Bhagamandala, tracing road from Ponnampet to Kiggatnad, Shanivarasante to Sirangala and improvement of the Nalknad-Bhagamandala road- were all taken up.

Rev. Bishop of Madras visited Pollibetta to consecrate the cemetry. In I894, two and a half acres of land was sanctioned for the purpose of erecting a church at Pollibetta.

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P.W.D. & Forest Departments:

In 1872, Gonikoppa and Ponnampet roads were taken up.
Making a new entrance to the Mercara jail and civil dispensary was considered.
Iriti bridge work was taken up; so also some other Ghat roads and Nalknad (or Napoklu) official quarters.

In 1873, planters constructed the Thithimathi- Siddapur road through (Pollibetta ?).
The planters also evinced much interest in Siddapur bridge over the Kaveri.
Rs. 946 was spent for the bridge on the Konkani St., in Virarajpet town.
A scheme of running a tonga service between Mysore & Coorg was discussed.

In 1884, G.K.Martin claimed damages because of the construction of the Siddapur-Mercara road through his estate, Abyal. Mr. Morton, in charge of the Siddapur bridge estimated a cost of Rs. 1,08,598 for the construction of bridge (in 1883-84.) Rs. 25,000 grant was made by the Planters' Association for the Hutti and Madapur bridges.

The Planters' Association advocted the desirability of the extension of the Mysore State Railway to the Coorg frontiers and they petitioned to the Dewan of Mysore.

In 1886, the Planters' Association in Pollibetta was informed of the Telegraph Office in Pollibetta- just opened.
A tramway service from Nalkeri to Hunsur was planned and sanctioned. Likewise, the Nagarahole-Hunsur tramway was also discussed.
In 1887 the construction of the circuit house buildings in Napoklu and Pollibetta was taken up. Pollibetta T.B. estimated cost was Rs. 6,287.
Railway sleepers for the Southern Mahratta railway was suppled from the Coorg forests. In 1888, the subject of mail-cart between Mercara and Mysore was discussed. In 1889 the planters agitated over the need for the railway communications.

In 1889 the European planters agitated for the second time for the railway communication to Coorg. In 1890 an estimate was prepared to open a road from Ammathi to Thithimathi through Pollibetta, and also to construct a Munsiff's Court at Virarajpet. A telegraph office at Siddapur was opened.
Manyapanda Muthanna, the Asst. Conservator of Forests in Coorg, was transferred to Central Province with a promotion in 1887. In 1890 he was given the site of the Government cattle depot at Mercara- where he built his Fern-Bank residence.

In 1891, Rs. 19,677 was sanctioned to mettle the Mercara- Virarajpet- Peryapatna road. In Sept. 1893, a mail tonga service was started between Mercara, Fraserpet and Mysore. In 1894 repairs were made to the roads leading from Ammathi to Thithimathi, Arkalgode to Saklespur, Murnad to Napoklu, and Perambady Ghat Road.

Plans were made to open Fraserpet- Somwarpet road, Ammathi-Murnad road, Fraserpet- Siddapur road and also Pollibetta- Siddapur road- in 1894.
In 1896 a sum of Rs. 43,000 was budgeted for the Sampaje Ghat road, Mercara-Siddapur road, Mercara- Fraserpet road, Perambady Ghat road and Mercara- Kodlipet road.

Palekanda Woothayya was admitted to the DehraDun Forest School in 1894. In Coorg there were in the Forest department one deputy Conservator on Rs. 800 a month, one extra Asst. Conservator on Rs. 200 a month, four rangers and 18 foresters.
Government thought of a railway project in 1894. From Mysore to Tellicherry through Virarajpet and Yedathore to Tellicherry via Virarajpet.
In 1897 Mandepanda Biddayya, sub-Overseer, was paid a horse-allowance of Rs. 30/- a month. In 1898 the mail tonga service was diverted between Mercara and Mysore through Ammathi and Pollibetta (and all this was to fadilitate the European planters). By this time all the net-work of Coorg roads that exist today were ready for car traffic though there were no automobiles in Coorg at that time.

EDUCATION: H. Chennayya, Clerk in civil office, acted as deputy Inspector of Schools in 1884. (This Chennayya's son was H.C.Dasappa who rose up as a prominent politician in Mysore and later became a Minister at the Central Government in the Nineteen-fifties. He had his early education in Mercara.)

In 1885 a journal called 'Kodagu Chandrike' took birth in Mysore.
B.S.Raghunath Rao was the headmaster of Virarajpet School in 1885.

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In I885, Kongettira Ponnappa, student in Engineering at Poona, was given a scholarship at Rs. I5/- a month. This was the Plantation Fund scholarship.

Raghunath Rao was transferred from Virarajpet as headmaster of Normal School in Mercara while Chendrimada Kuttappa became the headmaster at Virarajpet Government Anglo-Vernacular school- which was just a primary school.

Chendrimada Appayya passed in first class, secured the 34th rank, out of the 36I students appeared for F.A. Exam. at Madras in I885.

Manyapanda Belliappa, Munsiff, Mercara. His daughter Bollamma was the first among the Coorg girls to pass out of the Middle School in I895.

In I884-85 there were 4I Government schools, 24 unaided schools, 3859 students. Earnings from the school fees was Rs. 5,434.

In I886, the headmastership of Mercara was separated from the post of the Inspector of Schools and Edmund Marsden became the first Inspector.

In I887, there were 324 students in Mercara High School and 77 students in the Virarajpet Middle School. That year ten students out of Eleven passed matriculation, with three securing first class.

In I888, it was recommended to transfer the school at Pollibetta to Takeri.

From I889, the Inspector of Schools became the ex-Officio member of the Mercara and Virarajpet Municipalities, and George Richter was the Vice-President of Mercara Municipality. Edmund Marsden was the Inspector of C & M Station, Bangalore and also of South Kanara, with his salary partially paid by the Madras Government. Selections for the post of the headmaster of Mercara high school, were made in England in those days. Headmaster was paid Rs. 300 in I892.

In I893, the people of South Coorg sent a petition to the Government to raise the Middle School of Virarajpet to a High School.

Ed. Marsden, Inspector of Schools, wrote in I893, that:

"The Central School takes the place of a college in larger provinces. It (Mercara School) is the most important institution in Coorg. It may be necessary at any time in the future to raise the High School to the rank of a College. The headmastership has always been held by an European and as there are two large boarding schools attached to the institution, and the Coorg youths are very different from ordinary Hindu boys------and most of them of a very unruly dosposition and requiring a very firm hand to control them and to maintain discipline, I am strongly of opinion that the headmastership should be always filled by an European. The pay- Rs. 300 for the post is, in my opinion, is much too small to secure the services of a properly qualified headmaster, and up to I885 the headmastership had been held for a long time by the Rev. G.Richtor and myself. Each of us, however, had other allowances which increased the pay considerably. In my own case, I originally had a personal allowance from the Mysore Government which brought up the pay to Rs. 500, and it was subsequently admitted to the Madras Graded list. I beg to propose that the pay of the headmaster of this important school be fixed at Rs. 500 and that in the case of a vacancy, it be filled by an Englishman from one of the Universities at home."

The Chief Commissioner agreed with Mr. Marsden's suggestions, who had also stated that the Inspector of C & M. Station, Bangalore, should always be an European. Henry V. Cobb, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, wrote that:

"Though Education in Coorg, so far as both the boys and girls (among the Kodavas compares favourably with any other province in India, yet the children of the lower classes continue to remain extremely backward. The question of raising the educational status of the Parayya (Harijan) classes is very important one and the Chief Commissioner desires that particular attention should be paid to this matter by the Inspecting Agency. - Bangalore, I8th Oct. I893. Sd) H.V.Cobb."

In I895, it was decided to have the boarders of the Mercara school in the compound of the school under the eye of the headmaster instead of lodging them at a distance

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In I896, the Vice-Chancellor of Madras University was addressed by the Commissioner of Coorg, that an honorary degree should be conferred by the University on the Rev. Ferdinand Kittel, for many years resident in Coorg, on account of his services to the Kannada literature. (The letter was dated the Eleventh of May I896).

During this time some private gentlemen built some school buildings in Coorg, and they included Cheppudi Somayya, Cheppudi Thimmayya, Mukati Iyappa, Jainara Jinnamma (of Virarajpet- she was from the Jain community), Malle Gowda, Biddanda Aianna and others.

The report of I897 said: "Female education showed considerable progress. It is a matter of regret that the Muhammadens in Coorg do not realise the value of education." Edmund Marsden continued as Inspector of Coorg & South Kanara. The below figures show the number of matriculates appeared and passed in Coorg in I892-97:

I892-	Number	appeared	at Central	School-	33	Number	passed	4.
I893-	"	"	"	"	I4	"	"	I.
I894	"	"	"	"	9	"	"	I.
I895	"	"	"	"	I2	"	"	2.
I896	"	"	"	"	I4	"	"	7.
I897	"	"	"	"	I5	"	"	3.

I896 public schools 79, private 3I, pupils 5698, fees II,354, Expense Rs. 42,9I7.
I898 " " 77 " 22 " 3996, " 8,092, " " 39,05I.

Codanda A. Nanjappa, Asst. Surgeon, Chikmagalur, was proposed grant-in-aid from the School Endowment Fund to prosecute his studies in England but the Chief Commissioner declined to comply with his request.

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In I884 a plan was made for the construction of the Virarajpet Middle School. The Anglo-Vernacular schools of Kodlipet and Somwarpet were converted as superior Vernacular schools. In I89I, a proposal was made to open a school at Bhagamandala.

A reply from the University of Madras about conferring hon. degree on Ferdinand Kittel, came on the Eleventh August I896 which said, that:
"No honorary degree has yet been conferred on any person by this University, and, therefore, it is not possible for the University to exercise its power of recommending the Senate to confer one on Rev. F. Kittel."

C. Srinivasachari, Maths. teacher, Central School, resigned and B. Ramaswami Iyer was appointed in his place.
Miss Emma Carr, Inspectress of Girls' Schools of Coorg and Madras circle, from I90I to I906 and she was succeeded by Miss Amy Arnold.
Thomas T. Logan was Inspector of Schools from Ist April I899, and Joseph Stone succeeded him in I905. Thomas C.Rice was the headmaster till I903, and C.A.Wilkinson came after him and was confirmed in I905. Henry Collaghan was appointed in July I907 and all these were paid only Rs. 200 plus other allowances. When C.C.Ransford became headmaster, he was paid Rs. 500 from Jan. I9I0 while P.P.Braithwaite was the Inspector of Schools from I906 to I9II on Rs. 650 a month.

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A report of I88I said: "Mr. G.Richtor's modest attempt to develop education has grown so quickly that now there are 2,792 pupils, 56 Government schools, 3 aided and 28 un-aided schools. Richtor retired in I88I. He witnessed the inception of Government educational efforts in Coorg 25 years ago beginning his career as master of the Anglo-Vernacular School at Mercara."

The School-Estate was leased out for I6 years at an annual rental of Rs. 3I00 payable on the Ist April, each year. In I88I the number of boarders in Mercara was 66.

"The frequent absence without leave of Coorg masters, their disregard for the appointed school hours and their neglect of study in view to self-improvement are points which require the careful attention of the Inspecting officers," said the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, in I885.

John Logan, manager of Yemmegundi Estate, helped to open a school for the labourers' children in Pollibetta.

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In I885 two Senior Endowment scholars who passed their F.A., were Chendrimada Appayya and Pandanda Belliappa. Kambiranda Nanjappa passed his B.A., and he was the first Kodava graduate, who later did his law in Madras. Koravanda Appayya LM & S., started practising in Virarajpet and Codanda M. Ganapathy LM. & S., became a Surgeon in Cuddapah. Codanda Madayya F.A., had become Town Magistrate in Mysore. Biddanda Nanjappa, Parpathigar in Coorg and Koravanda Nanjappa and Codanda Poovayya had become pleaders in Mercara. All these were the matriculates of the earlier days. Pandanda Belliappa LM & S., started practising in Madras.

Chendrimada Appayya fetched the Rippon Gold Medal in all subjects and for taking the first class in the whole Presidency in English language & Literature & Physics. He was a teacher for some time in Mercara as 4th Assistant and then left for the Forest College in DehraDun. Later he was in the Mysore Forest Service for some years, and after I9I4 or so, while he was on a visit to Coorg on vacation, he died mysteriously, and thus ended a brilliant person of these times.

Some other matriculates of the time were Kodandera Kuttayya, Bittianda Mandanna, Mukkatira Bopayya, Ballachanda Ganapathy, Konganda Ponnappa, Bittianda Muddayya, Koluvanda Devayya and Codanda Dr. Nanjappa- all these did their F.A. courses also at the Mysore Maharaja's College, Dr. Codanda Subbayya did his F.A. at the Central College Bangalore. Palekanda Achayya was another senior matriculate student who went to the Imperial Forest School at DehraDun.

Pandanda Bopayya, a sportsman at the Madras Christian College, was for sometime a teacher of physical education in Mercara. Other students of the Christian College were Kodimanianda Monnappa, Maletira Machayya, Chonira Kariappa, Kodimanianda Muddayya, and Codanda Chengappa. Kuppanda Muddayya did his Agriculture Course at Saidapet Madras in I893 and so did Cheppudira Muthanna in I894. Cheppudia Ganapathy LM.& S., of Madras, Paruvangada Bhimmayya of the Madras Christian College, Bittianda Nanjappa and Nadikerianda Uthayya of the Aloysius College, Mangalore, were the F.A.s of I888 and I892. Pandanda Bopayya was the Cricket captain at the College and won several cups in sports. Codanda Machayya and Machimada Machayya were the other two students at the Madras Christian College around the year I890.

In I887 a fund in memory of Col. Thompson, the Commissioner of Coorg, was founded, and Coorgs subscribed Rs. I000/- to perpetuate his memory.

Among the non-Coorgs, one Virabhadrya passes matric, and then became a teacher in Mercara. M.Srinivasa Rao FA., (I887) became the headmaster of Virarajpet English School later from I895 or so.

Kayapanda Ganapathy was another old matriculate. Kongeti Mandanna was for some time a teacher and then became an L.M.P. doctor. Codanda Appayya FA., of Christian College, retired as Assistant Commissioner in I9I6. By this time in I889, Codanda Madayya in Mysore Service, had become an under Secretary to the Dewan of Mysore, and a year later became a district Commissioner. Ajjikutira Aianna LMP., Chendrimada Karumbayya and Kodimanianda Subbayya were some other matriculates of the later batch.

In I890 there were I4 Coorg students in the Madras Christian College, 3 in the Maharaja's College Mysore and two in Mangalore, and all the rest, about twenty of the previous matriculates, F.A.s and a couple of B.A.s were all employed. When Braithwaite was the Inspector of Schools, A. Rama Rao was the sub-Asst. Inspector of Schools. around the year I9I0.

Ketoli Chengappa was in Madras Christian College in I893 and later in the Presidency College, where he did his B.A. degree. He was born in I874, joined service in I899, after completing his B.A. in I898, became a Subedar in I909, Assistant Commissioner in I9I6, District Magistrate in I92I, Acting Commissioner in I929 and I934, Chief Commissioner of Coorg in I943, and finally retired in I948. He died in I963.

A report of I893 said that "Nearly every Coorg boy and quite 25 per cent of the Coorg girls are in school". Mr. Ed. Marsden was connected to the Coorg Education department for over I8 years. In I897, 5I20 pupils were in Coorg schools out of whom over 4300 were boys. Mandepanda Chinnappa, Maletira Uthayya, Kodandera Chengappa, C.N. Subrayya and a few others were the later College students and those included Chonira Kariappa and Iychettira Monnayya- all from the Colleges of Madras and Bangalore.

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C.C.Flanagan MA., Inspector of Schools wrote in his report in 1893, that:
"The Chief Commissioner agrees with the Commissioner that the Inspector's suggestions as to the advisability of raising the Mercara High School to a second grade College and strengthening the subordinating inspecting staff, deserve consideration, but owing to financial pressure it is not possible to take any action in that direction."

From the Maharaja's College, Mysore, Iychettira Monnayya left for the Joseph's College, Bangalore, where he did his F.A.,in 1898.
In 1899, John Stone was the Inspector of Schools while Thomas T. Logan was the Inspector for the Western Circle of the Madras Presidency.
In 1881 Munjandira Kariappa was the sub-Asst. Inspector of Schools. Till 1882, no Kodava passed his F.A. examination at all although many had studied and completed the course. In that year Koravanda Appayya was the winner of the Hobart prize of Rs. 100/-. He set up a chemist and druggist shop in Mercara for some time and before joining Government service. Koluvanda Subbayya and Kambiranda Nanjappa passed F.A. from the Central College, Bangalore in 1883, while Ka Chendrimada Appayya and Pandanda Belliappa completed their matriculation in 1881 and joined the Madras Christian College. One Balachandra, a brahmin, too was their classmate.

In those days Mercara High School was getting for their Students' Club the following papers: i) The Graphic ii) Illustrated London News iii) The Weekly Times iv) The 19th Century v) The Fortnightly Review vi) The Madras Mail vii) The Bangalore Daily Post viii) Friend of India, Calcutta, ix) The Bombay Times x) Educational Record xi) and the Journal of the National Indian Association. (All this showed the standard of education that prevailed in those days.)

In 1883 Palekanda Belliappa was in charge of Virarajpet School and then he joined the revenue department. Codanda Appayya then became a clerk in district magistrate's office. The Inspector's report of the year said, that:

"Most of the masters cannot teach Kannada poetry and grammar———It would be possible to get tolerably well-educated Brahmins from Mysore———Kannada is a foreign language and is not spoken by the Coorgs in their own homes but is used in all written communications and is the recognised official language."

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In 1883, Mercara boarding house had 83 boys and in 1894, there were 92. It was certainly a record number for many years.
In 1883 the St. Mark Parochial School was opened for European and local children.
Rev, Miller, principal of the Madras Christian College said that Chendrimada Appayya stood second out of 97 boys in the senior F.A. class while Pandanda Belliappa stood about the middle of the class.
In 1884, the Central School had two European teachers, nine brahmins and one Kodava, (presumably Palekanda Achayya before he went to the Forest College). A report of the year 1885 said, that:
"As a rule, a Brahmin makes a better master than a Coorg. He belongs to a literary caste and is better educated. He has no interest in the country other than his school from which he derives his livelihood. The Coorg (Kodava) usually takes up the place of the school master because it is a Government appointment and confers a certain amount of dignity and influence upon him———".
The 1885 batch of matriculates are Konganda Ponnappa, Codanda Subbayya. Maletti Machayya, Chonira Kariappa and six brahmins. Till 1887, 39 Kodavas and 17 non-Coorgs had completed matriculation and a good many of them had even completed the F.A., In 1887, endowment scholarships were granted to 21 students.

Chendrimada Appayya was placed in the final B.A. examination, and was awarded the Ripon Gold Medal for taking FIRST in the Presidency in English and also in Physics. The Principal and professors wrote in high terms about him.
A report of 1877 said on Mathanda Chengappa as below:

"Chengappa (Mathanda A.) the young Coorg, having gone to England and engaged in the study of law at Cambridge, it is very sad to record that he contracted consumption and was forced to return to India. Here he has since fallen a victim to the insiduous

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insiduous disease, his elder brother carried off by cholera, preceding him to the grave by only a few days. Thus has been brought to the verge of extinction one of the chief Coorg families, distinguished in many heroic traditions."

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Another Government report of those days said, that:

"There are two drawbacks at present to a better attendance of scholars at the schools. The first being that the Coorgs (Kodavas) do not as yet appreciate education so far as not to grudge the payment of a small school fees. The second is the detached nature of the villages and the few families that live in Mercara——A small but encouraging sign to those interested in education is the fact that some of the elder pupils of George Richtor who have left school attend the evening lectures gratuitously given by him. This helps to refresh them——".

Coorg District Board:

The district fund was placed on a legal basis in I90I and its administration was entrusted to a Board under the control of the Commissioner of Coorg and the Chief Commissioner (who was also the Resident of Mysore). A grant of Rs. 20,000 was made by the Government of India, to give it a start.

A local fund for the district requirements was first started in I862. Then it consisted of only cattle pound receipts, the other sources like ferry, toll receipts, bazaars, cart stands etc were added later. The Coorg District Fund regulation started working in I900. The first batch of members were seven Europeans (all officials) five Subedars viz. Palekanda Aianna, Muhammad Hussein, B. Belliappa, Codanda Appayya and H. Chennigaraya.

Four other members from amongst the public were RB. Cheppudira Somayya, RB. Apparanda Mandanna, RB. Mukkatira Aiappa and D. Thammanna Chetty (Somwarpet).

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G. Hubbard was the owner of the Wodderhalli Estate in I883 and long after that it was sold to John Logan who was then an Estate Manager.

Robert McShan of Pollibetta Estates in Ummatnad (Ammathi Nad) sold his Muskal Bora Estate to Donald Stewart through Rev. Richtor.

Pollibetta was then called Bamboo District. In I874, Capt. Carmichael of the Coorg Coffee Estates Co., of Mercara and Haleri-Nad, appealed that he may be allowed to exchange I,000 acres of unfelled jungle of the above estate to an equivalent area in the Bamboo district of Coorg——the jungles fit for coffee cultivation."

From I884, Mercara was no longer a military post.

Perambady Estate was then a flourishing land and that belonged to John P. Hunt.

A Notification to the Planters, dated the I0th April I854:

"In the case of the planters already in possession of and where the Government right to timber has not been so redeemed or disposed of, they will be permitted to buy up the Government claim by paying only for such tress as were considered valuable at the time when they received permission to cultivate the jungles with coffee——".

Donald Stewart of the Mercara Estates held jungles in Marenad up to 5000 acres in the years I865 and I880. Sampajekolly Estates was purchased by John Logan. He had also Kadigebane (?) Estate and later Wodderhulli, too.

Palethodu Estate was owned by H.T.Shaw, Aithol Estate by H. Savage. The latter had Bandithodu Estate near Gonikoppa.

Coorg Coffee Estates Ltd., had 9,594 acres, W.H.Sprott for Mangles I,429 acres, F.W.Gerrard for J. Chisholm & Co., I,070 acres, G.R.Moore I,620 acres, E.M.Breithupt I,I62 acres, W. Wright 637½ acres, and H.T.Shaw for H.R.Craig 604 acres.

Total assessed coffee area- Europeans 29,253 acres,
" " " " Natives 42,477 " Total- 7I,730 acres.

South Coorg United Club asked for a piece of land to build a reading room and at this land so offered they built Bamboo Club, Reading Room, Spencer & Co, buildings etc etc which was a flourishing centre during the next forty years.

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1896 the forests of Dubbari near Pollibetta were acquired for coffee cultivation by the European ~~planter~~ planters. Horace Robinson of Pollibetta applied for permission to purchase an enormous area as the three Devamachi forest reserves.

Baduvamanda Machayya of Korangala Village sold land to Baduvamanda Thimmayya, and also about 20 acres to John Logan of Wodderhalli Estate.

In 1899 John Brewer owned the Devarkadu Estate near Pollibetta.

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Iychettira Aianna was a hero of 1837 insurrection in South Kanara. The political pension that was enjoyed by his son Kariappa who died in 1883, passed on to the latter's son Aianna who was the last political pensioner in that line.

Though Mercara was no longer a military post, some small units of Army were there. A Coorg & Mysore Volunteer Rifle Corps was stationed at Pollibetta and in 1888 the subject of building a sergeant's quarters there was taken up.

Liquor revenue in Coorg was considerable. In 1883- Rs. 105,110, 1888- Rs. 118,550, and gallons issued in 1888 was 54,146.

Rs. 4000 was sanctioned to buold sergeant's quarters in Pollibetta, according to a letter of 22nd December 1888.

Another political pensioner, Kodandera Nanjappa, a grandson of the hero of 1837, died in August 1889 and with that the pension stopped in that line.

The Gonikoppa dispensary built by RB. Mukkatira Iyappa- the building- was opened for operation in 1890. Kambiranda Nanjappa, the first BA.,BL., among the Kodavas, became a Munsiff in Mercara in 1892. L. Venkataswami Naidu was the first Inspector of Vaccination of Coorg in 1891.

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In 1911 the strength of the Coorg & Mysore Rifles was 264. Camps of exercises were held in Mercara and Pollibetta. All roads were mettalled by this time, including the Gonikoppa- Wynad road at a cost of Rs. 1,32,508. Pollibetta- Gonikoppa; and Fraserpet- Siddapur roads were metalled in 1911.

Apparanda Mandanna succeeded to the post of Assistant Commissioner held by RB. Maneyapanda Belliappa who died in office in 1896. Mandanna was succeeded by Kodandera Kuttayya in 1901 who retired in 1909. Kodanda Appayya became the Assistant Commissioner in succession to Kodandera Kuttayya.

Kodandera Madappa, father of General K.M.Kariappa, was the Assistant Settlement Officer in 1909, under Gustav Haller, that survey expert of Coorg.

Koravanda Muthanna Barrister-at-law, became Munsiff at Virarajpet in 1909.

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Government got an application of one Pattacheravana Poonacha, who was, in fact, the second son of Karneravanda Muddayya, who married the daughter of Kuttavva, the heiress of Pattacheravana house. His sons, as to the MAHZAR of headmen of Coorg, on the 17th July 1837, took the name of Pattacheravana and inherited the lands of both the houses.

The MAHZAR was drawn by the headmen of Nads presided over by the Dewans, permitting the grandsons of Kuttavva by her daughter to be taken into Pattacheravana house.

Copy of this NIRUPA granted by the late Viraraja the Elder to Pattacheravana Boluka, grandfather of the applicant Poonacha, in 1796-97. This NIRUPA grants all the lands cultivated by Pattacheravana Boluka at half the usual rates for services rendered to the Raja in his retreat at Barapole after the escape from Peryapatna.

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Cheppudira Subbayya acted as assistant Commissioner from 1884 and died in office a year later. Mathanda Appachanna retired as head-Shirestedar in 1872 with a pension of Rs. 150 and with Chief Commissioner s appreciation for his services and a grant of full pay for life and some other privileges.

Mandepanda Somayya, a grandson of Mandepanda Thimmayya of the Raja's time, was appointed as 3rd class Magistrate, and this Somayya's grandson Mandanna became a District Magistrate in 1936, and retired in 1941.

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RB. Cheppudira Subbayya died on the 23rd October 1884.

A case was filed against Jammada Achayya on a charge of unauthorisedly cultivating the Ulimale Bane land.

Cheppudira Subbayya's son Somayya continued to get Rs. 50 political pension and he was the third and last beneficiary in that line.

In 1885 the Coorg commission consisted of one Commissioner, one Assistant Commissioner, one 2nd Assistant Commissioner, two Munsiffs, six Subedars and 14 parpathigars.

Ramaya Punja was Munsiff in Virarajpet in 1885 and Manyapanda Belliappa in Mercara.

The Commissioner of Coorg declined to allot Bane land for a certain piece of Barike to Iychettira Kalayya, and his appeal on that was dismissed.

In 1890 Koravanda Nanjappa was the Government prosecutor and Kuppanda Subbayya was the sub-Inspector of Police.

In 1890 there was a proposal to open municipalities at Napoklu, Ponnampet, Ammathi and Gonikoppa.

Subedar Cheppudira Thimmayya was made a Rao Bahadur in 1892.

Iychettira Kushalappa was a parpathigar and 3rd class magistrate at Betyatnad.

Iychetti Kalayya, the Record Keeper, was given an Invalid pension of Rs. 140.

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Kandrathanda Aiappa, son of Appachu became the last political pensioner in that line.

In 1894 Cheppudi Thimmayya retired with a special pension for his services.

RB. Cheppudi Somayya contributed Rs. 15,000 to the Mercara Water Works project which was estimated to cost Rs. 47,000 in those days. (1895)

In 1893, Alex. Rea, Superintendant of the Archeological Survey, Government of India, programmed to visit Coorg.

In 1895, the Yelusavirasime, Halerinad, Siddapur Nad, Beppunad, Sampaje Nad, Kuyyangeri Nad and Ramaswami Kanive Hoblis were abolished.

In July 1895, the Commissioner of Coorg was informed that in the event of H.E. Viceroy visiting Mysore in November next, a deputation from Coorg introduced by him might conveniently present an address to His Excellency at 12.15 p.m. on the 22nd of that month at the Government House, Mysore.

Manyapanda Belliappa, the 2nd Asst. Commissioner, officiated as district Magistrate during the absence on privilege leave of Mr. Brooke Legatt or until further orders. Mr. Belliappa died in office in 1896. Apparanda Mandanna then became the acting 2nd Assistant Commissioner.

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Shivachar Sivayya, the holder of 547 butties of wetland in Kaggodu village, sold that and 81 acres of Bane to Codanda Madayya, deputy Commissioner of Mysore Government. This and some other leased lands were in the possession of Madayya's descendants in the Chamaraja Villa residence of Mercara till recently.

Empress of India Vs. Koothanda Belliappa- a murder case where the accused was convicted for transportation for life and later reduced the term to six years R.I.

Biddanda Aianna asked the Government to enquire about the conduct of the District Magistrate but the Chief Commissioner declined to do so, in 1896-97.

In 1897 P (Pattamada ?) Devayya, parpathigar, was asked to pass clerical tests.

Apparanda Appayya was exempted from passing tests.

In 1898, it was said of Koluvanda Aiappa, once rich but now 'a ruined man'.

In 1899 the Chief Commissioner was getting a salary per month Rs. 2,000. The Commissioner of Coorg Rs. 1,000, the 2nd Asst. Commissioner Rs. 300, two Munsiffs and the head Shirestedar Rs. 150 each. Some new posts were then proposed and those were:

A sub-Judge on Rs. 350 a month, a treasury officer on Rs. 350, an extra Asst. Commissioner on Rs. 350 and an Asst Superintendant of Police on Rs. 350 a month.

The Coorg Commission in 1905, was as below:-

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i) Commissioner of Coorg- Rs. 1950 per month. (European)
ii) first Asst. Commissioner- Rs. 800 " "
iii) Inspector of Schools (Madras Govt.) Rs. 1300 " (Joseph Henry Stone)
iv) Forest Officer- Rs. 800 "
v) Executive Engineer- Rs. 800 "
vi) Survey & Settlement Officer- Rs.500 + 150 " (Gustav Haller)
vii) Asst. Superintendant of Police- Rs. 600 "
viii) Medical Officer- Rs. 1250 "
ix) Headmaster, Central School- Rs. 800 "
x) 2nd Asst. Commissioner- Rs. 280 (Indian) Kodandera Kuttaya.
xi) Subordinate Judge- Rs. 470 " Ramayya Poonja.(Ramayya)
xii) Asst. Forest Conservator- Rs. 250 "

~~xiii)~~ There were 22 provincial highways in Coorg in 1900 in addition to many minor net-works of roads and tracks. In 1900, the post & telegraph offices were in Mercara, Fraserpet, Suntikoppa, Pollibetta, Siddapur, Somwarpet and Virarajpet. There were Seventeen branch post offices in Coorg.

In 1910, Col. Hugh Daly was the Chief Commissioner & Resident of Mysore.
From 1909 Codanda Appayya had become the Indian Asst. Commissioner.
After Ramayya Poonja, Kambiranda Nanjappa became the Sub-Judge in 1903, and Nanjappa was succeeded by Hiralli Chennayya as Sub-Judge & Treasury Officer.

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The year 1924 was a turning point in the administrative set up of Coorg because of the introduction of the Legislative Council with Chief Commissioner as its President. This Council had the Commissioner of Coorg as the Finance Member, the District Magistrate (and later, District Judge) as Secretary, the Forest Officer and Inspector of Schools as Members, two members represented Eyropean interests and one member representing the backward people and the rest of the thirteen members were elected. It so happened that the first elected members to this Council were the following:

i) Nidtha Subbannayya ii) B. Shripathi Rao iii) Pandianda Belliappa iv) Kotera Chinnappa v) Cukkemane N. Venkappayya vi) Palekanda Medappa vii) Apparanda Chengappa viii) D.Narayana Shetty (Fraserpet) ix) Paruvangala Kushalappa x) Abdul Rahman Khan and two others representing backward constituencies.

The officers during those days were: The Chief Commissioner of Coorg,
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner,
the Commissioner of Coorg (Mr. Tasker)
the Asst.Commissioner & D.M., (Ketoli Chengappa)
deputy Conservator of Forests (W. Minchin)
the Civil Surgeon
Subordinate Judge (Apparanda Kariappa, Barrister)
deputy Director of Land Records (K.N.Subraya)
Asst. Superintendant of Police (Pattamada Devayya)

Much has been said about Ketoli Chengappa elsewhere by this author, but he was an exemplary type of an administrator, and among the Kodavas a rare phenomenan. He seemed to have been actually born in 1873, went to Madras and joined the Christian College in 1893, did his B.A. at the Presidency College from 1895, joined service in Coorg from 1899, became a Subedar in 1909, Assistant Commissioner succeeding Kodanda Appayya in 1916, the title of Rao Saheb in 1919, District Magistrate in 1921, title of Rao Bahadur in 1924, Secretary, Coorg egislative Council from 1924, offg. Commissioner in 1929, Dewan Bahadur in 1934, offg. Commissioner in 1934-35 and retired in May 1935.

Ketoli Chengappa was recalled during the war-time in 1942 to be the Director of the National War Front in Coorg. He was appointed as Chief Commissioner on the 26th April 1943 in succession to Col. de Gordon, title of C.I.E. (Companion of Indian Empire) in 1946, and finally retired in March 1948, and died in 1963 when he was 90 years old.

Not only an astute administrator, Chengappa was a veteran sportsman, a noted Shikar, an industrious planter and a staunch and ardent lover of traditions and old values. Indeed, he was a rare specimen among the Kodavas. (ref. to COORG MEMOIRS" by this author.)

The people of Coorg presented an address to Ketoli Chengappa on the eve of his retirement on the I9th March I948, and it said that:

"———Starting from small beginnings, you steadily ascended the official ladder and occupied all the high positions available to an Indian in this Province. You have been the first Indian District Magistrate and the first Indian Commissioner of Coorg———Your high sense of duty will for ever remain a source of inspiration and example for the present as well as the future generations. When the history of this country comes to be recorded, we are confident that your name will find an honoured place as one who gave the best to the service of his people———.

"Sir, your appointment as the Chief Commissioner of Coorg was an event unique in the annals of this province, in as much as you were not merely the first Coorg to adorn this exalted position, but also the first Indian to be chosen to fill this high office———.

"You handled the situation (political and communal) with tact and firmness under trying conditions so that when India achieved independence in August I947, you, by your able guidance, helped to ensure peace and stability in this Province during a period of rapid transition. When Coorg, with the rest of India, celebrated her independence under a new banner, you secured the whole-hearted cooperation and the spontaneous response as the leader of our people———".

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The First Cooperative Conference:

On the 5th February I9I4, the first provincial Cooperative Conference was held at Virarajpet when Gustav Haller was the Registrar. Out of about 300 delegates, the following were also there:

Apparanda Chengappa	Bommanda Mandanna	Boppanda Nanjappa
Bhagamandala Sripati Rao	Choudlu Basappa	D. Venkatarama Shetty
Deyanda Iyappa	Gijagana Devayya	Haji Abdul Khader Saheb
Hasan Ali Khan Khysgi	Codanda Uthayya	Kuttanda Thammayya
Kumbugowdna Kushalappa	Mukkatira Iyappa	Machanda Nanjappa
Maniapanda Medappa	Muhammad Khan Khysgi	Manavattira Medappa
Pattamada Kuttappa	Puthamane Ganapammayya	Sannuvanda Kariappa
Sirakaje Ponnappa and others.		

Among the dignitaries there were Lt.-Col. Hugh Daly, Chief Commissioner, F. Hannyington, Commissioner, R.H.Ellis, District Magistrate, Rev. F. Crochet and Capt. W. Campbell. Sir Hugh Daly said in his address, that:

"This is the first provincial conference of cooperative societies in Coorg, and in offering you a hearty welcome, I wish you a pleasant and useful meeting———Reviewing your work of the past, I find that when these beneficial societies were started in I905, there were only SIX societies consisting of 507 members with a working capital of Rs. 9,400. Last year when 28 societies and 2320 members were there, the working capital was Rs. 9I,500———.

"Gentlemen, you are the trsutees of large sums of money of other people, and most of you have taken the place of originators of this business, which has been handed over to you by them in sound financial condition. Remember that you must not be content with merely carrying on the work but it is your sacred duty to keep up these societies to a high standard———.

"I extend my appreciation to the Committee members, and especially to Messers Apparanda Mandanna, Kodimaniyanda Subbayya, Mukkatira Iyappa, B. Sripati Rao, Biddanda Ganapathy, Puthamane Ganapammayya, Apparanda Chengappa and Hanuman Maistry.

"In conclusion, I have much pleasure in congratulating G. Haller, on the good results of his work, and I am sure you will agree that it is to him chiefly we can attribute the flourishing state of your societies———."

Mukkatira Iyappa, President of Ammathi-Siddapur Nad cooperative society, then very kindly entertained the leading members of the confernece at a tea party.

This conference was almost like a national festival with more than 600 members and other people assembling along with many high officials and dignitaries.

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The 2nd Provincial Cooperative Conference:

The second cooperative conference was held on the 30th November 1915, and this was attended by about 60 participants and a large number of members and cooperators from among the various societies. This was not as spectacularly organised as the previous one, and there were no top ranking officials to grace the occasion. In that way, the first conference held a year before, was a great innovation of the cooperative movement in Coorg.

Some new names at this conference were that of Biddanda Ganapathy, Pandanda M. Muthanna, Kuttetira Madappa, Nadikerianda Nanjappa, Muruvanda Devayya, Kandrathanda Poovayya, Iynanda Kariappa, Codanda Subbayya and Subedar K. Appayya.

Commissioner F. Hannyington attended the conference for some time with Rev. Cochet, Apparanda Madappa, executive Engineer, T. Grant, sub-Engineer, Koravanda Muthanna, Munsiff, and Koluvanda Appayya.

Codanda Uthayya thanked the Commissioner and the visitors for having honoured the conference by their presence. Three cheers were then given to His Majesty, the Emperor, and the success of the British arms (in the war that was on in Europe.)

At this conference, the SANNAD of Rao Bahadur was presented and conferred on Mukkati Iyappa- one of the pioneers of the cooperative movement in Coorg. As Mr. Iyappa was ill, the SANNAD was presented to him at his house by the Commissioner, accompanied by Rev.Cochet, Koravanda Muthanna, Koluvanda Appayya and the Registrar of Cooperative Societies, Mr.Haller.

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During the second decade of this century, there was some political activity in Coorg with the founding of the Coorg Zamindar's Association in 1906, with Codanda Madayya as President and Biddanda Ganapathy as the founder-Secretary. There was a good deal of discussion whether Coorg should remain separate or should be merged into Mysore or Madras presidencies. The Montague-Chelmsfrord Reforms for India was in the offing in the form of 1919 India Act. In Coorg too people agitated for some reforms and the Coorg Legislative Council of 1924 was the result of the people's endeavours.

When the secretary-of-State, Edwin Montague and Viceroy Lord Chelmsford, were in Madras in 1917 on a fact-finding mission, a delegation from Coorg too went to Madras to represent to them the need for some reforms for Coorg. That delegation was headed by RB. Manyapanda Muthanna, the retired Conservator of Forests. Other members of the delegation were:

Apparanda Chengappa, B. Shripati Rao, Muhammad Khalim Khan, and Biddanda Ganapathy, and it should be here said that this Ganapathy was the intellectual spokesman of Coorg politics of those days till his death in 1920 when he was only 49.

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The Viceroy of India, Lord Irwin, visited Coorg in 1929, and the detailed report including the press cuttings concerning this could be found in the files of this author, now deposited in the Mercara library. Similarly an account of Mahatma Gandhi's visit to Coorg in 1933, is given in the book- A TINY MODEL STATE OF SOUTH INDIA- written by this author in 1953. Furthermore, some important aspects of Coorg's political, social and cultural life and history, beginning from 1920 and ending in 1970, and the role of the Kedavas during those crucial years, are depicted and described in greater detail in COORG MEMOIRS of this author, published in 1971.

Many more records and other papers of historical and social interest have been collected and then compiled by this author and the half-a-dozen bulky collections of files are carefully deposited for the benefit of the future students of history of Coorg, at the Library and the Museum, Fort, Mercara Coorg. The first set of such records were presented to the Government by this author at a function held at the old Council Hall at Mercara, on the 15th August 1972 when the Deputy Commissioner of Coorg, accepted the records on behalf of the Government, along with the appeal by this Author to preserve the records carefully. A bundle of secret files was also presented with instructions to open that by the deputy Commissioner, exactly Fifteen years later, on the 15th August 1887.

25th June 1974.

JAI JAGAT.

I. M. Muthanna 25/6/74

(Dr. I. M. Muthanna,
Vancouver B.C. Canada.

Haye's Mysore & Coorg Directory (1904)

71st Coorg Rifles

71st COORG BATTALION OR 71st COORG Rifles — 71st Coorg Rifles
Raised in ONGOLE in January 1757 as the 15th Battalion.
Class Co., Regiment — One Double Co., Mussalmans,
One Double Co., Tamilians,
Two Double Co., Coorgs — which became
2nd ~~regiment~~ Battalion — 9th Regiment in 1796.
Later this became the 11th Regiment Native Infantry in 1824.
" " the 12th Battalion — in 1869.
" " the 11th " — in 1871.
" " the 11th Coorg Infantry in 1902.

"Srirangapatna"

Uniform for Madrasis — Red, Emerald — green — lace gold — Regimental Centre — Mercara.

Uniform for Coorgs — full dress — green serge with scarlet commerbund — head-dress, Kilmarnack cap.

Arrived at Mercara — 23rd July 1902 from Bangalore.

Quartered at Mercara — detachments at Trichinopoly and Fraserpet — Commandant — 206 — Major.
~~Major~~ Lt.-Col. G. C. Atkinson.

Native Officers — Subedar-Major Kodandera Subbayya on probation.

Subedars — i Kallandar Khan ii Fakhru-ddin
iii Raghava Naik — (with detachments).
B. Nanjappa, B. Poovayya & K. Chinnappa — on probation.

Jamedars — C. Iyanna — on probation;
B. Poovayya & K. Chinnappa ".

Jamedars — on probation. i) C. Iyanna
N. Chinnappa, M. Nanjappa & Pandanda Mudappa.

1904.

Coorg Commission: — consisted of the following: —
Sir Donald Robertson — Chief Commissioner.
H. Chennigaramayya — Manager — Commr.'s Office.
Kodandera Kuttayya — Asst. Commissioner.
Ketolira Chengappa — Head Clerk — Dt. Fund Establishment
Munsiff — Mercara — Kambiranda Nanjappa.
" — Virarajpet — Gopala Rao.
Head-Clerk — Commr.'s Office — Maleti Machayya.

9. H. Muthanna
28/7/1974.

DR. I. M MUTHANA,
M.A.(B.O.L.),B.T.(MADRAS)
Ph.D.(COLO.), DIP.-IN-JOURN.(LONDON)

00001000 00001600 00001700 00001800 00001900
00001200 00001300 00001400 00001500
E=SER=SFU003,DISP=DLD E=SER=SFU004,DISP=DLD E=SER=SFU005,DISP=DLD E=SER=SFU006,DISP=DLD E=SER=SFU007,DISP=DLD E=SER=SFUSYS,DISP=DLD
A.LIST,FD=2714=SFU002,